



HADRIAN

A Sourcebook

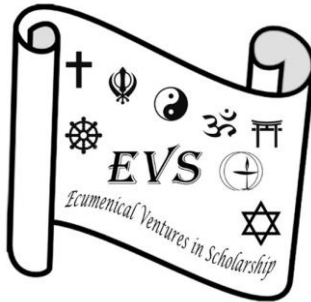
G. G. Bolich, PhD



Hadrian:

A Sourcebook

edited by
G. G. Bolich, Ph.D.



EVS PRESS
2023

EVS Press
Spokane, Washington



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For all who love Ancient Rome and in Memory of
Anthony R. Birley
(1937–2020)
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Publisher Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hadrian: a sourcebook.

Bolich, G. G. (1953-)

First paperback edition.

ISBN 13: 978-1-312-69435-4

1. Hadrian, Emperor of Rome, 76–138

2. Rome—History—Hadrian, 117–138

I. Title

DG295.B65 2023

937.B689—dc23

Printed in the United States of America
1st edition

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Timeline¹

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Place</i>
Jan. 24, 76 C.E.	Birth	Italica in Spain
c. 86	Hadrian's father dies	Rome (?)
Jan. 24, 86 C.E.	Dons the <i>toga virilis</i> (i.e., becomes an adult)	Rome
90	As <i>pater familias</i> , inspects family's holdings at Baetica	Baetica (near Italica) in Spain
91	Recalled by Trajan to Rome	Spain to Rome
c. 93/94	Finishes formal schooling Appointed to <i>decimvir stlitibus iudicandis</i> ("Board of Ten": a ten man civil court)	Rome
	Appointed <i>sevir turmae equitum Romanorum</i> (a ceremonial office in the equestrian order)	Rome
Mar., 95	Appointed <i>praefectus urbi feriarum Latinarum</i> (a temporary post as praetor while the usual officials attended the Latin festival at the Alban Mount)	Rome
95	<i>Tribunis militum legionis</i> II Adiutrix (<i>Adiutricis Piae Fidelis</i>)	Upper Moesia (along Danube)
96	Domitian assassinated; Nerva becomes emperor <i>Tribunis militum legionis</i> V Macedonicae	Rome Lower Moesia
97	<i>Tribunis militum legionis</i> XXII Primigeniae Piae Fidelis	Germania Superior
98	Nerva dies; Trajan becomes emperor Hadrian conveys news to Trajan of his accession	Rome Mainz in Germania Superior to Germania Inferior
c. 100 (?) (bef. 112)	Weds Sabina Perhaps nominated to become one of the <i>Septemvir epulonum</i> ("7 men of the Feast")	Rome Rome
101	<i>Quaestor</i>	Rome

¹ Multiple sources were used for constructing this timeline, including especially Benario, *A Commentary*; Birley, *Hadrian* and "Hadrian's Travels"; Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*; and Syme, "Journeys of Hadrian." Of these, I tend most to follow Birley.

	<i>ab actis senatus</i> (Curator of “the acts of the Senate”)	Rome
Mar. 25	Trajan departs for 1 st Dacian campaign, with Hadrian (who wins military decorations)	Rome to Dacia
102	Trajan’s “companion” in 1 st Dacian War	Dacia
105	<i>Tribunus plebis</i> , under consuls Candidus and Quadratus (Jan.-Mar.)(2 nd Dacian war, 105–106)	Rome
May, 105	2 nd Dacian War; In June, Trajan and Hadrian set out again for Dacia	Rome to Dacia
	<i>Legatus legionis</i> I Minerviae Piaae Fidelis	Dacia
106	2 nd Dacian War ends; Hadrian again awarded military decorations	Dacia;
	<i>Praetor</i>	Rome
	Appointed <i>Legatus Augusti pro praetore</i> Pannonia Inferior	Pannonia Inferior
108 (May?)	<i>Consul</i> (suffectus), for the 1 st time	Rome
109	At Rome (Possible first visit to Athens)	Rome (Athens)
110	At Rome	Rome
111	Sets out for Athens; possibly meets Epictetus	Rome to Athens
before 112	<i>Sodalis Augustalis</i> (priest of Augustus)	Rome
111/112	Appointed <i>archon Athenis</i> (chief public official)	Athens in Greece
Aug., 112	Marciana Augusta (Trajan’s sister) dies and is deified; Sabina’s mother, Matidia, named Augusta	Rome
Oct., 113	Trajan sets out for the East	Rome to Syria via Athens
114	Trajan and Hadrian at Antioch; Appointed <i>Legatus</i> for Syria	Antioch in Syria
115	In Antioch when great earthquake strikes	Antioch in Syria
	Trajan wages successful campaign against Parthia	Parthia
115–117	Jewish Diaspora Revolt	Egypt, Cyprus, Cyrene

116	Trajan declared “Parthicus” by Senate (Feb.); Hadrian appointed governor in Syria (replacing Bassus)	Rome Antioch in Syria
Aug. 9, 117	Receives letter of adoption by Trajan	Antioch in Syria (Trajan ill at Selinus in Cilicia)
Aug. 11	Hadrian learns of Trajan’s death; becomes emperor	Antioch in Syria (Trajan dies at Selinus in Cilicia)
Aug.	Brief visit to Judea; dismisses Quietus and dispatches Turbo to quell Mauretanian unrest	Antioch-Judea-Antioch
Aug.	Goes to view Trajan’s remains	Seleucia Piera (~25 km. SW of Antioch)
(Early aut.)	(Possible brief visit to Alexandria)	(Alexandria in Egypt)
Oct. Oct. 12–14	Travels from Antioch to Tarsus At Mopsucrine (12 th) and Panhormus (14 th)	Syria to Cilicia Cilicia
Oct. 15–18	At Aquae Calidae (15 th), Tynna (16 th), Tyana (17 th), and Andabalis (18 th)	Cappadocia
Oct./Nov.	Travels from Ancyra to Juliopolis (there Nov. 11 th)	Galatia to Bithynia
Winter, 117/118 Jan., 118	Winters at Nicomedia <i>Consul</i> for the 2 nd time (with Gnaeus Pedanius Fuscus Salinator)	Nicomedia in Bithynia
Late Winter/ Early Spring	Hears of unrest among Roxolani and Sarmatians; dispatches troops	Nicomedia (unrest in lands N or Moesia Inferior; E of Dacia)
Spr.	Peace concluded with the king of the Roxolani (Sarmatian tribe)	Asia
Spr.–Su.	Thrace to Moesia Inferior to Dacia to Mosia Superior to Pannonia (Danube region)	Thrace, Moesia Inferior, Dacia, Moesia Superior, Pannonia
July 9	Alleged assassination plot foiled Killing of the Four Consulars Hadrian reaches Rome; addresses Senate concerning killing of the 4 consulars	Italy Rome
118–119	Orders supplementary grain	Rome

	distribution	
c. 118–120	Accepts office of <i>eponymous archon</i> (Chief magistrate) at Delphi	Delphi in Greece
Jan. 24, 119	Birthday celebration features 6 days of gladiatorial games	Rome
119	<i>Consul</i> for the 3 rd time (with Publius Dasumius Rufus)	Rome
	Visits southern Italy (Campania)	Italy
Summer, 119	Letter to Rammius Martialis in Egypt addressing inheritance rights for soldiers	From Rome, to Martialis in Egypt
Dec. 23, 119	Hadrian honors his recently deceased mother-in-law, Salonia Matidia (niece of Trajan).	Rome
120	At Rome	Rome
Apr. 21, 121	Dedication of new Temple to Venus and Roma (inaugurated 135; finished by Antoninus in 141); reconstitution of the Parilia festival	Rome
	Visits Gaul, Germania Superior, and region of the Rhine (probably also Raetia and Noricum)	Gaul; Rhine region
c. 121	Plotina, widow of Trajan, dies	Rome
Winter, 121/122	Winters (perhaps) on frontier	??
June, 122	Crosses from Germania Inferior to Britain	Britain
	Suetonius and Septicius Clarus dismissed from Hadrian's service for inappropriate "familiarity" with Sabina	Britain
Summer	Platorius Nepos replaces Pompeius Falco as governor of Britain while Hadrian is there	Britain
	Crosses from Britain to Gaul	Britain, Gaul
Autumn	Proceeds to Spain, visits Mauretania(?)	Spain; Mauretania(?)
Winter, 122/123	Winters at Tarraco, northeastern Spain	Tarraco, Spain
Spring, 123	Uprising in Mauretania quelled <i>Perhaps</i> from Spain journeys to	Mauretania (N. Africa) Spain to Eastern

	Mauretania to quell rebellion; then, Libya, Cyrene and Crete on way East (Syria, Militene, Pontus, Bithynia, Asia)	provinces
Summer	Inspects Cappadocia(?), perhaps goes to Trapezus(?)	Cappadocia(?), Galatia(?)
Winter, 123/124	Winters at Nicomedia	Nicomedia in Bithynia
Spring, 124	Travels through Mysia, Aeolis, Ionia, etc.	Asia Minor
	Visits site of ancient Troy	Illium in Mysia
Aug.	At Ephesus	Ephesus in Asia
Autumn	Undergoes initiation into the Mysteries at Eleusis	Eleusis, Greece
	Commences tour of the Peloponnese (Megara, Epidaurus, Troezen, Argos)	Greece
Winter, 124/125	Continues tour of the Peloponnese (Mantineia, Tegea, Sparta, Olympia, Corinth, etc.)	Greece
Mar., 125	Serves as <i>agonothetes</i> at Greater Dionysia	Athens, Greece
Spring	Perhaps meets Secundus the Silent philosopher	Athens, Greece
Spr.–Sum.	Journey back to Rome begins through region of Boetia (Thespieae, Coronea, etc.)	Greece to Rome
	Visits Delphi; accepts office of <i>eponymous archon</i> (Chief magistrate) at Delphi for 2 nd time	Delphi, Greece
Late May?	Reaches port of Dyrrachium; sails to Sicily	Greece to Sicily
	Climbs Mount Aetna to observe sunrise	Sicily
	Journey to Rome through Italy, precise route unknown; visits various places (e.g., Venusia, Aeclanum, Beneventum)	Italy
Late Aug.- Early Sept.	At his villa at Tibur (writes a letter to the Amphictyons and Delphi)	Italy
Winter, 125/126	Winters at Rome or Tibur?	Italy
Feb.–Mar., 126	At Rome; Pantheon completed(?)	Rome
Spr./Sum.?	Holds games in the Circus Maximus to celebrate dedication	

	of restored Temple of Deified Vespasian and Titus	
	Holds office as <i>Duumvir</i> at Ostia (2 nd time)	Italy
	Serves as <i>Magister</i> of the Arval Brethren	Rome
Aug./Sept.	At his villa at Tibur	Italy
Winter, 126/127	Winters at Rome or Tibur?	Italy
Jan.–Feb., 127	At Rome	Rome
Mar.–July, 127	Tour of Italia (departs Rome March 3)	Italy
Aug. 1	At Rome	Rome
Aug. 11	10 th anniversary of accession to throne	Rome
Oct. 19	Votive games held to celebrate anniversary of his accession	Rome
Aut./Winter	Division of Italy into 4 consular regions	Italy
Winter, 127/128	Winters at Rome	Rome
128	Travels Rome to Sicily to Africa	Rome, Sicily, Africa
Spring	Arrival in Africa marked by first significant rain in five years	Africa
July	Inspects troops at Lambaesis in Africa	Africa
	Mauretania to Rome	Mauretania to Rome
September	At Athens; enters higher grade of Mysteries at Eleusis (accompanied by Antinous); to Sparta then back to Athens Accepts title <i>Pater Patriae</i>	Greece
Winter, 128/129	Winters at Athens	Athens, Greece
Spring, 129	Sails from Eleusis to Ephesus	Greece, Asia
Spr.–Sum.	Travels to Miletus, Tralles, Nysa, Laodicea	Asia
June 27	At Laodicea on the Lycus	Phrygia
July 23	At Apamea (Phrygia)	Phrygia
	Melissa (Phrygia) to Cappadocia to Antioch	Phrygia, Cappadocia, Syria
Sum.–Aut.?	Meeting with client rulers and foreign kings of East	Satala? Melitene? Samosata?
Winter, 129/130	Winters at Gerasa (Jerash) and/or at Antioch	Arabia and/or Syria
Spr.–Sum., 130	Ascends Mt. Casius (Syria) Visits Palmyra and Gerasa	Syria Syria

Summer	Hadrian visits Petra, Pella; visits Beth Shean, Caesarea, Jerusalem	Arabia; Judea
Summer/Autumn before Aug. 29	Travels to Gaza and Pelusium Restores Pompey's tomb	Journey to Egypt Egypt
Summer?	Reaches Alexandria	Alexandria in Egypt
Sept.	Sister Paulina dies at Alexandria Visits Africa (modern Libya); hunting a lion with Antinous	Alexandria in Egypt Africa
Autumn	Returns to Egypt, visit Canopis and probably Nicopolis Tours Egypt traveling up Nile (Naucratis, Heliopolis, Memphis, Arsinoe, Oxyrhynchus, Hermopolis, etc.)	Egypt Egypt
late Oct.	Antinous drowns in the Nile near Hermopolis	Egypt
early Nov.	Antinoopolis is founded on bank of the Nile	Egypt
Nov. 18–20	At Thebes to visit singing statue of Memnon	Egypt
Nov. 27	Egyptian month of Choiak (Nov. 27–Dec. 26) renamed Hadrianos	Egypt
Nov.–Dec.	Perhaps at Oxyrhynchus (Nov. 29–30) and Tebtunis (Dec. 1)	Egypt
Winter, 130/131 131	Winters at Alexandria (Travels through Libyan desert (if not in 130))	Alexandria in Egypt (Libya)
Spring	Sails from Alexandria along coast to Seleucia in Pieria (port of Antioch) (Visits Petra; renames it Petra Hadriana) (N.B. This may have happened in 130 C.E.) Travels along coast of Syria to Tarsus in Cilicia	Alexandria to Antioch (Arabia) Syria to Cilicia
Spr.–Sum.	Cilicia to Lycia and Pamphilia (Side? Aspendus? Perge? Attalia? Phaselis)	Cilicia, Lycia and Pamphilia Asia, Greece
Sum.–Aut.	Journey to Athens (perhaps by way of Ephesus)	(Route to Athens unclear)
Winter, 131/132 131/132	Winters at Athens Founding of the Panhellenion	Athens in Greece Greece

132	“Hadrian’s Library” (Ἀδριανὴν βιβλιοθήκην) founded in Athens on north side of the Acropolis	Athens in Greece
Spr.?	Visits Eleusis a third time.	Eleusis in Greece
Mar.	Presides at the Dionysia	Athens in Greece
Mar./Apr.	Bar Kokhba revolt begins	Judea
c. 132–c. 135	Bar Kokhba revolt (Roman legions XXII Deiotariana and IX Hispania perhaps both lost)	Judea
Winter, 132/133	Winters at Antioch(?)	Antioch in Syria
132/133	Visits Judea (late 132 or early 133?)	Judea
Apr. 8, 133	In Rome	Rome
133/134	Sextus Julius Severus takes military command	Judea
	A quick visit to Judea?	Judea?
	Visit to Dacia(?) and/or Pannonia(?)	Dacia?/Pannonia?
Winter, 133/134	Winters at ??	??
Spr. 134	To Rome via Macedonia, Thrace, Danube region?	Return to Rome
May 5, 134	Conducting business in Rome	Rome
Summer	In response to Judean unrest, goes to Syria	Syria
Aug.?	Hadrian visits Judea during Bar Kokhba revolt	Judea
Autumn?	Visits Egypt(?)	Egypt
Winter, 134/135	Winters at Antioch	Antioch in Syria
Aut. or later? 135	Siege of Bethar ends; Bar Kokhba killed	Judea
135/136	Judea renamed Palestina	Judea
136	In Rome	Rome
	Empress Sabina Augusta dies	Rome
137	Sabina Augusta deified	Rome
c. 137	Servianus (brother-in-law) and Pedanius Fuscus (Servianus’ grandson) put to death	Rome
Jan. 1, 138	1 st Heir—Commodus/Aelius Verus Caesar—dies	Rome
	Antoninus adopted as new heir	Tibur, Italy
July 10	Death	Baiae, Italy

Sources

AUTHOR	WORKS(S)	DATE
Before 2nd cent. C.E.		
Cicero	<i>On the Commonwealth</i> (<i>De Res Publica</i>)	late 1 st B.C.E.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus	<i>The Roman Antiquities</i> (<i>Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία</i>)	1 st cent.
Josephus	<i>The Jewish War</i> (<i>De Bello Judaico</i>)	late 1 st
Livy	<i>History</i> (<i>Ab Urbe Condita</i>)	late 1 st B.C.E.
Martial	<i>Epigrams</i> (<i>Epigrammaton libri</i>)	late 1 st C.E.
Quintilian	<i>Institutes of Oratory</i> , aka <i>Education of an Orator</i> (<i>Instituto Oratoria</i>)	late 1 st
Strabo	<i>Geography</i> (<i>Geographica</i>)	late 1 st B.C.E.
2nd cent.		
Aelius Aristides	<i>Orations</i> (<i>Orationes</i>) and	late 2 nd
(Aristides of Smyrna)	<i>Sacred Tales</i> (<i>Hieroi Logoi</i>)	
Antigonos of Nicaea	in Hephastion of Thebes' <i>Astrological Effects</i> (<i>Apotelesmatika</i>)	late 2 nd
Apollodorus of Damascus	<i>Siegecraft</i> (<i>Poliorketika</i>) aka <i>Siege-Matters</i>	2 nd cent.
(Apollodorus Mechanicus)		
Appian of Alexandria	<i>Civil Wars</i> and <i>Foreign Wars</i> in his <i>Roman History</i> (<i>Historia Romana</i>)	mid-2 nd
Apuleius	<i>Apology</i> (<i>Apologia</i>)	mid-2 nd
Aristides of Athens	<i>Apology</i> (<i>Apologia</i>)	2 nd cent.
Arrian of Nicomedia	<i>Campaigns of Alexander</i> (<i>Anabasis</i>); <i>Circumnavigation of the Black Sea</i> (<i>Periplus Ponti Euxini</i>); and, <i>Manual of Tactics</i> (<i>Ars Tactics</i>)	mid-2 nd
Artemidorus of Daldis	<i>Interpretation of Dreams</i> (<i>Oneirocritica</i>)	2 nd cent.
Aulus Gellius	<i>Attic Nights</i> (<i>Noctes Atticae</i>)	2 nd cent.
Besantinus	<i>The Aliar</i> (<i>Bomos</i>)	2 nd cent.
Clement of Alexandria	<i>Exhortation to the Greeks</i> (<i>Proptrepticus</i>) and <i>Miscellanies</i> (<i>Stromata</i>)	late 2 nd - early 3 rd
Council & Assembly of Athens	Inscription at Athens honoring Hadrian (CIL III, 550)	112/113
Florus, L. Annaeus	<i>Epitome of Roman History</i> (<i>Epitomae de Tito Livio</i>)	early 2 nd
Fronto	<i>Correspondence</i> (<i>Epistulae</i>) and <i>Preamble to History of Parthian War</i> (<i>Principia Historiae</i>)	mid 2 nd
Gaius (jurist)	<i>Institutes</i> (<i>Gai institutionum iuris civilis commentarii quattuor</i>)	2 nd cent.
Galen of Pergamon	<i>Affections and Errors of the Soul</i> (<i>De Propriorum Animi Cuiuslibet Affectuum Dignotione et</i>	late 2 nd

	<i>Curatione)</i>	
Hadrian	Letters, rescripts, speeches, fragments as preserved in various sources (especially inscriptions)	mid-2 nd
Julia Balbilla	Graffiti in Egypt inscribed on Colossus of Memnon	130
Justin Martyr	<i>Dialog with Trypho</i> (<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone Iudaeo</i>); also, <i>First Apology</i> (<i>Apologia Prima</i>), as cited by Eusebius	mid-2 nd
Lucian of Samosata	<i>The Lover of Lies</i> (<i>Philopseudes sive Incredulus</i>)	late 2 nd
Marcus Aurelius	<i>Meditations</i> (<i>Te eis he' auton</i>), Letters, and remarks recorded in the <i>Historia Augusta: Life of Avidius Cassius</i> .	late 2 nd
Pausanias	<i>Description of Greece</i> (<i>Hellados Periegesis</i>)	mid-2 nd
Phlegon of Tralles	<i>Book of Marvels</i> (<i>Mirabilia</i>) and <i>On Long-lived Persons</i> (<i>Macrobiū</i>)	mid-2 nd
Pliny the Younger	<i>Letters</i> (<i>Epistulae</i>) and <i>Panegyricus</i> (<i>Oration of Praise to Trajan</i>)	early 2 nd
Plutarch	<i>Lives: Demetrius</i> (<i>Demetrius</i>)	early 2 nd
Polemo of Laodecia [or Polemon]	<i>Physiognomy</i> (<i>Physiognomica</i>)	mid-2 nd
Simon Ben Kosiba	Letters	mid-2 nd
Soranus of Ephesus	<i>Gynecology</i> (<i>Gynaecology</i>)	early 2 nd
Suetonius Tranquillus	<i>Lives of the Caesars</i> (<i>De Vita Caesarum</i>)	2 nd cent.
Tacitus, Cornelius	<i>Annals</i> (<i>Annales</i>)	early 2 nd
Tatian (the Syrian)	<i>To the Greeks</i> (<i>Ad Graecos</i>)	late 2 nd
Unknown	<i>Contest of Homer and Hesiod</i> (<i>Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi</i>)	mid- to late 2 nd
Unknown (Pseudonymous)	<i>Epistle of Barnabas</i>	late 1 st –early 2 nd
<i>Varian</i> (some named separately)	Inscriptions	2 nd cent. and later
<i>Various</i>	Papyri	2 nd –3 rd centuries.
3rd cent.		
Athenaeus of Naucratis	<i>The Banquet of the Learned</i> (<i>Deipnosophists</i>)	early 3 rd
Dio Cassius Cocceianus (cited as Dio)	<i>Roman History</i> (<i>Historia Romana</i>), Bks. LXVIII, LXIX, LXX, and LXXXVII	early 3 rd
Julius Africanus	<i>Passion of St. Symphorosa and Her Seven Sons</i> (<i>Symphorosa</i>)	3 rd cent.
Lactantius	<i>Divine Institutes</i> (<i>Institutiones Divinae</i>)	late 3 rd –early 4 th
Origen of Alexandria	<i>Against Celsus</i> (<i>Contra Celsum</i>)	late 2 nd –mid 3 rd
Philostratus of Athens	<i>Life of Apollonius of Tyana</i> (<i>Vita Apollonii</i>), <i>Lives of the Sophists</i> (<i>Vitae Sophistarum</i>), & <i>On Heroes</i> (<i>Heroicus</i>)	early 3 rd

Ulpian of Tyre	<i>Rules (Regulae Ulpiani)</i>	early 3 rd
Tertullian	<i>Apology (Apologeticus pro Christianis)</i>	late 2 nd - mid 3 rd
Unknown	<i>The Altercation between Emperor Hadrian and the Philosopher Epictetus (Altercatio Hadriani augusti et Epicteti philosophi)</i>	3 rd cent.?
4th cent.		
Ammianus Marcellinus	<i>Roman History (Rerum Gestarum)</i>	late 4 th
Anonymous ("Pilgrim of Bordeaux")	<i>Bordeaux Itinerary (Itinerarium Burdigalense)</i>	early 4 th
Aurelius Victor	<i>Book of the Caesars (Liber de Caesaribus)</i>	c. 360
Charisius (Flavius Sospiter Charisius)	<i>Art of Grammar (Artis Grammatica)</i>	4 th cent.
Dositheus Magister	<i>Opinions and Letters of the Divine Hadrian (Divi Hadriani sententiae et epistolae)</i> in his <i>Grammar</i>	4 th cent.
Epiphanius of Salamis	<i>On Weights and Measures (De mensuris et ponderibus)</i> <i>Panarion (Πανάριον; Bread Basket, aka Adversus Haereses)</i>	late 4 th
Eusebius of Caesarea	<i>Ecclesiastical History (Historia Ecclesiastica)</i> <i>Proof of the Gospel (Demonstratio Evangelica),</i> <i>Life of Constantine (Vita Constantini)</i>	early 4 th
Eutropius (Flavius Eutropius)	<i>Abridgment of Roman History (Breviarium ab Urbe Condita)</i>	late 4 th
Festus	<i>Summary of the History of Rome (Breviarium)</i>	4 th cent.
Jerome	<i>Chronicle, Commentaries, Concerning Illustrious Men (De viris illustribus), and</i> <i>Apology against Rufinus</i>	late 4 th
Julian (the Apostate)	<i>The Caesars (aka Symposium or Saturnalia)</i>	mid 4 th
Libanius	<i>Monody on Nicomedia</i>	4 th cent.
Philostorius	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i> (preserved in an epitome by Photius)	late 4 th - early 5 th
Renatus, Flavius Vegetius	<i>Epitome of Military Science (Epitoma rei militaris)</i>	late 4 th
Prudentius, Aurelius Clemens	"Reply to the Speech of Symmachus" (<i>Contra Orationem Symmachi</i>)	late 4 th
Ps. Aurelius Victor ("Ignotus")	<i>Epitome of the Caesars (Epitome de Caesaribus)</i>	c. 396
Sulpicius Severus	<i>Chronicle (Chronica), aka Sacred History</i>	late 4 th - early 5 th
unknown (cited as <i>HA</i>)	<i>Historiae Augustae: Aelius, Antoninus Elagabalus, Antoninus Pius, Aurelian, Avidius Cassius, Hadrian, Saturninus, Severus, Severus Alexander, Tacitus</i>	late 4 th ?
unknown (cited as <i>Collectio</i>)	<i>Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio</i> (<i>Collation of the Laws of Moses with Roman Law</i>)	late 4 th - early 5 th

Post 4th cent.

Anonymous	<i>Paschal Chronicle (Chronicon Paschale)</i>	early 7 th
Cassiodorus	<i>Chronicle (Chronica)</i>	early 6 th
Constantine	<i>On Themes (De Thematibus)</i>	10 th cent.
Porphyrogenitus		
Dio Cassius Cocceianus (as preserved by later hands)	<i>Roman History (Historia Romana)</i> , Bks. LXVIII, LXIX, LXX, and LXXVII	varied
Jordanes	<i>On Governing Rome (De Gestis Romanorum)</i>	mid-6 th
Justinian (i.e., commissioned by the emperor Justinian)	<i>Digest (Digesta)</i> and <i>Institutes (Institutiones Iustiniani)</i>	6 th cent.
Macarius Magnes	<i>Answer Book, or Response (Apocriticus)</i>	early 5 th
John Malalas	<i>Chronicle (Chronographica)</i>	6 th cent.
Maimonides	<i>Repetition of the Torah (Mishneh Torah)</i>	12 th cent.
Paulus Orosius	<i>History against the Pagans (Historiae adversus paganos)</i>	5 th cent.
Photius	<i>The Library (Bibliotheca, aka Myriobiblos)</i>	9 th cent.
Sozomen	<i>Ecclesiastical History (Ecclesiastica Historia)</i>	early 5 th
Theodosius II	<i>Theodosian Code and Novels</i>	5 th cent.
Unknown	<i>The Samaritan Chronicle (Annales Samaritani)</i>	14 th cent.?
Unknown compiler	<i>Suda</i> (lit., “Stronghold”)	10 th cent.
Zosimus (Zosimus Historicus)	<i>New History (Historia Nova)</i> a.k.a. <i>Zosimus’ History (Zosimi Historiae)</i>	late 5 th -early 6 th

Variable Dates

Assorted attributions	Rabbinic literature (e.g., <i>Mishnah</i> , <i>Talmud</i> , <i>Tosefta</i> , <i>Midrashim</i>)	various
Unknown various hands	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>	uncertain

Abbreviations

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> , established in 1888, is an annually published record of epigraphic material, both in Latin and Greek, collected during that year. Records are cited by year (e.g., 1900) followed by inscription number (e.g., 33). Thus <i>AE</i> 1900.33 refers to inscription 33 published in the 1900 volume.
<i>AGRW</i>	<i>Associations in the Graeco-Roman World</i> (http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/), created by Philip Harland, maintains a collection of 'inscriptions, papyri, and other sources in translation'—all with a focus on ancient associations. Entries are cited by abbreviation and number (e.g., <i>AGRW</i> 212).
<i>ANS</i>	American Numismatic Society is the source for many of the public domain coin images. These images often can be found at <i>Online Coins of the Roman Empire</i> (OCRE), a searchable database cohosted by ANS and the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University.
<i>AP</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i> (<i>Palatine Anthology</i>) is a collection of Greek epigrams and poems preserved in a manuscript discovered (1606) in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg. Material from this collection is cited as <i>AP</i> followed by book number, in either Roman or Arabic script, and specific item number (e.g., <i>AP</i> IX.137 or <i>AP</i> 9.137).
<i>CFA</i>	<i>Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt</i> , is a register of materials still surviving from the Arval Brethren, an important order at Rome whose preserved records can be important sources on various figures and actions. A 1998 volume edited by John Schied offers 136 entries. See the <i>Acta Fratrum Arvalium</i> (Wilhelm Henzen ed.) for a work now in the public domain.
<i>CGL</i>	<i>Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum</i> is a set of volumes preserving ancient Latin glossaries compiled for school purposes and drawing on much older sources.
<i>CID</i>	<i>Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphi</i> (<i>Collection of Inscriptions of Delphi</i>) is a multivolume set (1977, 1989, 1992, 2002) publishing inscriptions from Delphi, Greece (cf. <i>FD</i>). Entries are cited by abbreviation, volume number, and entry (e.g., <i>CID</i> IV.150).
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> collects in a series of volumes all known ancient inscriptions from Greece and its islands. These volumes, edited by August Böckh (1785–1867) were published between 1825 and 1860 under the auspices of the Prussian Academy of Science. The set parallels that for Latin inscriptions (<i>CIL</i>) and has been continued by the <i>IG</i> (see below). Entries cited by abbreviation plus number (e.g. <i>CIG</i> 1438).
<i>CIIP</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae</i> , a multivolume set, collects inscriptions between the 4 th century B.C.E. and the end of the 7 th century C.E., found in the ancient Judea/Palestina region. Volumes began appearing in 2010. Records are cited as <i>CIIP</i> with volume and

- part number (e.g., *CIIP* I.1 for volume 1, part 1), followed by the entry number for a specific record (e.g., *CIIP* I.2, 717).
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, i.e., the body of Latin Inscriptions preserved and recorded in a large and ongoing series of volumes, originally edited by Theodore Mommsen (1817–1903). *CIL* records start with these initials, followed by a volume number (e.g., XIV) and inscription number (e.g., 3911). N.B., some people cite these somewhat differently, for example, using Arabic numerals rather than Roman ones (e.g. 14 for XIV). Thus an entry looks like: *CIL* XIV, 3911.
- CILA* *Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucia* (*Corpus of Latin Inscriptions of Andalusia*) is a series of volumes for inscriptions from the southern part of the Spanish peninsula. Volumes are marked by number and part (e.g., following *EDCS* system, 02-01, 02-02). Source entries show abbreviation, volume and part, and entry number (e.g., *CILA* 02-02, 367).
- CJZC* *Corpus Jüdischen zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika* (*Body of Jewish Evidence from Cyrenaika*) was published in 1983 by Gert Lüderitz and Joyce Reynolds. Citations are by abbreviation and entry (e.g., *CJZC* 17).
- CPJ* *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (*Corpus of Judaic Papyri*) is a multi-volume collection of Jewish materials preserved in papyri from the Ptolemaic period through Late Roman and Byzantine period. The work was initiated by Viktor Tcherikover (1894–1958), with Alexander Fuks, at Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1957–1960). Volumes under this title continue to appear. Entries are cited by abbreviation, volume number and entry (e.g. *CPJ* II 447).
- CPL* *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum* (*Corpus of Latin Papyri*) of a volume edited by Robert Cavenaile, first published in 1956. Items are cited by abbreviation and entry number (e.g., *CPL* 117).
- CSIR* *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* is an ongoing research venture on the sculptural and architectural heritage of the Roman world. Initiated in 1963 by the International Congress of Classical Archaeology it presently has an online presence hosted by The Classical Art Research Centre (accessed online at [https:// www.corpusignorum.org/csir/default.htm](https://www.corpusignorum.org/csir/default.htm)).
- EDCS* *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby* offers an online database of Latin inscriptions. The site also offers links to other databases. Each entry has its own identification code (e.g., *EDCS*-18900579), and these are correlated to other sources (e.g., *EDCS*-18900579 to *CIL* VI, 02080, etc.). Enter the *EDCS* ID code at “search at https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi.php?s_sprache=en,” and then press the “go” button on page.
- EDR* *Epigraphic Database Roma* is part of an international federation of Epigraphic databases (EAGLE” Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy). Each record has a number preceded by *EDR* (e.g., *EDR*000119).
- EIMR* *Epistulis Imperatorum Magistratuumque Romanorum* (*Letters of the Roman Emperors and Magistrates*) is an early 20th century work by Léon Lafoscade that collects original texts and offers brief comments. Source entries cited by abbreviation and number (e.g., *EIMR* 19).

<i>ERItalica</i>	<i>La epigrafía romana de Itálica</i> (<i>The Roman Epigraphy of Itálica</i>) is a collection of Roman epigraphic material from Itálica, Spain. Cited by abbreviation and entry number (e.g., <i>ERItalica</i> 34).
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> (<i>Delphi Excavations</i>) is a multi-volume series of monographs that began appearing in 1902. Volume III, published in ‘installments’ (Fr. <i>Fascicule</i>), provides epigraphic material. Source entries are cited by abbreviation, volume number, <i>fascicule</i> , and entry number (e.g., <i>FD</i> III, 4:301).
<i>FdXanthos</i>	<i>Fouilles de Xanthos</i> (<i>Excavations of Xanthos</i>) is a series of volumes initiated in 1958. Entries are cited by abbreviation, volume number, and entry (e.g., <i>FdXanthos</i> VII, 32).
<i>FGE</i>	<i>Further Greek Epigrams</i> , is the short title of the collection edited (with notes) by D. L. Page (see bibliography). Materials are cited by abbreviation (<i>FGE</i>) and number (e.g., VII), with reference to a specific collection (e.g., “Epigrams by Imperial Authors”).
<i>HEp</i>	<i>Hispania Epigraphica</i> (<i>Epigraphic Spain</i>) is an online database of Roman Inscriptions from the Iberian Peninsula (http://eda-bea.es/). Sources are cited by abbreviation, year and entry number (e.g., <i>HEp</i> 1995, 708).
<i>IC</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> (<i>Inscriptions of Crete</i>) is a four volume set edited by Margherita Guarducci and published between 1935–1950 (I in 1935; II in 1939; III in 1942; IV in 1950). Cited by volume number and entry information (e.g., <i>IC</i> II.xxiii 66).
<i>ICM</i>	<i>The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima</i> is a work published in 2000 by Clayton Miles Lehmann and Holum, Kenneth G. Holum. It is vol. 5 of <i>The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima, Excavation Reports</i> (American Schools of Oriental Research). Entries are cited by abbreviation and number (e.g., <i>ICM</i> 47).
<i>IED</i>	<i>Italia Epigraphica Digitale</i> is part of <i>EDR</i> (see above). Entries are cited by abbreviation and number (e.g., <i>IED</i> 680).
<i>IEph</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> (<i>The Inscriptions from Ephesus</i>) is a collection under the editorship of Hermann Wankel that appeared in print 1979–1984. Cited by abbreviation and entry number (e.g., <i>IEph</i> 271I).
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (<i>Greek Inscriptions</i>) is a continuation of the <i>CIG</i> , now under the auspices of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Materials are cited with the abbreviation, volume number (with part volume in superscript), and entry number (e.g., <i>IG</i> II ² 3620).
<i>IGLS</i>	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> (<i>Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Syria</i>) is a multivolume set appearing across decades under different editors. Items are cited by abbreviation, volume number and part, and entry number (e.g., <i>IGLS</i> 21 ⁴ 46).
<i>IGR or IGRR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> (<i>Greek Inscriptions Pertaining to Roman Matters</i>) is a series of volumes published between 1901–1927. Materials are cited by the abbreviation (<i>IGR</i> or <i>IGRR</i>) plus volume number (e.g., III) and part (superscript #), and entry number (e.g. 1054), thus, by example: <i>IGR</i> I ⁵ , 1049.
<i>IK IZnik</i>	<i>Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik</i> (<i>Nikaia</i>) (<i>Catalog of</i>

- Ancient Inscriptions of the Iznik (Nicaea) Museum* is edited by Sencir Şahin (1979, 1981–1982). Cited by abbreviation and entry number (e.g., *IK IZnik* 29).
- ILALG* *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie (Latin inscriptions of Algeria) began in 1922 with the publication of work by Stéphane Gsell (1864–1932). Over the course of a torturous publication history the volumes have sporadically appeared (1922, 1957, 1976, 2003). Two principal volumes have been published in multivolumes so that citation indicates both the principal volume (e.g., 02) and part volume (e.g., 03), with the specific inscription number (e.g., *ILALG*-02-03, 07778). This might also be cited as *ILALG* T.II, Vol. 3, #07778).*
- ILS* *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* is a 3 volume set of Latin inscriptions, appearing 1892–1916, edited by Hermann Dessau (1856–1931). Materials are cited by abbreviation and entry number (e.g., *ILS* 3620).
- InsAph* The *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias Project (InsAph)* is an online collection of materials from Aphrodisias (<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph050208.html#edition>). Materials are cited by abbreviation, year, and entry number (e.g., *InsAph*2007 5.208).
- IPan* *Inscriptions du Désert (Desert Inscriptions)* is a collection of inscriptions published (in French) by André Bernand, in 1977. Entries are cited by abbreviation and entry number (e.g., *IPan* 42).
- IRCyr* *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* is a collection of materials available both in print (with translations by Joyce Reynolds), and online (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions>). The texts are cited with abbreviation and entry number (e.g. *IRCyr* A.37)
- IRT* *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, first published in 1952, put online in 2009, available at <https://irt2021.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions>. Materials are cited with abbreviation *IRT* and entry number—thus, for example, *IRT* 0361.
- ISmyrna* *Die Inschriften von Smyrna (The Inscriptions from Smyrna)*, under the editorship of Georg Petzl, collected materials published 1982–1990. Cited by abbreviation and entry number (e.g., *ISmyrna* 697).
- IvP* *Inschriften von Pergamon (Inscriptions of Pergamon)* is a multivolume set, with the first volume published in 1890. Cited by abbreviation, volume number and entry (e.g., *IvP* II, 397).
- Kaibel,
Epig. Graec. Georg Kaibel (1849–1901), a German classical philologist, collected Greek epigrams in his 1878 volume *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, which was followed the next year by his *Supplementum epigrammatum Graecorum ex lapidibus conlectorum*. The *Epigrammata Graeca* is variously cited, sometimes using just Kaibel's name and the abbreviation *ep*, followed by the entry number in his volume.
- MAMA* *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua (Records of Ancient Asia Minor)* is a series of volumes dating from 1928 through 1993 (10 vols. at present). Entries are cited by abbreviation, volume number, and entry number (e.g., *MAMA* V, 60).
- OGIS* *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae (Select Greek Inscriptions of the East)* is a two volume set of inscriptions published by Wilhelm Dittenberger at the start of the 20th century (1903 and 1905). Entries are cited by

- abbreviation, volume number, and entry number (e.g., *OGIS* II, 678).
- PAlexGiss* *Papyri variae Alexandrinae et Gissenses* (*Various Alexandrian and Gissenian Papyri*), edited by Jacques Schwartz, and published in 1969. It can be accessed online at the *Internet Archive* (<https://archive.org/details/papyri-variae-alexandrinae-et-gissenses/mode/2up?view=theater>), or at the *Ancient World Digital Library* (http://dlib.nyu.edu/ancientworld/books/isaw_pbrx000007/1). Entries are accompanied by comments (in French). In this volume, cited by abbreviation and number (e.g., *PAlexGiss* 25).
- P.Brem.* The *Bremen papyri* were cataloged (and translated) in 1936 by Ulrich Wilcken (1862–1944). They carry two sets of numbers—one assigned by Wilcken and a one from today’s Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen (SuUB Bremen). Thus citations may carry one number (e.g., *P.Brem.* 1) or two (e.g., *P.* 40/Nr.1).
- P. Giss.* *Papyri Gissenses* names the collection of papyri first placed at Giessen (*Gießen*), Germany at the beginning of the 20th century by Ernst Kornemann (1868–1946) and Wilhelm Gail (1854–1925). The papyri range in date from the 4th century B.C.E. to the 8th century C.E. Documents are cited by the collection name (*P. Giss.*) with volume number (e.g., I or 1), and specific papyrus number (e.g., 19), thus, for example, *P. Giss.* I 19.
- PIR* *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (*Prosopography of Imperial Romans*) collects material on important Roman figures from the end of the Republic (31 B.C.E.) to the reign of Diocletian (early 4th century C.E.), arranged alphabetically. Entries present a short summary about the person alongside known sources (e.g., inscriptions, literary accounts). The first edition appeared at the end of the 19th century; the second edition began in the 20th century and continued into the 21st century (1933–2015). An online presence also is maintained by the German Akademie der Wissenschaften (<http://pir.bbaw.de/publikationen>).
- P.Oxy* *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* is a multivolume set collecting the texts of papyri discovered at Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, by papyrologists Bernard Pyne Grenfell and Arthur Hunt. The published collection can be searched online at *POxy: Oxyrhynchus Online* (<http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>). Entries are cited by abbreviation, volume number, and individual entry (e.g., *P.Oxy* IV.707).
- PSI* *Pubblicazioni della società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto: Papiri greci e latini* (*Publications of the Italian Society for the Research of Greek and Latin Papyri in Egypt: Greek and Latin Papyri*), edited by Vittorio Bartoletti and others, is a multivolume set; the first volume appeared in 1912. Cited by abbreviation, volume, and entry number (e.g., *PSI* 9, 1063).
- RIB* *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* is a multi-volume set with an online presence (<https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/>). The first volume, edited by R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, was based on the collection of Francis J. Haverfield (1860–1919) and appeared in 1965, presenting inscriptions found in Britain prior to 1965. To date, four volumes have appeared. Inscriptions are cited by abbreviation, volume, and number

	(e.g., RIB ¹ 1634).
<i>Rom.Mil.Rec.</i>	<i>Roman Military Records on Papyrus</i> , edited by Robert Fink, was published in 1971 and with the original texts are some translations. Cited by abbreviation and entry information (e.g., <i>Rom.Mil.Rec.</i> I 74_1); some of these records can be found online at Trismegistos.org.
<i>RRMAM</i>	<i>Roman Roads and Milestones</i> is a multivolume work edited by David French (under the title <i>Corpus of the Milestones of Roman Asia Minor</i>). Entries cited by abbreviation, volume and number.
<i>Sardis</i>	Entries are from inscriptions collected and published by Georg Petzl (see bibliography and footnotes), or by W. H. Buckler and David M. Robinson in their volume <i>SARDIS</i> . Entries are cited a little differently in each of these origin points, but footnotes distinguish the source.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> has, since 1923, presented an annual survey of of Greek inscriptions published in that year. Entries are cited by volume/year (e.g., IX or 9) and inscription number (e.g., #28), so that an entry looks like: <i>SEG</i> X.252 or <i>SEG</i> 9-252 (or similar). Online volumes are hosted by Brill (available by subscription), but public domain volumes are available through HathiTrust or the Internet Archive.
<i>SEOR</i>	<i>Sylloge Epigraphica Orbis Romani</i> (<i>Collection of Epigraphs of the Roman World</i>) is a series of volumes collecting materials from different parts of the Roman world (e.g., vol. II, part I covers Italy). Entries are signified by abbreviation plus volume and part numbers, followed by the entry number (e.g., <i>SEOR</i> II/1, 235).
<i>SIG/Syll.</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (<i>Collection of Greek Inscriptions</i>) collects inscriptions from Greece and Asia Minor. Editions are signified by a superscript number (e.g., the third edition is <i>SIG</i> ³) and then entry numbers follow (e.g., <i>SIG</i> ³ 398). Also often abbreviated as <i>Syll.</i> with edition number (e.g., <i>Syll.</i> ³).
<i>SIRAR</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Africae Romanae</i> (<i>Collection of Religious Inscriptions of Roman Africa</i>) is a collection of texts available online at https://humanidadesdigitales.uc3m.es/s/sirar/page/inicio . Source material is cited by abbreviation and source number (e.g., <i>SIRAR</i> 1567).
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> is a multi-volume set that began appearing at the start of the 20 th century. Entries are by abbreviation, follow-ed by volume number (e.g., II), and entry number (e.g., 1187).
<i>TER</i>	The abbreviation is for “Termessos” (a city in Roman Pisidia), and represents entries originating in Arslan and Önen, “New Honorary Inscriptions from Termessos for Emperor Hadrianus and His Wife Sabina.” They include both the original Greek texts and English translations. Cited by abbreviation, year, and number (e.g., <i>TER</i> 2018 31).

Please note that some online sources such as *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (also commonly known as *PHI Greek Inscriptions*), though noted in the footnotes, are *not* included above. A few abbreviations, not often used, are explained in place and may or may not appear in the above listings. An index for inscriptions and papyri appears at the end of the volume.

Introduction

A *sourcebook* collects sources—entries varying both in nature and length—and puts them together. They may be arranged either in some simple chronological manner, or by some thematic arrangement. Some sourcebooks provide just original texts—i.e., entries reproduced in their original language—while others offer only translations, and a few provide both. Perhaps the greatest variation comes in how much additional content is offered. Some sourcebooks content themselves with just source entries and a minimum of other content, while others try to offer material to provide context and/or interpretation to the entries. However done, sourcebooks provide a narrative—together entries build a story through how they are organized and presented.

‘Sources’ here include many different points of origin, but principally they are *inscriptions*, *papyri*, or *literary works*. In one sense, the term ‘source’ refers to the entire original body, such as a complete inscription or entire book. Most often in this work ‘source’ refers to a specific entry of material, which might coincide with an entire original body (e.g., an entire inscription), but more often refers to a limited portion of the larger original source (e.g., a larger literary work).

This sourcebook aims to be *thorough*, but it is hardly *exhaustive*. It is a relatively simple presentation geared to the English reader who desires material on Hadrian, his world and his times, but who may not read or need the original languages. Here are both a chronological arrangement *and* separate topical chapters. In order to avoid much repetition of materials this has meant somewhat reducing the content of the chronological chapters by placement of material that could fit therein into topical chapters instead. That said, on occasion and as deemed desirable there may occur some repetition of entries.

All source entries are numbered for later easier use, with coins receiving a separate system of numbering (a number preceded by a *¢*). Every source is identified in a notation that heads the entry. Also, accompanying footnotes provide additional information (but little assessment of things like source veracity, which is left to the reader). In many cases footnotes are simply a notice of where English translations and original language texts may be found. Where no notice of an English translation occurs the rendering is my own.

Arrangement of the sources offers a contextual framework. Excluding original language texts meant more room for sources and space for other contextualizing materials like maps and illustrations, some of which are older (and should be compared to more modern work), and some created especially for this work. Also, some of the burden of contextualizing sources is provided through both headings and footnotes.

The Headings

Every source is identified in material that heads the entry. These headings provide two kinds of information, of which the second is by far the more

important. First, an entry receives a number and a brief descriptive title (e.g., ‘Hadrian’s Appearance’). Second, positioned below this initial information, is an indication of the original source, with a superscript notation to a footnote.

Knowing what the original source is for an entry is, of course, critical. It offers, with some experience, a sense of when the material was set down in writing and often how the subject was regarded. The literary sources are indicated by the author and the title of the work from which the entry is drawn (e.g., Eutropius, *Abridgment of Roman History*). In the entry itself the specific portion of the larger work being used is then indicated. This is typically accomplished by noting the book in Roman numerals, followed by chapter and/or section information (e.g., VIII.6.1b). The superscript number after the naming of the source is to an accompanying footnote at page bottom.

The Footnotes

I wish to draw special attention to the footnotes. The first function of the footnotes is to tell where the translation used originates. If there is no such mention at the start of the footnote it means the translation is my own. For the most part I contented myself to translating inscriptions or other materials that are not commonly found in English. I do provide my own renderings of some literary sources, especially the *Sententiae Hadriani* (*Judgments of Hadrian*).

A primary aim of this volume is to expose the reader to a wide range of translations. In addition to drawing on a lot of different translators, the footnotes point to additional renderings that can be consulted if desired. These notes do not intend to be exhaustive, but they are useful for guiding further investigation, especially in cases where it may seem a particular translation might be questionable or the source selection wants to be reviewed in a larger context.

The next function of the footnotes is to indicate where the primary language text can be found. The first thing signaled is the language (e.g., Greek or Latin), then some place—or places—where it can be found. I have often pointed to online sources. Of course, for many source entries there are standard volumes where they are collected, and these are indicated more by the entry headings than by the footnotes themselves. (The headings use abbreviations explained here at the beginning of the book.)

Particularly with respect to inscriptions, the nature of the footnotes should be understood. Inscriptions are typically indicated by citing the number they bear in a particular reference resource. Not uncommonly the same (or very nearly the same) inscription is located in more than one such resource. This situation is recognized in headings to source materials by use of an equal (=) sign. In the footnotes, in addition to any resource volume indicated in the heading, I have tried to specify where a source might have been drawn from a secondary work (e.g., a scholarly book or article which reproduces that source and probably provides additional information), as well as any readily available place on the internet it might be found. Most original language texts can be found many places; the footnotes only point to a few. The goal is to offer

readers as many points of access to materials as I can without unduly belaboring the matter. The point is to encourage further reading and research.

Finally, the footnotes also often offer additional explanation content. For example, a note might add some information about a person mentioned in the source entry. Or it might explain a particular term, offering some idea of why the original language word was translated as it was or providing some insight into what it meant in its original setting. Often this additional material at the end of a footnote draws on the work of one or another scholar. As much as I am able I allow them to speak for themselves through quoted excerpts of their work. The citations in the footnotes then point to the bibliographic entry, which in turn will provide the information needed to track down the source if desired.

The Sources and Translations

Let me be clear about the translations right away. My use of a translation does *not* mean I would render the entry the same way. I might be more literal, or periphrastic, or simply disagree with word choice or styling. But there is value in seeing many different translations. There is also value in relying on translations that have stood the test of time as reliable and faithful renderings.

The chief ancient sources for the life of the emperor Hadrian are the histories of Dio Cassius Cocceianus (originating late 2nd – early 3rd cent.) and the *Historia Augusta* (mid or late 4th cent.), a collection of biographies attributed to various authors but generally believed today to be the work of one hand, who drew upon various earlier sources.² For Dio, book LXIX recounts Hadrian's life, though Hadrian is mentioned elsewhere too. But it is book LXIX that is the primary locus of his material on Hadrian and which remains one of the two most important sources of information about him. The *Vita Hadriani* (*Life of Hadrian*) in the *Historia Augusta* is the second principal source of information on Hadrian, but as with Dio, Hadrian is mentioned in other 'Lives' as well.

The texts and the translations used for these principal sources are those found in Loeb Classical Library editions now in the public domain. This solution has several desirable features. First, because the works are in the public domain they are readily attainable; they exist on the internet in downloadable form and in inexpensive print copies. Second, as public domain material they can be copied freely, thus avoiding the need for a new translation for this volume. Third, given the long and solid reputation enjoyed by the translations of the Loeb series this seemed an acceptable course. Finally, acknowledging that language conventions, vocabulary and spellings do change with time, public domain volumes are readily amendable to editing to bring them into conformity with modern tastes. In the modest steps taken in this respect I have indicated the presence or nature of any changes. These principal sources are here broken up into excerpted entries spread throughout the sourcebook.

² For more information see Rohrbacher, "The Sources of the *Historia Augusta* Re-examined." I do not engage the debate in this volume.

The Loeb edition of Dio's book LXIX used here is *Dio Cassius' Roman History, Vol. VIII: Books LXI–LXX*, translated by Earnest Cary and published in 1925.³ The English translation faces the Greek text to its left. The Loeb edition of the *Vita Hadriani* is from *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vol. I*, translated by David Magie and published in 1921. The translation faces the Latin text to the left. The English in both sources is in places a bit antiquated, and frequently with British spellings. To update these and other sources to conventional American spellings and punctuation has meant some minor adjustments in punctuation (e.g., placing periods inside quotation marks rather than outside them), and spelling ("Hadrian" rather than "Adrian"; "therefore" rather than "therefor," "anyone" rather than "any one," and so forth), though some British spellings are retained. None of these minor changes affect the order of words or the sense of sentences and the footnotes indicate changes. Thus acknowledgment is retained of these translators and any misunderstandings of content arising from my modest modifications must be laid at my feet.

For the history written by Cassius Dio (originally in Greek), the first number is the book (LXIX), followed by chapter numbers, and lastly section numbers. Thus LXIX.3.2 refers to book LXIX, chapter 3, section 2. The use of Roman numerals for books has long been conventional and is used in Cary's translation. Today there is often a preference for entirely avoiding Roman numerals, a situation which results in mixed presentations of material among scholarly sources. Here Roman numerals are used only to indicate ancient "books" with chapters and sections typically noted in our familiar Arabic numbers. The conventions of text divisions and numbering have been altered as necessary to create a dependable regularity for this volume.

For the biography of Hadrian in the *Historia Augusta* (originally in Latin), I've departed from the style of Magie's presentation. In it Roman numerals signify chapters, followed by section numbers. Thus IV.2 refers to chapter 4, section 2. The use of Roman numerals this way is inconsistent with how Dio's work is numbered. For this volume consistency between the two works has been chosen and so rather than Roman numerals for chapter numbers I have followed the practice used in Cary's translation of Dio.

While the matter of the principal sources with respect to the English translations is fairly straightforward, the case becomes more complicated with the addition of other source materials. A few words on them may help to better

³ I have purposely cited this as *Dio Cassius' Roman History* though no mark of possession is found in the Loeb title. My use follows Cary's own, who, xxiv, notes, "The translation is based on that of H. B. Foster (Troy, N.Y., 1905-06), the first to appear in English. At the outset it was hoped that his translation would require few changes to bring it into conformity with the Greek text here adopted; but this hope was promptly disappointed, as soon as the task of careful comparison with the original was fairly under way, by the discovery of many errors of a more or less serious nature, as well as of frequent infelicities in the English. So far as has proved possible, his words have been retained; yet the changes found to be either necessary or desirable are so numerous that the editors have decided in favour of the present wording of the title page."

understand this volume. Two guiding principles in this work have been [1] exposing readers to as wide a range of resources as is practical, and [2] to favor showcasing those resources most readily available to most readers. In that spirit the texts favor online public domain works most readers can access in their entirety from home. However, I have also drawn upon more recent sources for brief excerpts and have done so as a convenient way of alerting the reader to the wealth of fine books and critical studies that exist, many of which can be read or sampled online. An awareness of the richness of the literature available for the study of Hadrian is thus facilitated by this volume, which by no means aims to be a self-sufficient volume. I have profited immensely from the work of others and any reader who engages this other work will likewise be advantaged.

New, fresh translations of works can be quite valuable. But new translations are not, by and large, to be found here. Though I was tempted to provide my own new translation for each source used beyond the two principal ones, the realities of my own circumstances meant I instead chose to rely principally on those in the public domain, supplemented by translations offered by other authors as provided for by the fair use provision of copyright law. That has meant brief sampling of a far larger range of scholarship than would occur if relying *only* on the public domain or my own translation work. Though this may result in a variety of translation styles that is not a bad thing; it reflects the reality of the world of translating. Another benefit of this procedure, worth repeating, is an implicit invitation to the reader to explore many more sources than they might otherwise realize even exist. My translations chiefly appear for materials either not translated before or not easily found in translation.

Some entries appearing here have had few if any translations; others have been translated many times. Among those that have been often examined and rendered there may exist among scholars some renderings that are more commonly used and/or approved. Here I have not taken it upon myself to critique translations. I offer instead two pieces of counsel: always seek out more than one translation if you cannot read the original text (or lack access to it), and learn the original languages to feel less at the mercy of translators. All of us who translate, or who use translations often, develop certain preferences. While I have tried not to impose my own, I'm sure to some extent they emerge. Nevertheless, I have studiously attempted to reach as far and wide as I can.

No one translation philosophy appears in what results; some translators aim for greater literalness while others strive for easier comprehension in English. Translation remains an art and is a poor substitute for learning to read the original languages. The aim in all solid translation work is to at least provide a sense of meaning defensible in light of the original text (which in the case of materials like papyri and inscriptions is often very uncertain due to the state of the source document). No claim is made here beyond the basic one that the editions used aim at being reasonably sufficient and the translations offered—including my own—aim at being reasonably accurate. It is fine to quibble and contest translation choices, it just isn't a goal in this work.

I wrestled with how much to use coins in this sourcebook. They are too valuable to ignore, but so plentiful they could constitute a sizable volume by themselves. But use is complicated by various claims made concerning them. Regrettably, there continues to be dispute over what can and cannot be copyrighted with respect to coin images. My own understanding applies American law. All coin images here are of ancient objects, and photos of such objects aiming to faithfully reproduce the coin image have been legally ruled in the United States as also in the Public Domain (see *The Bridgeman Art Library, Ltd. v. Corel* 36 F. Supp. 2d 191; 1999 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 1731; 50 U.S.P.Q.2D (BNA) 1110.). My position is that images (i.e., photographs) of ancient coins are in the public domain unless clearly intentionally presented as artistic pieces, by which I mean they have been subjected to a photographer's manipulations such as to render the image a work of art rather than a realistic reproduction. The latter—flat presentations of either or both sides of a coin—bear no mark of individual artistic input; they merely intend to provide a realistic picture. Such images are ordinary in coin catalogs for auctions or in pictures from the American Numismatic Society, which correctly and admirably identifies such images as public domain. But given the contentious nature of some groups, the images here are fewer than they might have been and carefully chosen to assure they are either public domain or otherwise permitted. But because some continue to assert copyright for such images and this volume has aimed to retain a conservative, respectful approach to such claims though regarding them as unfounded, I've employed a certain strategy in selection and use.

First, I rely on works clearly in the public domain as much as I can. Images of coins produced *before* 1928 are in the Public Domain; many used here are courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (ANS), while many others come from public domain volumes. Second, where doubtful, I have requested permission for use of an image and this is noted in the footnotes. Some images from online sources are reproduced with notices congruent to the licenses under which they are made available. Some images and text data come from OCRE (Online Coins of the Roman Empire), a joint project of ANS and the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University. Coins are generally labeled by source, followed by type.

I make no claim of ownership or copyright for materials not my own. In fact, I wish for full sharing of all the works shared with me under the same terms by which they were shared with me. I only assert copyright for my own original contributions such as my translations and my artful arrangement of the work as a whole and its constituent parts (i.e., the expression of sources and materials in this book arrangement). I hope and trust readers will exercise toward this work the same respect I have endeavored to show others who have enriched me as I seek to better understand Hadrian and his world.

PART I

Chapter 1

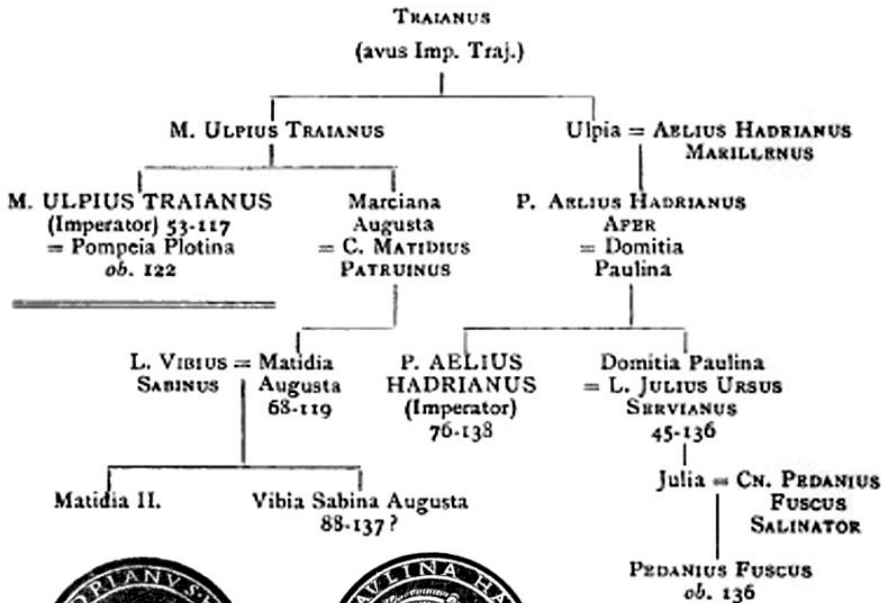
Background, Birth Place, Early Life, Education

BACKGROUND

Genealogy

(Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 296)

GENEALOGICAL TABLE



Hadrian's Parents and Hadrian
(Extracted material from
Fulvio, *Illustrum Imagines*,
Plates LXVII and LXVIII)

1 Family (Roman gens *Aelia*) History

(Plutarch, *Life of Aemilius Paulus*)⁴

5.5 So then Aemilius, having divorced Papiria, took another wife; and when she had borne him two sons he kept these at home, but the sons of his former wife he introduced into the greatest houses and the most illustrious families, the elder into that of Fabius Maximus, who was five times consul, while the younger was adopted by the son of Scipio Africanus, his cousin, who gave him the name of Scipio. [6] Of the daughters of Aemilius, one became the wife of the son of Cato, and the other of Aelius Tubero, a man of the greatest excellence, and one who, more than any other Roman, combined the greatest dignity with poverty. [7] For there were sixteen members of the family, all Aelii; and they had a very little house, and one little farm sufficed for all, where they maintained one home together with many wives and children. [8] Among these wives lived also the daughter of that Aemilius who had twice been consul and twice had celebrated a triumph, and she was not ashamed of her husband's poverty, but admired the virtue that kept him poor.

2 Hadrian's Family

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)⁵

1.2 The father of Hadrian was Aelius Hadrianus, surnamed Afer,⁶ a cousin of the Emperor Trajan; his mother was Domitia Paulina,⁷ a native of Cadiz; his sister was Paulina,⁸ the wife of Servianus,⁹ his wife was Sabina,¹⁰ and his great-grandfather's grandfather was Marullinus,¹¹ the first of his family to be a Roman senator.

⁴ Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives* (Perrin trans.). VI, 367; I changed 'cousin-german' to 'cousin.' Mols, "The Cult of Roma Aeterna," 460, ties this family history to Hadrian's decision of where to build the Temple of Venus and Rome. He observes, "A further positive element for the choice of place could have been that a house of the Aelii, Hadrian's family, had previously been located on the Velia, as a passage in Plutarch's life of Aemilius Paulus shows." Lucius *Aemilius* Paullus Macedonicus was twice Consul in the Roman Republic (182 and 168 B.C.E.), and won the cognomen 'Macedonicus' for his service in the Third Macedonian War (171–168 B.C.E.). Gray, "A Study of the Life of Hadrian," 152, observes, "[E]ven if we assume an Italian origin for the family, Hadrian's ancestors had lived in Spain more than 250 years before he was born. His mother was apparently of Spanish descent . . . ; he must have had other ancestors of native origin."

⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 3.

⁶ Latin *cognomen*. Roman names typically had three parts: the *praenomen* was the personal name; the *nomen* was the family name; the *cognomen* was, literally, the name by which a person was familiarly known. Hadrian's father's name was Publius Aelius Hadrianus Afer (?– 85/86); cf. Dio, LXIX.3.1 and the Suda, which follows Dio. See *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (Klebs' ed.) 17–18.

⁷ Domitia Paulina the elder (?– c. 86). As Gray, "A Study of the Life of Hadrian," 153, points out, "We know nothing of her except her name and birthplace." Cadiz was the Roman *Gades*.

⁸ (Aelia) Domitia Paulina the younger (c. 75–130).

⁹ Lucius Julius Ursus Servianus (45–136), three times Consul (*suffectus* in 90; *ordinarius* in 102 and 134). Cf. Dio LXIX.2.5.

¹⁰ Vibia Sabina (83–c. 136), daughter of Salonia Matidia (July 4, 68–Dec. 23, 119) and Lucius Vibius Sabina (c. 65–c. 84). A genealogical illustration is offered at the start of chapter 13.

¹¹ Publius Aelius Hadrianus Marullinus. See Wiseman, *Roman Studies*, 17.

3 Hadrian's Father

(Dio, *Roman History*)¹²

LXIX.3.1a As regards birth Hadrian was the son of a man of senatorial rank, an ex-praetor, Hadrianus Afer by name.¹³

4 Hadrian's Father and His Relation to Adria ¹⁴

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)

14.1 Aelius Hadrianus, of Italian lineage through his father Aelius Hadrianus (a cousin on his mother's side to the emperor Trajan), a line descended from Adria, a town in the region of Picenum (which also gave its name to the Adriatic Sea), ruled 22 years.



*Adria in
Picenum
(Shepherd,
Historical
Atlas, 27)*

Adria (about 6 miles (10 km) west of the Adriatic Sea, between the Vomanus and the Matrinus rivers.

¹² Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 429. Birley, "Hadrian and Greek Senators," 213, provocatively writes, "It is at least legitimate to guess that Afer could have been legate to a pro-consul, or himself proconsul, of a Greek province-taking his wife and children with him-before his death at latest in early 86." (Thus affording Hadrian an early acquaintance with Greece.)

¹³ Cf. *Historia Augusta* 1.2 and see note 9 attached to it.

¹⁴ For Hadrian's background, birth, childhood and youth see Gray, "A Study of the Life of Hadrian," 151-61, and/or Birley, *Hadrian*, 10-26. On his father, cf. entry #895.

BIRTHPLACE

5 Birthplace: Background History

(Appian, *The Foreign Wars*)¹⁵

The Wars in Spain VI.7.38 From this time, which was a little before the 144th Olympiad, the Romans began to send praetors to Spain yearly to the conquered nations as governors or superintendents to keep the peace. Scipio left them a small force suitable for a peace establishment, and settled his sick and wounded soldiers in a town which he named Italica after Italy, and this was the native place of Trajan and Hadrian, who afterwards became emperors of Rome.

6 Family Background and Spain [2nd–1st cent. B.C.E.]

(HA: *Vita Hadriani*)¹⁶

1.1 The original home of the family of the Emperor Hadrian was Picenum,¹⁷ the later, Spain; for Hadrian himself relates in his autobiography that his forefathers came from Hadria, but settled at Italica in the time of the Scipios.

7 Birthplace and Relation to Trajan (also see Appendix A)

(Jerome, *Chronicle* (Hadrian))¹⁸

Ib Hadrian, born at Italica in Spain,¹⁹ was the son of Trajan's female cousin.

8 Birthplace

(Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*)²⁰

VIII.6.1b He also was born at Italica in Spain.

9 Birthplace and Summary of Reign

(Jordanes, *On the Governing of Rome (Romana)*)²¹

269 Hadrian was born at Italica in Spain, the son of a maternal cousin of Trajan. He reigned 21 years. He did next to nothing for the State, except that he repaired the formerly destroyed Alexandria and Jerusalem at his own expense and in many localities relaxed the state taxes.

¹⁵ Appian, *Appian's Roman History* (White's translation), I, 69 (Vol. I, 197 in Loeb ed.)

¹⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 3.

¹⁷ Hadria was located in the region of Picenum in Italia (Italy). Syme, "Hadrian and Italica," 142, notes that by virtue of this place of birth, "Hadrian duly bears the tribe of that *municipium*, the 'Sergia.'" Churchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, 96, with this text in mind, writes, "the Spanish Aelii appear to be descendants of Italian immigrants, among them the ancestors of Hadrian himself; his family allegedly came from Picenum and moved to Italica during the age of the Scipios." Syme, "Hadrian's Autobiography," 399, says the claim "has no relevance to veracity" and adds, "As in other ages, the traditions of old colonial families tend to be dubious."

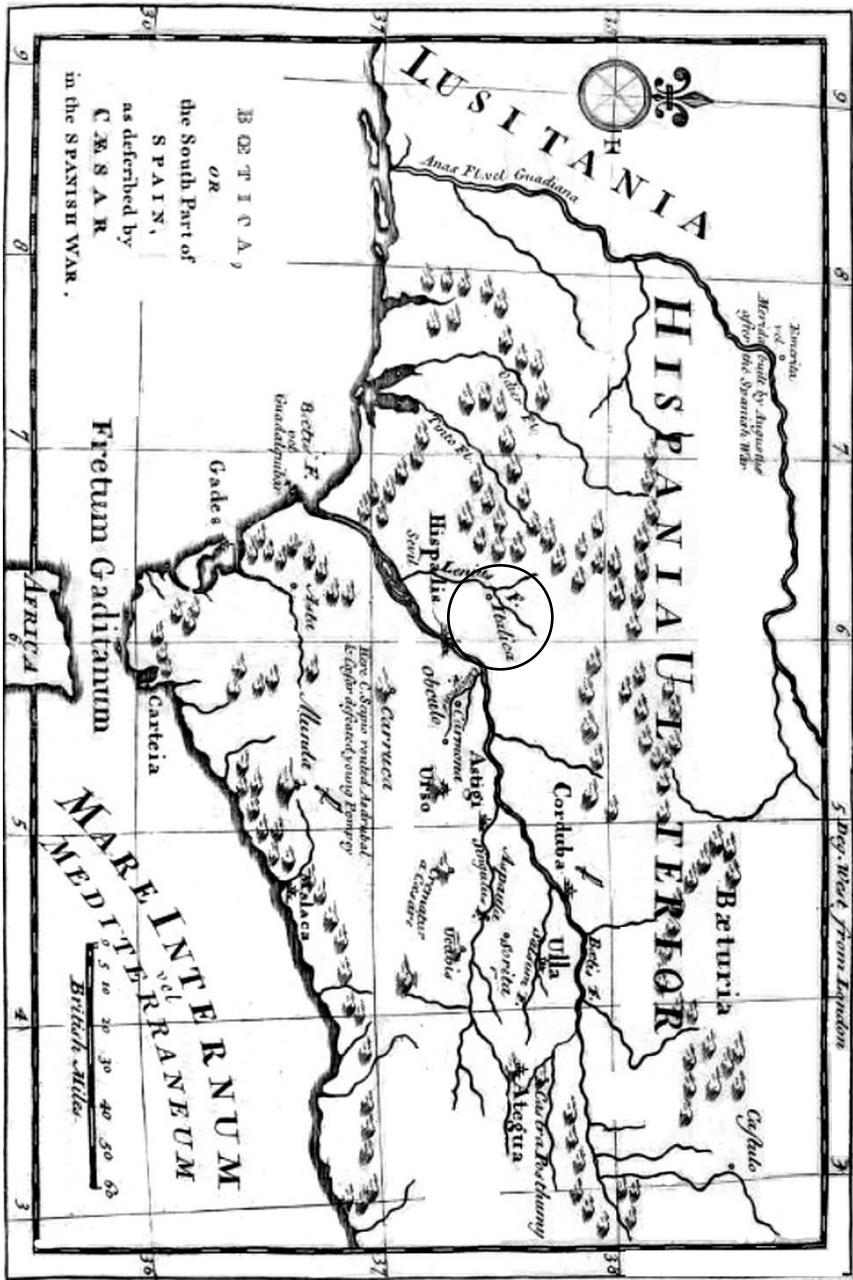
¹⁸ Roger Pearse et al. at the Tertullian Project (http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm).

¹⁹ Italica is in Baetica, Hispania, which Syme, "Fictional History," 166, says, "may with propriety be termed the 'old dominion'" but adds it also "stood for energy, prosperity, innovation. In short, a combination of Virginia and California."

²⁰ Eutropius. *Abridgement of Roman History* (Watson's trans.), 509.

²¹ Another English translation, by Brian T. Regan, can be found online (<http://www.harbor.net.com/folks/theodrich/Goths/Romana.htm#X269>).

(Bolton, *Geographica Antiqua Delineata*, Plate 26)



Italica circled.

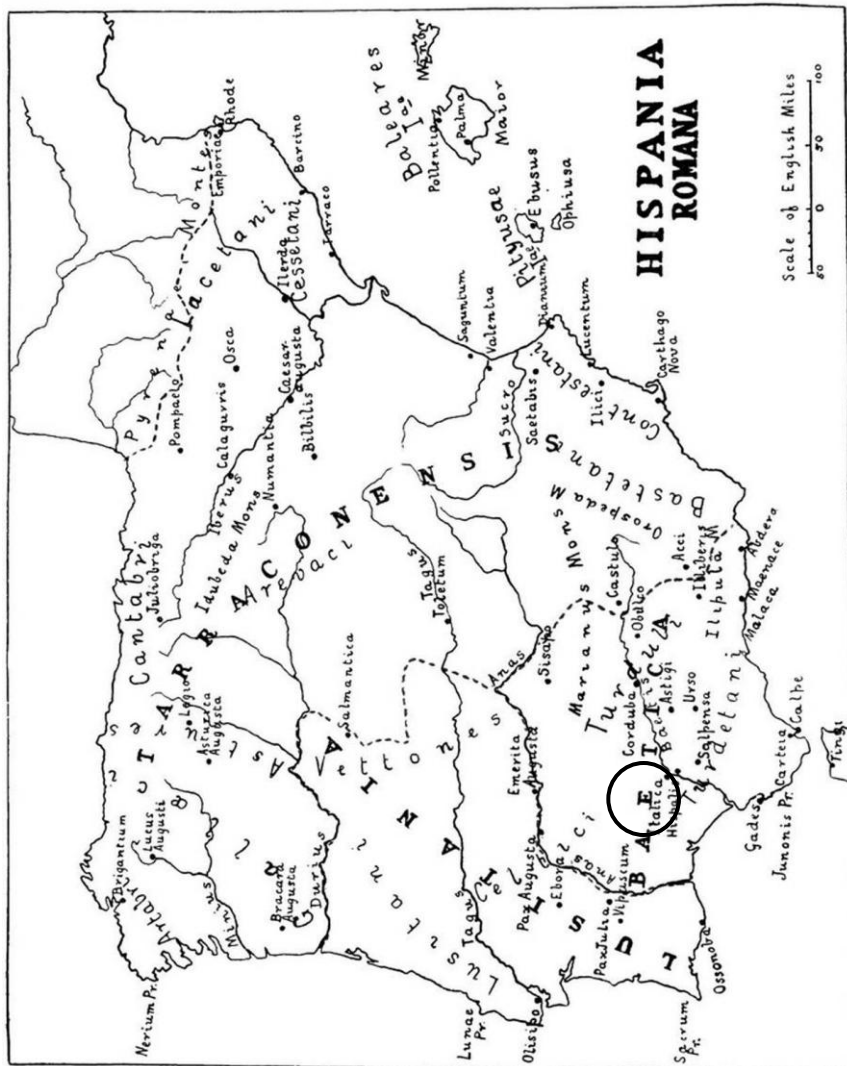
10 Birthplace (Alternative) and Birthdate [Jan. 24, 76 C.E.]

(HA: *Vita Hadriani*)²²

1.3–4 Hadrian was born in Rome on the ninth day before the Kalends of February in the seventh consulship of Vespasian and the fifth of Titus.²³

Spain, 2

(Bouchier, *Spain under the Roman Empire*, inside back cover)



Italica circled.

²² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 3, 5. Syme, "Hadrian and Italica," 142, supports Rome as the birthplace.

²³ Vespasian established the Flavian Dynasty and reigned 69–79; his son Titus reigned 79–81.

EARLY YEARS

11 Germana, Hadrian's Wet-Nurse

(Inscription on Sepulcher at Tivoli)

[CIL VI, 10909]²⁴

To the memory of Aelia Germana, wet-nurse of the deified Hadrian, and for her son Aelius Hadrianus, is this inscribed by Aelia Hermione, spouse of Aelius Felix, who was raised as Germana's son, and by their children, for themselves, their freedmen and freedwomen, and for their posterity.

12 Advice on Retaining a Wet-Nurse

(Soranus, *Gynecology*)²⁵

II.XII[XXXII].19[88] One should choose a wet nurse not younger than twenty nor older than forty years, who has already given birth twice or thrice, who is healthy, of good habits, of large frame, and of a good color. Her breasts should be of medium size, lax, soft, and unwrinkled, the nipples neither big nor [p. 91] too small and neither too compact nor too porous and discharging milk overabundantly. She should be self-controlled, sympathetic and not ill-tempered, a Greek, and tidy.

13 Ward of Trajan and Attianus [c. 85 or 86 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁶

1.4 Bereft of his father at the age of ten, he became the ward of Ulpian Trajanus, his cousin, then of praetorian rank, but afterwards emperor, and of Caelius Attianus, a knight.²⁷

14 Recall to Rome from Italica [91 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁸

2.1 He returned to his native city²⁹ in his fifteenth year and at once entered military service, but was so fond of hunting³⁰ that he incurred criticism for it, and for this reason Trajan recalled him from Italica.

²⁴ The Latin text can be found in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI/2, 1426. Germana's tombstone is set in a wall in Potsdam, Germany (see Oppen, *Hadrian*, 36, Fig. 19).

²⁵ Soranus, *Gynecology* (Temkin trans.), 90–91. Cf. Everitt, *Hadrian and the Triumph of Rome*, 8.

²⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 5.

²⁷ On Trajan and Attianus (P. Acilius Attianus), see Dio LXIX.1.2; on Attianus, see *HA* 4.2.

²⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 5. Churchin, *Roman Spain*, 92, notes that some cities had a *collegium invenum*—"a sort of paramilitary cadet corps for teenagers"—and argues Hadrian belonged to such a one at Italica for training at age 14 (his 15th year); cf. Gray, "A Study of the Life of Hadrian," 152.

²⁹ Previously identified by the *Vita Hadriani* as Rome (I.3), which translator Magie footnotes as "a fiction" (p. 3 n. 6), but which Syme, "Hadrian and Italica," 142, defends. Note the identification of Italica (in Spain) at the end of I.1.

³⁰ Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 15, puts it this way: "He flung himself now with ardour into field sports, and revealed that second passion which clung to him through life, the passion for the chase."

EDUCATION

15 On Learning Greek as a Child

(Quintilian, *Institutes of Oratory*)³¹

I.1.12 I prefer that a boy should begin with Greek, because Latin, being in general use, will be picked up by him whether we will or no; while the fact that Latin learning is derived from Greek is a further reason for his being first instructed in the latter.

I.1.13 I do not however desire that this principle should be so superstitiously observed that he should for long speak and learn only Greek as is done in the majority of cases. Such a course gives rise to many faults of language and accent; the latter tends to acquire a foreign intonation, while the former through force of habit becomes impregnated with Greek idioms, which persist with extreme obstinacy even when we are speaking another tongue.

I.1.14 The study of Latin ought therefore to follow at no great distance and in a short time proceed side by side with Greek. The result will be that, as soon as we begin to give equal attention to both languages, neither will prove a hindrance to the other.

16 The “Greekling”: Hadrian’s Education, 1

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³²

1.5 He then grew rather deeply devoted to Greek studies, to which his natural tastes inclined so much that some called him “Greekling.”³³

17 The “Greekling”: Hadrian’s Education, 2

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)³⁴

14.2 Hadrian was so skilled in Greek literary matters he was called by many ‘Greekling.’ He consumed all things Athenian through devoted study, becoming a master of not only speaking, but of many other disciplines as well: singing, playing the *cithara*, understanding the healing arts and musical language, becoming an able geometer, painter, and a sculptor in the style of Polycletus and Euphranoras with either bronze or marble. In like manner Hadrian was so adept in correct conduct that seldom have human affairs ever seemed to have experienced anything finer.

³¹ Quintilian, *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, I (Butler’s trans.), 25, 27. Birley, *Hadrian*, 15, notes, “The common practice which Quintilian thought excessive may well have applied to Hadrian.”

³² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 5.

³³ Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens*, 45, remarks, “Trajan may not have understood Greek well; Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius were completely bilingual.”

³⁴ For a different rendering, see Banchich’s online, at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. While the Latin *musicus* naturally references music it can also refer to ‘musical language’ like poetry, and given that the author has already mentioned Hadrian’s musical abilities it seems more likely that the reference here is to poetry, which Hadrian is known to have enjoyed writing.

Chapter 2

Hadrian under Domitian and Nerva

HADRIAN'S CAREER UNDER DOMITIAN

18 Brief Overview of Relationship with Trajan

(Dio, *Roman History*)³⁵

LXIX.1.1 Hadrian had not been adopted by Trajan;³⁶ he was merely a compatriot and former ward³⁷ of his, was of near kin to him³⁸ and had married his niece,³⁹ — in short, he was a companion of his, sharing his daily life. . . .

[14 repeated] Recall to Rome from Italica [91 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴⁰

2.1 He returned to his native city⁴¹ in his fifteenth year and at once entered military service, but was so fond of hunting that he incurred criticism for it, and for this reason Trajan recalled him from Italica.

19 With Trajan [c. 93–96 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴²

2.2 Thenceforth he was treated by Trajan as his own son, and not long afterwards he was made one of the ten judges of the inheritance-court,⁴³ and, later, tribune of the Second Legion, the Adjutrix.

2.3 After this, when Domitian's⁴⁴ principate was drawing to a close, he was transferred to the province of Lower Moesia.

20 Posted in Lower Moesia, Receives a Prediction [c. 96 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴⁵

2.4 There, it is said, he heard from an astrologer the same prediction of his future power which had been made, as he already knew, by his great-uncle, Aelius Hadrianus, a master of astrology.

³⁵ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 425.

³⁶ *Trajan*—Marcus Ulpius Traianus—was born 53 C.E., became emperor in 98 C.E., and reigned until his death in 117 C.E. Most scholars regard his relationship with Hadrian as 'complicated.'

³⁷ See entry 13 (above).

³⁸ See entries 4, 7, 9.

³⁹ Sabina (86–c.136 C.E.), daughter of Trajan's niece Matidia, hence grand-niece of Trajan.

⁴⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 5. Churchin, *Roman Spain*, 92, notes that some cities had a *collegium inuenum*—"a sort of paramilitary cadet corps for teenagers"—and argues Hadrian belonged to such a one at Italica for training at age 14 (his 15th year); cf. Gray, "A Study of the Life of Hadrian," 152.

⁴¹ See the footnote at entry 14. The debate over whether Hadrian was born at Rome or in Spain has not been definitively resolved nor, given the current state of the evidence, can it be.

⁴² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 5.

⁴³ Latin: *decemvir litibus indicandis*. This initiated his trek up the *cursus honorum* of a public career.

⁴⁴ Domitian reigned 81–96 C.E..

⁴⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 5.

21 Hadrian's Horoscope⁴⁶ [also see #s 26–30, below]

(Antigonos of Nicaea in Hephaestion, *Apotelesmatika*)⁴⁷

II.18 (=L.76) There was, he (Antigonos of Nicaea) says, a person having the sun in Aquarius 8 degrees, the moon and Jupiter⁴⁸ and the Horoscopes, the three together at the first degree of the same sign, namely Aquarius; . . . (In this configuration . . .) allots its maximum number of years of life (namely) 56 (*sic*); and . . . it allots additional eight years so that the total of years is 64.

Such a person (whose nativity he recorded) was adopted by a certain emperor (Trajan), a kin to him, and having lived with him two years, became emperor about his 42nd year and was wise and educated, so that he was honored by shrines and temples; and he was married to one wife from maidenhood and was childless; and he had one sister. And he was at discord and conflict with his own relatives. When he had reached about his 63rd year he died, a victim to dropsy and asthma.⁴⁹

He was big and manly and gracious because two luminaries were with the Horoskopos and in a humanoid and male sign; he was wise and educated and profound because Hermes happened to be with Kronos in morning visibility, in the twelfth sign and flanking the sun. And it was predicted he'd be like that from youth. . . . Zeus predicts originality and greatness of spirit and generosity and practicality. . . . And the cause of the native having had many opponents and betrayers came from the two luminaries providing power but being encompassed by the two malefics. . . .

⁴⁶ Heilen, "The Emperor Hadrian in the Horoscopes of Antigonos of Nicaea," 51, notes that the horoscope has three parts: [1] the astronomical data; [2] a short life of the person; and [3] a long astrological explanation of the details set out in the biographical portion. Heilen summarizes the qualities enumerated as, "in other words, of excellent physical, mental, and imperial qualities."

⁴⁷ The first part of the English translation is from Neugebauer and van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, 90 (full text extends to p. 91, with commentary then following); the last part ("He was big and manly. . .) comes from Irby-Massie and Keyser, *Greek Science*, 110–111, based on the Greek text found in Kroll, *Catalogus* (CCAG), vol. 6, 69. "L" represents a literary source (in this case, Hephaestion of Thebes, *Apotelesmatika*, who took the material from an earlier work by Antigonos of Nicaea; "40" refers to the year cast for the horoscope (i.e., 76 C.E.). I have not reproduced all of the astrological data; the lacunae (. . .) reflect material I have omitted rather than gaps in the text. The relevant material in chapter 18 runs lines 21–76. Both my parts are found in fuller fashion in Irby-Massie and Keyser, 109–111. Also see Heilen, *Hadriana geniture*.

⁴⁸ On the importance of Jupiter in Hadrian's horoscope, see Molnar, "The Magi's Star," 116–18. Molnar points out the similarity of Hadrian's chart to that for Augustus. The moon in conjunction with Jupiter was also regarded as significant. Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*, 169, has: "He became emperor, because of the presence of two planets [Jupiter and the Moon] in the horoscope degree [east horizon], and especially because the Moon was on the Ascendant which corresponds with the horoscope degree, and because Jupiter was about to rise in its morning phase [in the east—heliacal rising] within seven days." Cf. Molnar, "The Historical Basis."

⁴⁹ Heilen, "The Emperor Hadrian," 52, translates the last sentence as "About his 63rd year he died, falling victim to a shortness of breath cause be dropsy" (with the last word of the Greek text as *περιπεσών*).

HADRIAN'S CAREER UNDER NERVA

22 Nerva Adopts Trajan [97 C.E.]

(Dio, *Roman History*)⁵⁰

LXVIII.4.1 Thus Trajan became Caesar and later emperor, although there were relatives of Nerva living. But Nerva did not esteem family relationship above the safety of the State, nor was he less inclined to adopt Trajan because the latter was a Spaniard instead of an Italian or Italiot, inasmuch as no foreigner had previously held the Roman sovereignty; for he believed in looking at a man's ability rather than at his nationality.

23 Hadrian Responds to Trajan's Adoption by Nerva [97 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁵¹

2.5 When Trajan was adopted by Nerva,⁵² Hadrian was sent to convey to him the army's congratulations and was at once [p. 7] transferred to Upper Germany.

Hadrian Travels to Congratulate Trajan



⁵⁰ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 367.

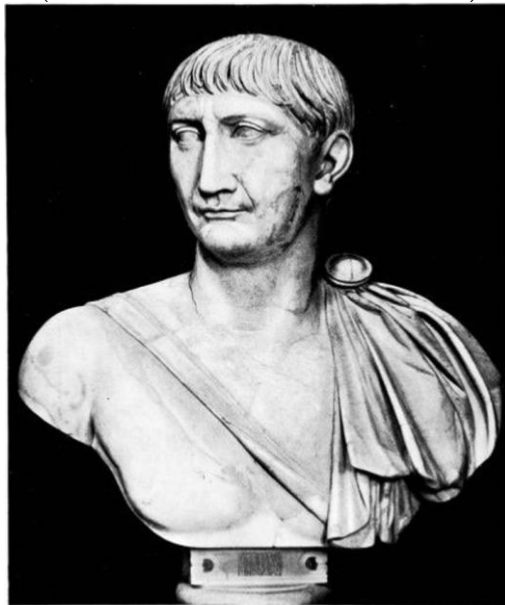
⁵¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 5, 7. 'Upper Germany' is Germania Superior. Syme, *Danubian Papers*, 209, points out, "When Hadrian in the autumn of 97 was transferred to XXII Primigenia in Germany Superior, he joined Trajan and remained there with his successor Servianus."

⁵² Marcus Cocceius Nerva (30–98), was selected to replace the assassinated Domitian, who left no heir. Nerva reigned from September 18, 96 until his death on January 27, 98. His principal charge was to select an able successor, which he did: Trajan.

Nerva
(*Museo Vaticano Di Scultura*, 108)



Trajan
(Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, 232)



Trajan. Rome, Vatican

Flori. Altari

Chapter 3

Hadrian's Career under Trajan

24 Summary of Early Career (Domitian–Early Reign of Trajan) [112/113 C.E.]

(The Athens Inscription)

[CIL III, 550=Smallwood #109]⁵³

To Publius Aelius Hadrianus, son of Publius, of the Sergia tribe, consul, one of the seven men in charge of public banquets, priest of Augustus, legate of Pannonia Inferior with *propraetorian* powers of the emperor Nerva Trajan Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, praetor and legate of the 1st legion Minerva at the same time, tribune of the people, quaestor of the emperor Trajan and companion on the Dacian expedition, endowed with military decorations by him (Trajan) twice, tribune of the 2nd legion Adiutrix, loyal and faithful, and of the 5th legion Macedonica, and of the 22nd legion Primigenia, loyal and faithful,⁵⁴ one of the six commanders of a contingent of Roman equestrians,⁵⁵ prefect of the Latin festival,⁵⁶ one of the ten men in charge of the centumviral courts.⁵⁷

The council of the Areopagus⁵⁸ and that of the six hundred and the Assembly of Athens made Hadrian their Archon.

⁵³ The translation of the Latin portion is from Harvey, *Roman Lives*, 24. See Timeline for more details. The Latin text can be found in Smallwood, *Documents*, 55 [#109], and many other places. The rendering of the Greek portion (ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐξακοσίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἄρχοντα ἑαυτῶν Ἀδριανόν) is from Warmington and Miller, *Inscriptions of the Roman Empire*, 66 [#95].

⁵⁴ Syme, *Danubian Papers*, 207, notes, “To be tribune in three legions is abnormal. The only other instance is Minicius Natalis (*ILS*, 1061; cf. 1029).”

⁵⁵ Gray, “A Study of the Life of Hadrian,” 163–64: “He was made praefect of the Latin festival (*praefectus feriarum Latinarum*).... As the consuls and the praefect of the city had to be absent from Rome to attend the festivities at Alba, they entrusted the rule of the city during their absence to the *praefectus feriarum Latinarum*, who thus during the days of the festival was ‘clothed in a little brief authority.’”

⁵⁶ Gray, “A Study of the Life of Hadrian,” 164: “As *sevir* he had along with his five colleagues to give, and to preside over, certain yearly games, and to lead one of the six divisions of the Knights when they appeared in splendid parade at public ceremonies and festivals—notably the procession in honor of Mars Ultor.”

⁵⁷ Gray, “A Study of the Life of Hadrian,” 163: “The *decemviri* under the general oversight of a praetor (*praetor bastarius*) presided over the sittings of the court known as the *centum-viri*. This court dealt with cases of civil law involving questions of ownership, inheritance, status and the like. . . . In the *decemvirate* Hadrian, under whom as emperor great legal reforms were to take place, gained his first detailed knowledge of the private law and of legal procedure.”

⁵⁸ The ‘council of the Areopagus,’ or simply the Areopagus, was an aristocratic council at Athens. Smith, “The Jurisdiction of the Areopagus,” 61, writes that, “The Areopagus was the lineal descendant of the Homeric council of elders. . . . As the direct descendant of the Homeric council it had control of practically the entire government of the state. Hence its functions are found to be threefold—administrative, judicial, and religious.”

25 Hadrian Responds to Trajan's Accession [98 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁵⁹

2.6 When Nerva died, he wished to be the first to bring the news to Trajan, but as he was hastening to meet him he was detained by his brother-in-law, Servianus, the same man who had revealed Hadrian's extravagance and indebtedness and thus stirred Trajan's anger against him. He was further delayed by the fact that his travelling-carriage had been designedly broken, but he nevertheless proceeded on foot and anticipated Servianus' personal messenger.

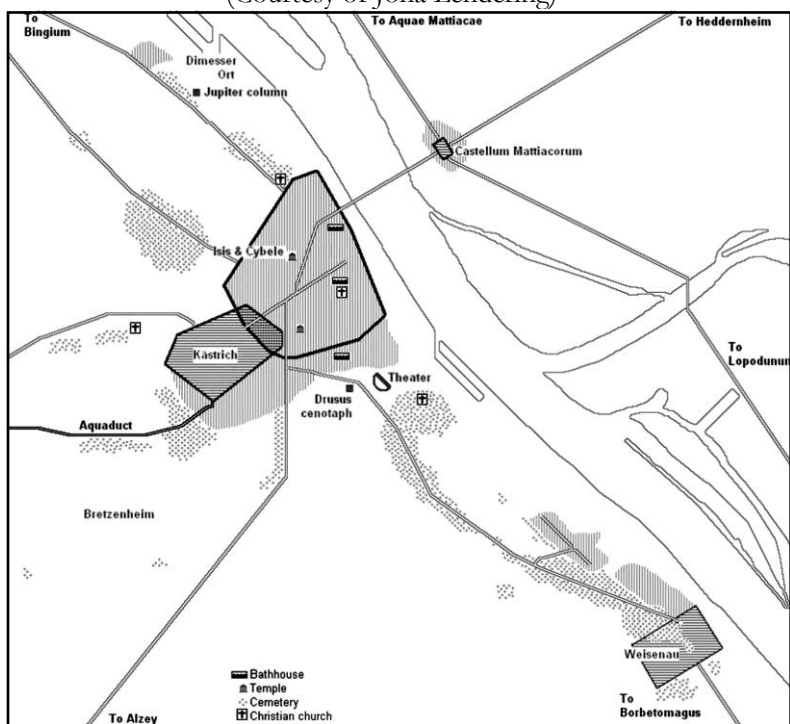


Hadrian Races to Give Trajan News

Hadrian had been transferred to Germania Superior upon the occasion of delivering the news of Trajan's adoption. He now traveled from the headquarters there (Moguntiacum) north to Trajan's headquarters in Germania Inferior (Colonia Agrippinensis).

Moguntiacum

(Courtesy of Jona Lendering)⁶⁰



⁵⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 7.

⁶⁰ Courtesy of Jona Lendering via Creative Commons license CCO 1.0 Universal (<https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/legalcode>); changed from color to grayscale.

ORACLES

26 Hadrian Consults the Vergilian Oracle [c. 98 C.E.?)

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁶¹

2.8 Indeed, at this time he was even anxious about the Emperor's attitude towards him, and consulted the Vergilian oracle.⁶² This was the lot given out:

But who is yonder man, by olive wreath
Distinguished, who the sacred vessel bears?
I see a hoary head and beard. Behold
The Roman King whose laws shall stablish Rome
Anew, from tiny Cures' humble land
Called to a mighty realm. Then shall arise . . .⁶³

Others, however, declare that this prophecy came to him from the Sibylline Verses.

27 Oracle 1

(*Sibylline Oracles V*)⁶⁴

[46] Following him a silver-haired king shall reign: [47] his name is that of a sea; [48] he shall be a man of excellence and all discernment. [49] Under thy sway, most excellent in goodness, dark-haired lord, [50] and under that of thy branches shall this empire be, all thy days.

28 Oracle 2

(*Sibylline Oracles VIII*)⁶⁵

[50] But when thou shalt have had voluptuous kings thrice five, [51] enslaving the world from the east unto the west, [52] there shall be then a lord gray-headed, having name of the near sea, [53] the world inspecting with a nimble foot. Bringing gifts, [54] having large amount of gold and [55] plundering hateful silver even more, and stripping it off he shall pick it up. [56] And he shall have part in all mysteries of Magian shrines, [57] display his child as god . . .

⁶¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic's trans.), I, 7. For an alternate translation and comments, see Haley, "Hadrian as Romulus," 971. Slater, *Sortes Vergilianae*, 7, observes, "[T]he adoption from the time of Hadrian onwards, that is to say from the beginning of the second century A.D., of Vergil as an oracle was simply and solely the tribute of the Roman world to the range and power of Vergil's works, which may fairly and without exaggeration be characterized as the pagan Bible."

⁶² The Vergilian oracle (*sortes Vergilianae*) produced oracles by random selection of a text from the poet Vergil (70–19 B.C.E.).

⁶³ See Vergil's *Aeneid* VI.808–812; Vergil is referring to the ancient Roman king, Numa Pompilius.

⁶⁴ *The Sibylline Oracles, Books III–V* (Bate's translation), 95; cf. translations of Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles," 394, and *The Sibylline Oracles*, Terry's translation, 116. I added the bracketing. See Renan, "The Emperor Hadrian and Christianity," 497–500.

⁶⁵ *The Sibylline Oracles* (Terry's trans.), 163; note his translation uses different line numbers (here, 64–73), but he remarks (p. 9), "For convenience in comparing the translation with the original the corresponding lines of the Greek text are indicated by the numbers enclosed in parentheses at the foot of each page of the translation." Cf. Collin's translation, 419. I added the bracketing. Krietzner, "Sibylline Oracles 8," tries to link Hadrian to the supposed myth of Nero Redivivus, but see Van Henten, "Nero Redivivus Demolished." Also see Gruen, "The Sybilline Oracles."

29 Oracle 3

(*Sibylline Oracles* XII)⁶⁶

[163] After him another will be prince, [164] a silver-headed man. He will have the name of a sea, [165] presenting the beginning of the alphabet, an Ares of four syllables. [166] He will also dedicate temples in all cities, [167] inspecting the world on his own foot, bringing gifts. [168] Gold and much alloy he will give to many. [169] He will also master all the mysteries of [170] the magic shrines. Indeed the thunderbolt [171] will give a much better ruler to men. [172] There will be long peace when this prince [173] will be. He will also be a singer of splendid voice, [174] sharer in all lawful things, and just legislator. [175] He will fall, undone by his own fate.

30 Another Oracle about His Future

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁶⁷

2.9 Moreover, he received a further intimation of his subsequent power, in a response which issued from the temple of Jupiter at Nicephorium and has been quoted by Apollonius of Syria, the Platonist.⁶⁸

*Nicephorium on the Euphrates R.*⁶⁹



[Also see Chapter 14 for Hadrian receiving oracles from Antinous.]

⁶⁶ Collins, “The Sibylline Oracles,” 449, and *The Sibylline Oracles* (Terry’s translation), 216 (lines 211–227). I added the bracketing. Haley, “Hadrian as Romulus,” 972–75 briefly examines all three Sybilline oracles (V, VIII, XII). The positive appraisal of Oracle V has changed in Oracle VIII.

⁶⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 7. Apollonius of Syria was active during Hadrian’s reign. On the whole matter of such predictions in the *HA*, see Trowbridge, “Folklore in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.”

⁶⁸ Apollonius of Syria—or Apollonius the Syrian—is here called ‘the Platonist’ (Latin *Platonicus*; Greek Πλατωνικός), a different styling for a Platonic philosopher from the traditional ‘Academician’ (Lat. *Academicus*; Gr. Ἀκαδημαῖκος); the change seems to have occurred in the 2nd century. See Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy*, 206, who observes that Apollonius might be the first known philosopher to be called a ‘Platonist.’

⁶⁹ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, VI.30.1, tells us that Alexander the Great founded Nicephorium, having found its location on the Euphrates favorable (but others maintain it was Alexander’s general, Seleucus I Nicator, who founded the city). It was part of Roman Mesopotamia. A road from there led to a route down to Palmyra and, later, to Circesium, a Roman border fortress near where the Khabur River joins the Euphrates (founded late 3rd cent.).

PERSONAL AFFAIRS

31 Hadrian a Favorite of Trajan's [98 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁷⁰

2.7 And now he became a favourite of Trajan's, and yet, owing to the activity of the guardians of certain boys whom Trajan loved ardently, he was not free from . . . which Gallus fostered.⁷¹

32 Amity Restored with Trajan [=47]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁷²

2.10a Finally, through the good offices of Sura,⁷³ he was instantly restored to a friendship with Trajan that was closer than ever. . . .

33 Wed to Sabina [c. 100 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁷⁴

2.10b [H]e took to wife the daughter of the Emperor's sister — a marriage advocated by Plotina, but, according to Marius Maximus, little desired by Trajan himself.

34 Hadrian Attends Lectures of Sophist Isaïos (Isaeus) in Rome, 1 [c. 100 C.E.]

(Excerpt from an Inscription on a Statue Base for Eunike)

[*IG II² 3709*; cf. *I.Eleusis* 659]⁷⁵

. . . Isaïos. . . from the East, (worthy) of praise as noble Hadrian's instructor in eloquence of speech.

35 Hadrian Attends Lectures of Sophist Isaïos (Isaeus) in Rome, 2 [c. 100 C.E.]

(Excerpt from an Inscription of Dedication for Isodotē, *Hierophantis* (Priestess))

[*IG II² 3632*; cf. *I.Eleusis* 502]⁷⁶

. . . Isaïos, of unsurpassed wisdom, who for the king, noble Hadrian, taught the good things belonging to the Muses.

⁷⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 7. The 'and now' refers to subsequent to his announcement to Trajan of Nerva's death and Trajan's accession to emperor.

⁷¹ On this portion of text, see Bonario, *Commentary*, 48–49. Costabile, "La pedofilia di Traiano," 46–47, argues this text is only considered corrupt because it has not been understood.

⁷² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 7.

⁷³ Lucius Licinius Sura; see Bonario, *Commentary*, 50. Also see *HA: Vita Hadriani* 3.8, 10–11.

⁷⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 7, 9.

⁷⁵ Hadrian is said to have attended the lectures of Isaïos, a Sophist, a native of Syria who became an Athenian citizen, and who was the father of a namesake son, the grandfather of Isodotē (*hierophantis* in the late 2nd cent.), and the great-grandfather of Eunike. In dating this c. 100 C.E., I am following the lead of Birley, *Hadrian*, 46. For more general background, also see Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens*. A different English translation (and one extending to the whole document) can be found at *Attic Inscriptions Online* (<https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IEleus/659>). On the Greek text, see Aleshire, *Asklepios at Athens*, 72.

⁷⁶ Another English translation (and one extending to the whole document) can be found at *Attic Inscriptions Online* (<https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IEleus/502>).

36 Hadrian's Language Skills as Quaestor of Trajan [101 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁷⁷

3.1 He held the quaestorship in the fourth consulship of Trajan and the first of Articulcius, and while holding this office he read a speech of the Emperor's to the senate and provoked a laugh by his somewhat provincial accent. He thereupon gave attention to the study of Latin until he attained the utmost proficiency and fluency.

37 Latin Skills

(Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*)⁷⁸

VIII.7.2b He spoke with great eloquence in the Latin language, and was very learned in the Greek.

38 Language Skills (Latin and Greek)

(Jerome, *Chronicle (Hadrian)*)⁷⁹

¶g Hadrian was most erudite in both languages. . . .

39 Curator of the Acts of the Senate [101 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁸⁰

3.2a After his quaestorship he served as curator of the acts of the senate. . . .

Hadrian

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 331)



⁷⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 9.

⁷⁸ Eutropius. *Abridgement of Roman History* (Watson's trans.), 510.

⁷⁹ English translation by Roger Pearse et al. at the Tertullian Project (http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm).

⁸⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 10. The *Acta Senatus* (*Acts of the Senate*), also known as the *Commentarii Senatus*, preserved the official records of the Roman Senate (minutes of discussion and official decisions/decrees), and were used by historians like Tacitus (see *Annals* V.5 and XV.74). The *curator actorum senatus*—curator of the *Acts of the Senate* (also referred to as *ab actis senatus* ('in charge of the *Acts of the Senate*'))—was responsible for assembling this official material. See Birley, *Hadrian*, 46.

Hadrian
(Legrand, *Galeries des Antiques*)



Statue of Hadrian
(Westropp, *Handbook of Archaeology*, 138)



DACIAN WARS

40 Service under Trajan: The Dacian Wars [101–102; 105–106 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁸¹

3.2b–3 and later accompanied Trajan in the Dacian war on terms of considerable intimacy, seeing, indeed, that falling in with Trajan's habits, as he says himself, he partook freely of wine, and for this was very richly rewarded by the Emperor.⁸²

3.4–5 He was made tribune of the plebs in the second consulship of Candidus and Quadratus, and he claimed that he received an omen of continuous tribunician power during this magistracy, because he lost the heavy cloak which is worn by the tribunes of the plebs in rainy weather, but never by the emperors. And down to this day the emperors do not wear cloaks when they appear in public before civilians.

3.6 In the second Dacian war, Trajan appointed him to the command of the First Legion, the Minervia, and took him with him to the war; and in this campaign his many remarkable deeds won great renown.

3.7 Because of this he was presented with a diamond which [*p. 11*] Trajan himself had received from Nerva, and by this gift he was encouraged in his hopes of succeeding to the throne.

Dacian War

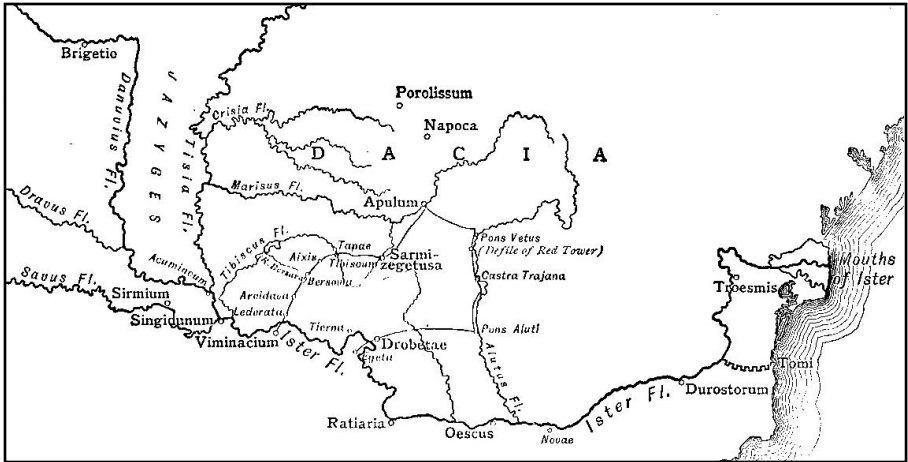
(*Colonna Traiana* (1673))



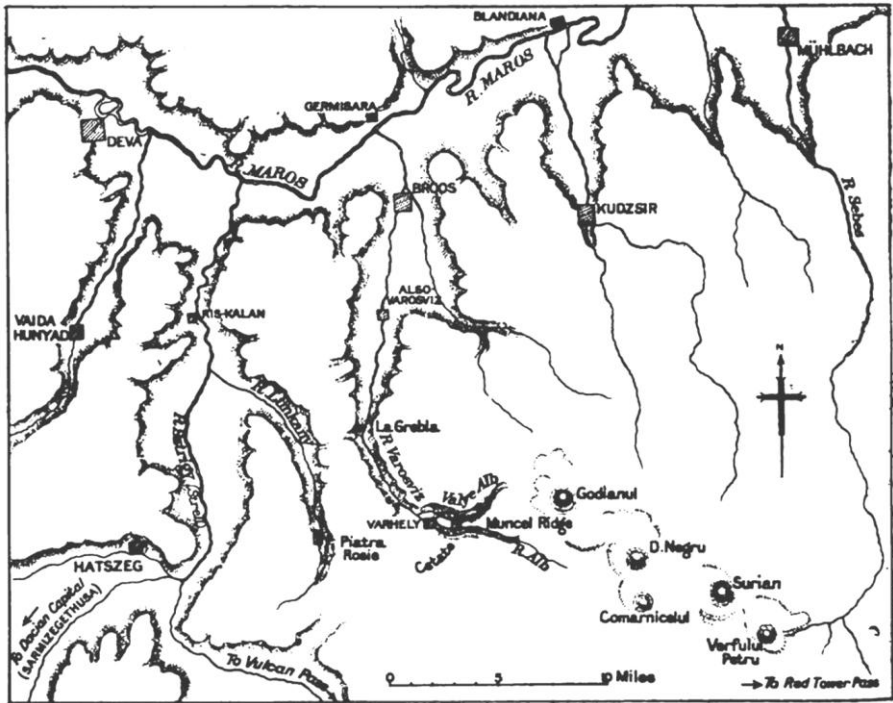
⁸¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 9, 11. Pollen, *A Description of the Trajan Column*, 88, remarks, "Trajan is supposed to have had Hadrian, his successor, with him in the second war; and it is said that in the bas-reliefs in which Trajan is represented after having crossed his new bridge, Hadrian is represented." An allusion to Hadrian's autobiography is in 3.3 ("as he says himself").

⁸² Bennett, *Trajan*, 93, writes, "[A] significant victory had been won, and L. Julius Ursus Servianus and L. Licinius Sura returned to Rome, where their role in the first season was rewarded by the ordinary consulship for 102. Along with them travelled Hadrian, awarded decorations for the part

Dacian Wars, 1
(Bury, *The Student's Roman Empire*, 422)



Dacian Wars, 2
(Davies, "Trajan's First Dacian War," 76)



he had played in the emperor's *consilium*, and now charged, as imperial quaestor, with giving the senate Trajan's own detailed account of the first season's campaign."

Dacia Made a Roman Province
(Frothingham, *The Triumphal Arch of Trajan at Beneventum*, 18 [Fig. 2])



2.—DACIA MADE A ROMAN PROVINCE.

Trajan and Hadrian at Trajan's Triumph for the Conquest of Dacia
(Frothingham, *The Triumphal Arch of Trajan at Beneventum*, 22, [Fig. 4])⁸³



4.—TRAJAN WELCOMED IN THE CAMPUS MARTIUS.

⁸³ Frothingham, *The Triumphal Arch*, 23, offers this description: "The scene of this relief is probably laid in the Campus Martius. Trajan has not yet taken his place in the triumphal procession that is about to form. He stands under the Porticus Triumphi. In front of him is the Temple of Mars, and to his left the Porta Triumphalis, under which the procession is to pass. He is in the act of receiving the welcoming congratulations of the Senators, while on his right stands Hadrian, who had preceded Trajan to Rome to prepare the triumph, and is being presented to the Emperor by Roma. Back of the Emperor are two lictors. The Senators are seen appearing through the triumphal gate."

c1-2 Dacia Conquered

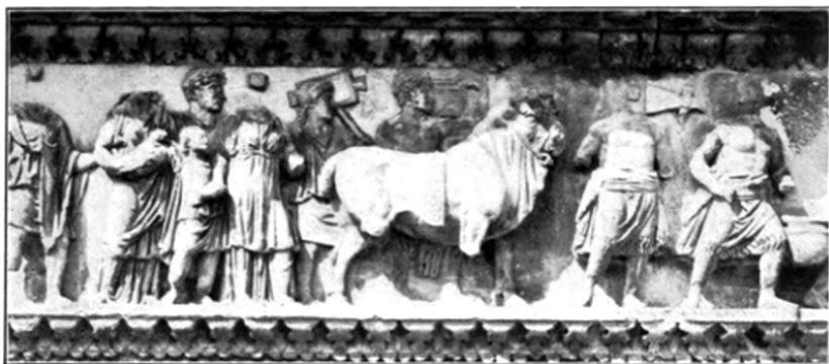
(Gusman, *La villa
imperiale*, 4)

[Fig. 8 (left) and 9 (right)]



*Trajan's Triumph for the
Conquest of Dacia*

(Frothingham, *The Triumphal Arch of Trajan at Beneventum*, 24, [Fig. 5])⁸⁴



**5.—FRIEZE WITH TRAJAN'S DACIAN TRIUMPHAL
PROCESSION.**

⁸⁴ Frothingham, *The Triumphal Arch*, 25, offers this description: "This scene follows immediately after the preceding. The procession is on its way to the Capitol. It is the only known complete existing sculptural representation of a Roman triumphal procession, that on the Arch of Titus having been almost entirely destroyed. It encircles the whole arch in a line nearly fifty feet long and with over a hundred figures. The procession moves from left to right, ending in a temple. We can recognize in turn the various elements which we know, from literary sources, to have made up such triumphal processions: the sweepers, the basket-carriers, the shield-bearers, the musicians, the senators, the sacrifices and victims, the prisoners — men, women, and children — in chariots or on foot, the lictors, the Emperor, etc." Hadrian is also thought to be depicted on Trajan's column. Hungerford Pollen, *A Description of the Trajan Column*, discusses Hadrian's possible presence in the sculptures of the spiral band running up the shaft of the column, numbered as separate 'scenes.' Of scene 78, he writes (p. 162), "The legionaries cross a bridge over one of the rivers flowing along the respective valleys through which each army passed. At the head of the line of march marches the emperor himself in full armour, followed immediately by a figure dressed in civil costume, wearing a sleeved tunic, and over it the paludamentum or military cloak. This figure has been supposed to represent Hadrian, the successor of Trajan, who accompanied him in this second Dacian expedition, and who specially represented a policy of peace." In scene 83 (p. 164), Trajan is at the head of the column of march. The two divisions of his army are represented in two lines, Trajan at the head of one, "perhaps Hadrian at the head of the other." In scene 105 (p. 171), "Trajan is attended by a praetorian officer (perhaps by Hadrian)."

ADVANCEMENT

41 Career: Praetor and Legate [106–107 C.E.]

(HA: *Vita Hadriani*)⁸⁵

3.8 He held the praetorship in the second consulship of Suburanus and Servianus,⁸⁶ and again received from Trajan two million sesterces with which to give games.

3.9 Next he was sent as praetorian legate to Lower Pannonia, where he held the Sarmatians in check, maintained discipline among the soldiers, and restrained the procurators, who were overstepping too freely the bounds of their power.

42 1st Consulship [108 C.E.], 1

(HA: *Vita Hadriani*)⁸⁷

3.10 In return for these services he was made consul. While he was holding this office he learned from Sura that he was to be adopted by Trajan, and thereupon he ceased to be an object of contempt and neglect to Trajan's friends.

43 1st Consulship [108 C.E.], 2

(Extract from an Inscription at Ostia, List of Consuls (*Fasti Ostiensis*))

[CIL XIV, 4539= IED 2118]⁸⁸

[*ordinarius*] Appius Annius Gallus, Marcus Atilius Bradua

[*suffectus*] On the Kalends of May, Publius Aelius Hadrian, Marcus Trebatius Priscus; On the Kalends of September, Quintus Pompeius Falco

44 Speech Writer for Trajan [post 108 C.E.]

(HA: *Vita Hadriani*)⁸⁹

3.11 Indeed, after Sura's death Trajan's friendship for him increased, principally on account of the speeches which he composed for the Emperor.

45 Why Trajan Might Rely on Hadrian for Speeches (cf. entries 36–38)

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)⁹⁰

LXVIII.7.4 Education in the strict sense he lacked, when it came to speaking, but its substance he both knew and applied; there was no quality which he did not possess in great degree.

⁸⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 11.

⁸⁶ The Latin text reads *Sub[s]urano*, creating a difficulty and resulting in the apparent confused reading. See Benario, *Commentary*, 54 [19 for Latin text]. Servianus was Consul with Lucius Antistius Rusticus in 90; with Lucius Licinius Sura in 102; and with Titus Vibius Vera in 134. A Sextus Attius Suburanus Aemilianus was Consul in 101 (*suffectus*) and 104 (*ordinarius*).

⁸⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 11.

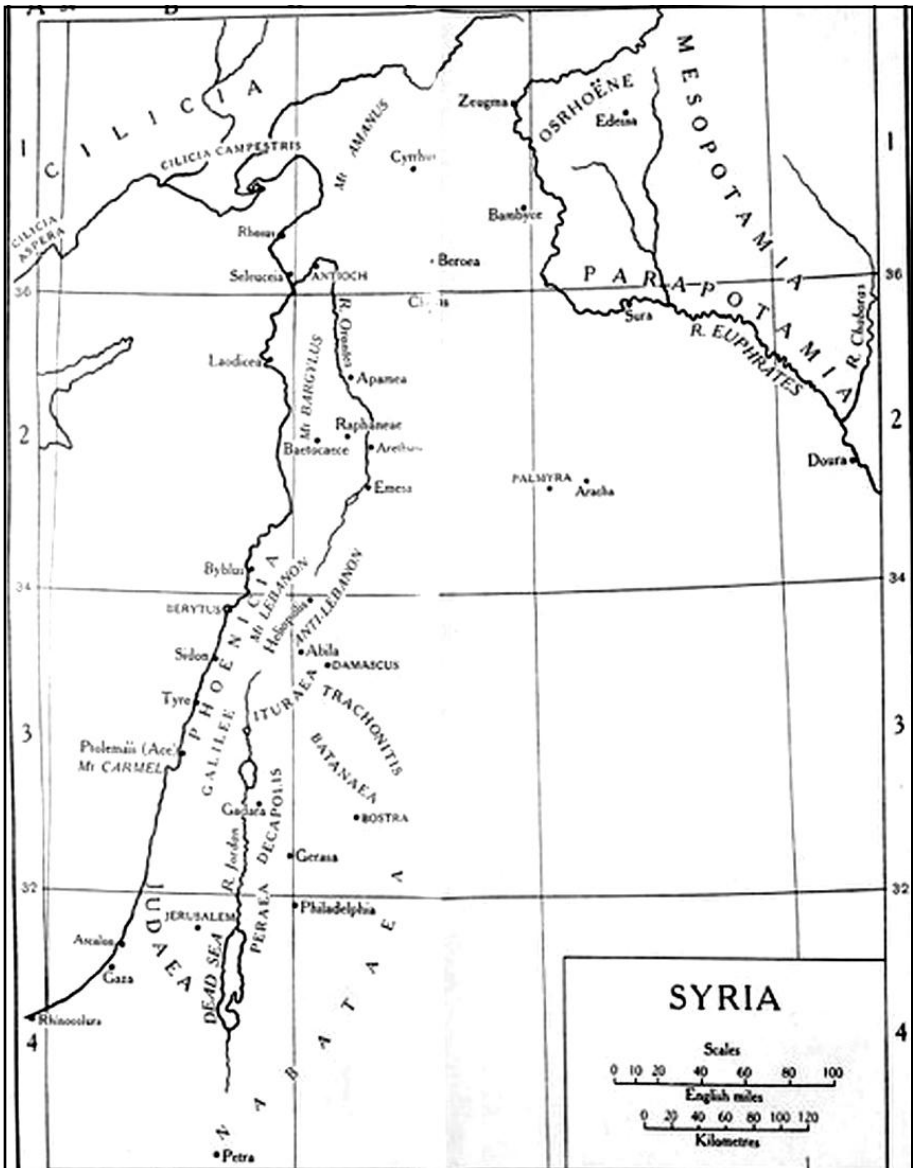
⁸⁸ The *Fasti Ostiensis* for the year list the consuls—both *ordinarius* and *suffectus*—the emperor (Trajan), and the *Duumviri* (Aulus Manlius Augustalis and Caius Iulius Proculus), as well as significant events and acts of the year associated especially with the imperial family. Only the list of consuls has been included here because it is the portion of relevance to Hadrian's career.

⁸⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 11. Sura may have died in 108 C.E.

⁹⁰ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 371. He is speaking of Trajan, not Hadrian.

AT ANTIOCH IN SYRIA⁹¹

Syria, 1
(*The Cambridge Ancient History*, XI, 163)



⁹¹ For a general historical survey, see Butcher, *Roman Syria and the Near East*.

Syria, 2
(Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 20)



c3 *The 'Best' Emperor [114–117 C.E.]*
(ANS; Aureus)⁹²

OBVERSE: IMP TRAIANO OPTIMO
AVG GER DAC P M TR P
'Emperor Trajan Germanicus Dacicus,
the best Augustus, Pontifex Maximus,
holding tribunician power.'



REVERSE: COS VI P P S P Q R. 'Consul 6 times, Father of the Fatherland, S.P.Q.R.'
Image of Jupiter holding thunderbolt over Trajan.

⁹² Public domain, courtesy of American Numismatic Society (ANS); See OCRE (*RIC II* Trajan 298). Image transformed to grayscale; text abridged. The question of when each year Hadrian assumed tribunician power has not been definitively solved, but is commonly regarded as December 10.

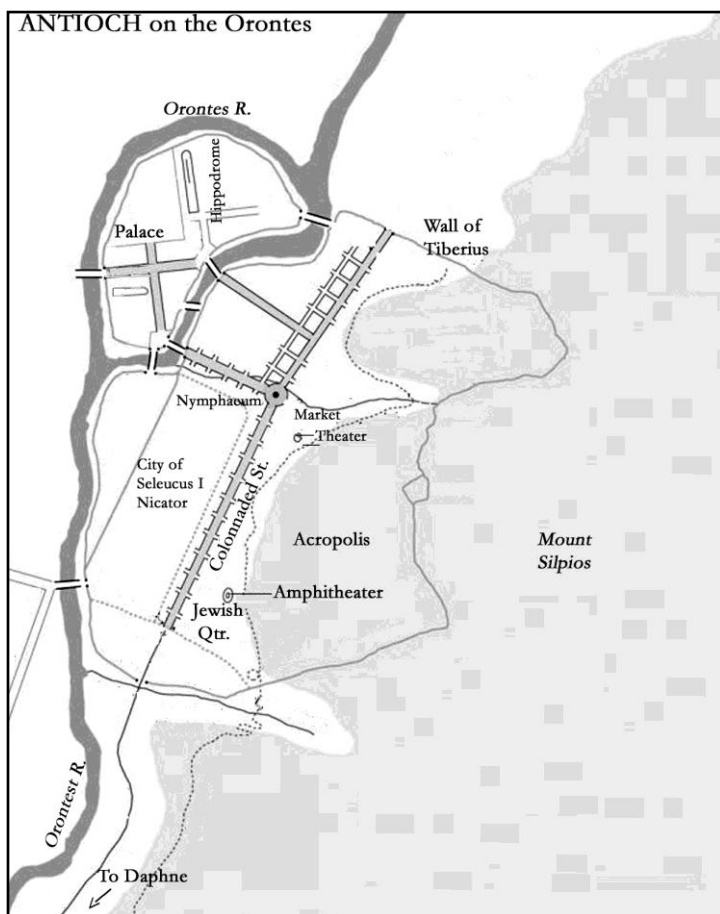
46 Dedication to Zeus Kasios by Trajan [c. 113/114 C.E.]

(Inscription of Hadrian)

[FGE I=*Greek Anthology* VI.332]⁹³

To Casian Zeus did Trajan, the descendant of Aeneas, dedicate these ornaments, the king of men to the king of gods: two curiously fashioned cups and the horn of a urus mounted in shining gold, selected from his first booty when, tirelessly fighting, he had overthrown with his spear the insolent Getae. But, [p. 477] Lord of the black clouds entrust to him, too, the glorious accomplishment of this Persian war, that your heart's joy may be doubled as you look on the spoils of both foes, the Getae and the Arsacidae.

Map of City of Antioch



⁹³ *Greek Anthology*, I, 475, 477 (with facing Greek text). I modernized the language. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, 562, writes, "The epigram is clear and colourful in a good style; nothing but the subject-matter distinguishes it from compositions of the Hellenistic or early Imperial era." The *urus* was a horned ox.

47 Earthquake at Antioch, 1 [115 C.E.]

(John Malalas, *Chronicle*)⁹⁴

XI.15 Before he began to reign, the emperor Hadrian was with the emperor Trajan, because he was his relative by marriage, when the great city of Antiochus suffered from the wrath of God. He was then a senator. There were many senators from Rome in the city of Antioch, who, ordered by him, built many dwellings and baths in Antioch.

48 Earthquake at Antioch, 2 [115 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)⁹⁵

LXVIII.24.1 While the emperor was tarrying in Antioch a terrible earthquake occurred; many cities suffered injury, but Antioch was the most unfortunate of all. Since Trajan was passing the winter there and many soldiers and many civilians had flocked thither from all sides in connexion with law-suits, embassies, business or sightseeing, [2] there was no nation or people that went unscathed; and thus in Antioch the whole world under Roman sway suffered disaster. There had been many thunderstorms and portentous winds, but no one would ever have expected so many evils to result from them. [3] First there came, on a sudden, a great bellowing roar, and this was followed by a tremendous quaking. The whole earth was upheaved, and buildings leaped into the air; some were carried aloft only to collapse and be broken in pieces, while others were tossed this way and that as if by the surge of the sea, and overturned, and the wreckage spread out over a great extent even of the open country. [4] The crash of grinding and breaking timbers together with tiles and stones was most frightful; and an inconceivable amount of dust arose, so that it was impossible for one to see anything or to speak or hear a word. [5] As for the people, many even who were outside the houses were hurt, being snatched up and tossed violently about and then dashed to the earth as if falling from a cliff; some were [p. 407] maimed and others were killed. Even trees in some cases leaped into the air, roots and all. The number of those who were trapped in the houses and perished was past finding out; for multitudes were killed by the very force of the falling debris, and great numbers were suffocated in the ruins. [6] Those who lay with a part of their body buried under the stones or timbers suffered terribly, being able neither to live any longer nor to find an immediate death.

⁹⁴ Malalas, *Chronicle*, 147 (Greek text can be found in Malalas, *Chronographia*, 278–79). Malalas' earlier note: "During the reign of the most sacred Trajan, Antioch the Great near Daphne suffered its third calamity, on Sunday 13th Apellaios (December), just after cockcrow in the year 164 according to the calendar of the Antiochenes (115 ad), two years after the arrival of the most sacred emperor Trajan in the east" (Malalas, *Chronicle*, 276–77). Cf. Traina, "Trajan," 420.

⁹⁵ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 405, 407 (with accompanying Greek text). For more on this event, see Traina, "Trajan and the Earthquake of Antioch (115 AD)." The February 6, 2023, magnitude 7.8 earthquake that struck Syria and Turkey, killing more than 45,000 people, also severely affected modern Antioch (Antakya). See *The New York Times* article, "No More Antakya" (<https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/09/world/middleeast/earthquake-antakya-turkey.html>).

49 Earthquake at Antioch, 3 [115 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)⁹⁶

LXVIII.25.5 So great were the calamities that had overwhelmed Antioch at this time. Trajan made his way out through a window of the room in which he was staying. Some being, of greater than human stature, had come to him and led him forth, so that he escaped with only a few slight injuries; and as the shocks extended over several days, [6] he lived out of doors in the hippodrome. Even Mt. Casius itself was so shaken that its peaks seemed to lean over and break off and to be falling upon the very city. Other hills also settled, and much water not previously in existence came to light, while many streams disappeared.

50 Earthquake at Antioch, 4: Aftermath; Hadrian's Projects in Antioch

(John Malalas, *Chronicle*)⁹⁷

XI.14 In Antioch the Great he built an aqueduct and public bath, named after himself. As well, he built the Theater of the Springs of Daphne, and diverted the waters flowing out from the Springs into the ravines known as the Agriai. He constructed foundation pilings and at great cost made them firm enough to withstand the force of the rushing water and direct it through the aqueduct he made into the city of Antioch, providing an abundant supply for the city. Also, he built the temple of the Springs of Daphne, out of which flow the streams of Daphne, and in this Temple of the Nymphs he set up a large, seated statue of Zeus holding πᾶλον⁹⁸ in honor of the Naiads and as a thank-offering, having accomplished such a breathtaking work. He made the water bubbling from the spring called “Saramanna” gush out through one channel into another one in the spring in the little theater outside the temple, the water thus dividing into five, which he named by number—*pentamodion*, *tetramodion*, *trimodion*, *dimodion*, and *modion*.⁹⁹ Hadrian celebrated a Festival of the Springs on the 23rd of the month Daisios, or June 23rd.¹⁰⁰ And the sacrifices likewise take place. The spring in the Agriai—known as the Spring of Pallas—which had been destroyed, was channeled into an aqueduct for the inhabitants of sacred Daphne.

⁹⁶ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 405, 407 (with accompanying Greek text). For more on this event, see Traina, “Trajan and the Earthquake of Antioch (115 AD).”

⁹⁷ Cf. the rendering by Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 126–27.

⁹⁸ The Greek πᾶλος ordinarily refers to the foal of a horse, but can be used metaphorically and its meaning here is uncertain. Jefferys, Jeffreys, and Scott, *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, 147, have Zeus holding “the celestial sphere.” Henderson translates “bird of Zeus.” I have rendered φοβερὸν as “breathtaking”; its root sense is “fear-inspiring.”

⁹⁹ Greek *modion* ordinarily means a “measure” and so Henderson renders this, “And these streams he called Five Measures, Four Measures, Three Measures, Two Measures, and One Measure.”

¹⁰⁰ Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, 222–23, writes, “The dedication of the work at Daphne was celebrated by a festival held on 23 June A.D. 129, while Hadrian was visiting Antioch. The festival instituted on this occasion was named in honor of the emperor and was continued, as we learn from inscriptions of athletes dating from the reign of Commodus of victories won in it.” Also see his footnote 104 providing argumentation for his date of 129.

THE JEWISH DIASPORA REVOLT/ *Kitos War*="War of Quietus" [115–117 C.E.]

51 Unrest under Trajan: Legend of Martyrdom of Lulianus and Pappus

(Midrash [*Sifra*, Emor 9.15(C)])¹⁰¹

And when Turgianus killed Pappus and his brother Lulianus in Laodicea, he said to them: "Are you not of the people of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah? May your god come and deliver you from my hand!" They said to him: "Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah were (of) clean (character), and Nebuchadnezzar was worthy of a miracle being wrought at his hands. But you, you are a wicked king, and you are not worthy of a miracle being wrought at your hands. And (as for) us, (we) are liable to death before heaven. If you will not kill us, (there are) many destructive beings before the Omnipresent, many bears, many lions, many leopards, many snakes, many serpents, many scorpions, which can strike us! But in the end the Omnipresent will demand our blood from your hands." It was said that he had not yet departed from there when a letter came against him from Rome, and they knocked his brain out with clubs.

*Diaspora Revolt of 115–117 C.E.*¹⁰²



¹⁰¹ Van Henten and Avemarie, *Martyrdom and Noble Death*, 145 [#2]. "Turgianus" = "Trajan." Cf. *Ta'anit* 18b, *Bereshit Rabbah* 64.10, *Koholeth Rabba* on Eccl. 3:17. The original text and an English translation also can be found at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Sifra%2C_Emor%2C_Chapter_9?lang=bi).

¹⁰² Rather than Crete, Horbury, *Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*, would put Mesopotamia.

52 A Widespread Jewish Revolt, 1

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*)¹⁰³

IV.2 While the teaching of our Saviour and the church were flourishing daily and moving on to further progress the tragedy of the Jews was reaching the climax of successive woes. In the course of the eighteenth year of the reign of the Emperor a rebellion of the Jews again broke out and destroyed a great multitude of them. [2] For both in Alexandria and in the rest of Egypt and especially in Cyrene, as though they had been seized by some terrible spirit of rebellion, they rushed into sedition against their Greek fellow citizens, and increasing the scope of the rebellion in the following year started a great war while [3] Lupus was governor of all Egypt. In the first engagement they happened to overcome the Greeks, who fled to Alexandria and captured and killed the Jews in the city, but though thus losing the help of the townsmen, the Jews of Cyrene continued to plunder the country of Egypt and to ravage the districts in it under their leader Lucuas. The Emperor sent against them Marcius Turbo¹⁰⁴ with land and sea forces including cavalry. [4] He waged war vigorously against them in many battles for a considerable time and killed many thousands of Jews, not only those of Cyrene but also those of Egypt who had rallied to Lucuas, their king. [5] The Emperor suspected that the Jews in Mesopotamia would also attack the inhabitants and ordered Lusius Quietus to clean them out of the province. He organized a force and murdered a great multitude of the Jews there, and for this reform was appointed governor of Judaea by the Emperor. The Greek authors who chronicle the same period have related this narrative in these very words.

53 A Widespread Jewish Revolt, 2

(Paulus Orosius, *History against the Pagans*)¹⁰⁵

VII.12.6-8 [487–488] ⁶Then, all at once, the Jews in different parts of the world, as if enraged with madness, burst forth in an incredible revolution. For throughout all Libya, they carried on most violent wars against the [p. 307] inhabitants, and Libya was, then, so forsaken by the killing of the cultivators of the soil that, unless Hadrian afterwards had not gathered colonists from without and brought them there, the land would have remained completely destitute and without an inhabitant. ⁷Indeed, they threw into confusion all Egypt, Cyrene, and the Thebaid with bloody seditions. But in Alexandria, in a pitched battle, they were conquered and crushed. In Mesopotamia also, when they rebelled, by order of the emperor, war was introduced against them. And thus many thousands of them were destroyed in a vast slaughter. ⁸Indeed, they did destroy Salamis, a city of Cyprus, after killing all the inhabitants.

¹⁰³ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, I (Lake's trans.), 305, 307 (with Greek text). Horbury, *Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*, 166, summarizes: "At first the turbulence was factional strife (*stasis*) between Jews and their Greek neighbours; in the next year *stasis* escalated into war (*polemos*)."

¹⁰⁴ On Turbo, see Lacey, *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian*, 17–18 [#39].

¹⁰⁵ Orosius, *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, 306–07 (Deferrari's translation). The Thebiad was a region comprised of the southernmost 13 nomes (districts) of Upper Egypt.

54 The Jewish Revolt as a “Third Plague”

(Paulus Orosius, *History against the Pagans*)¹⁰⁶

XXVII.6 [533] Here, in the Roman Empire, the third plague, under Trajan, stirred up the Jews, who, although formerly dispersed everywhere and as quiet as if they did not exist, suddenly all of them, aroused in the heat of anger, vented their wrath in the whole world against the very people among whom they were living, not to mention the extensive destruction of many large cities which, at the same time, frequent earthquakes had overthrown.

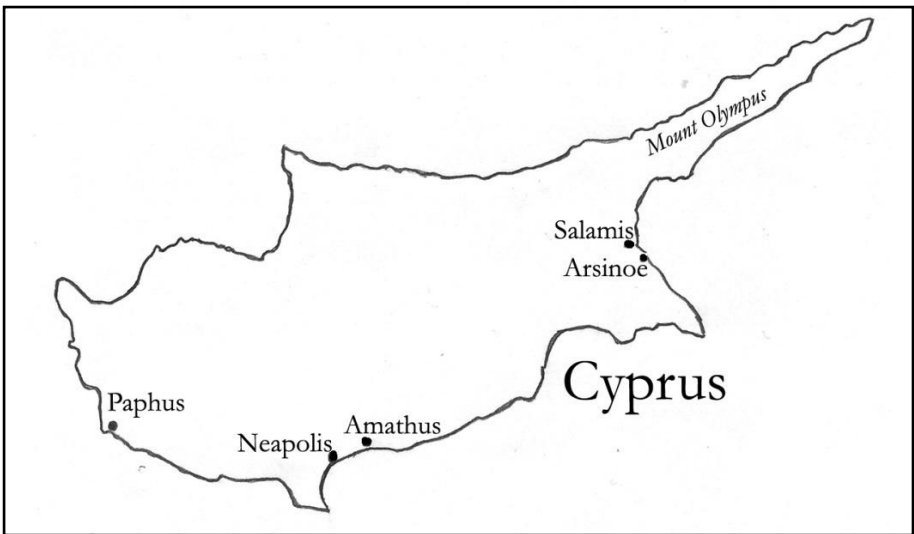
55 Jewish Diaspora Revolt in Cyrene and Cyprus

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁰⁷

LXVIII.32.1 Meanwhile the Jews in the region of Cyrene had put a certain Andreas at their head, and were destroying both the Romans and the Greeks. They would eat the flesh of their victims, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood and wear their skins for clothing; many they sawed in two, from the head downwards;

32.2 others they gave to wild beasts, and still others they forced to fight as gladiators. In all two hundred and twenty thousand [*p.* 423] persons perished. In Egypt, too, they perpetrated many similar outrages, and in Cyprus, under the leadership of a certain Artemion. There, also, two hundred and forty thousand perished,

33.3 and for this reason no Jew may set foot on that island, but even if one of them is driven upon its shores by a storm he is put to death. Among others who subdued the Jews was Lusius, who was sent by Trajan.



¹⁰⁶ Orosius, *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, 326 (Deferrari's translation).

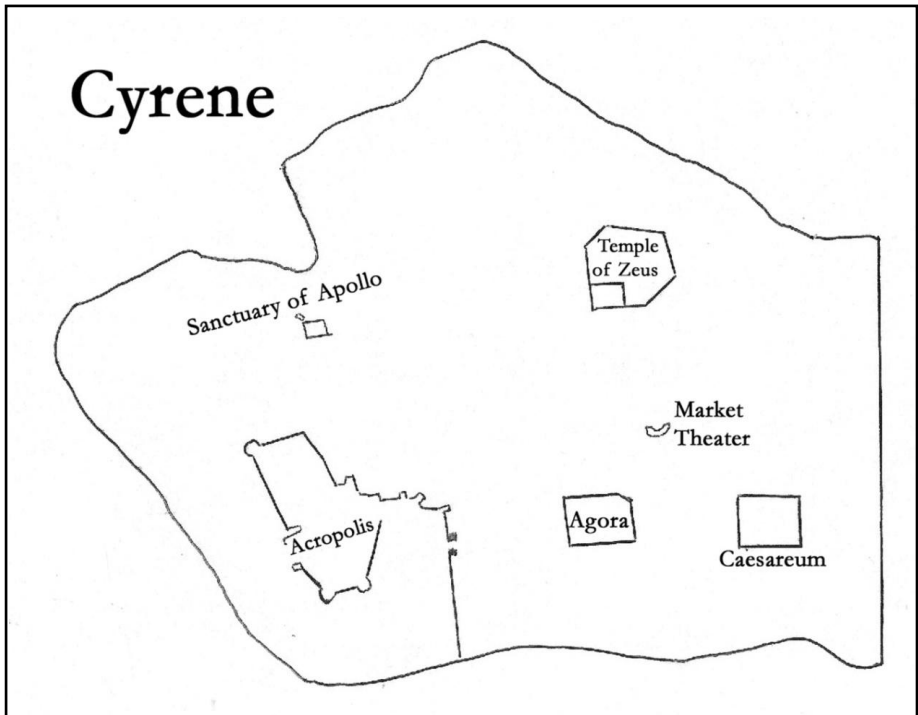
¹⁰⁷ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 421, 423.

56 Epitaph for Caius Valerius Rufus [post 128 C.E.]

(Inscription at Berytus in Syria)

[*AE* 1912.179=*ILS* 9491]¹⁰⁸

For Caius Valerius Rufus, son of Titus, of the tribe Fabia, recipient of decurional honors by decree of the Decurions; prefect of Cohort VI Praetoria; military tribune of Legion VII Claudia Pia Fidelis, sent with a detachment by order of Emperor Nerva Trajan Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus to Cyprus in an expedition; prefect of the cavalry (*alae*) Gaetulorum; prefect of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland; with *duumvir* authority, (done by) Lucius Careius Adiectus Sedatianus, for merit.



¹⁰⁸ The Latin inscription can be found online at *Epigraphische Text-Datenbank: Detailsansicht* (<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD028296>). Calling the military venture to Cyprus an ‘expedition’ (*expeditionem*) has been termed a change in Trajan’s time to emphasize the Roman position that military actions were not dictated by the acts of her enemies but stemmed from Roman foresight and planning. See Ben-Zeev, “L. Tettius Crescens’ *expeditio Iudaeae*,” 257–58. Elsewhere, Ben Zeev, “The Uprisings in the Jewish Diaspora, 116–117,” 97, writes, “The military operations against the Jews in Cyprus may also underline the statement of the Babylonian Talmud (Sukk. 51b) that the blood of the Jews killed in Egypt reached as far as Cyprus.” Davis, “The Jewish Diaspora,” 41, notes, “The suppression was the only recorded military action on Cyprus before the 4th century CE.” He points (p. 42) to recent archaeological work on the island providing some indirect evidence of the destruction of the Jewish community on Cyprus.

57 The Revolt in Cyrene: A Roman Commander Wins Distinction

(Artemidores, *The Interpretation of Dreams (Oneirocritica)*)¹⁰⁹

IV.24 For example, a certain military commander dreamt that the letters ι, κ, and θ were written on his sword. The Jewish war was being waged in Cyrene¹¹⁰ and the dreamer gained the highest distinction in that war. This was just what I predicted. For the *iota* signified the Jews, the *kappa* signified the Cyrenaeans, and the *theta* signified death. Before the actual event, the dream was impossible to interpret, but, once it actually came true, the interpretation was quite obvious.

58 Aftermath, 1: Restoration of the Caesareum [118 C.E.]

(Inscription on Fragments of Limestone in Caesareum at Cyrene)

[IRC_{Jr} C.7=SEG XVII.804=CJZC 17]¹¹¹

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 2nd time, twice Consul, for the city of Cyrene, ordered the restoration of the *Caesareum* demolished and burned in the Jewish uprising.

59 Aftermath, 2: Restoration of the Baths of Trajan [119 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Marble Panel at Cyrene, West of Temple of Apollo)

[IRC_{Jr} C.281=AE 1928.2]¹¹²

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 3rd(?) time, three times Consul, for the city of Cyrene, ordered the restoration of the baths, the covered walk (portico), the ball-courts (*sphaeristeris*), and adjacent structure that were demolished and burned in the Jewish uprising.

¹⁰⁹ Artemidores. *The Interpretation of Dreams* (White's trans.), 196.

¹¹⁰ On the revolt in general, but with special emphasis on Cyrene, see Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, especially 261–93. Applebaum, 267, maintains, “It is indeed possible that the movement first broke out in Cyrenaica, but the authority for such a view is not to be found in the historians but in the interpretation of the papyrological document associated with Rutilius Lupus.” Applebaum thinks the revolt started in Cyrene, following an abortive effort in Alexandria; the successful revolt in Cyrene then spread to Egypt with the arrival of Jews from Cyrene under the leadership of Lucuas. Horbury, *Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*, 196, writes, “The Cyrenaic and Egyptian uprisings first became clearly warlike in Cyrene.”

¹¹¹ CJZC=Corpus Jüdischen zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika.. For an alternate translation and both Latin and Greek texts, see *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/C.7.html>). Also see Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, 281–83, and Williams, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans*, 136 [V.87]. Cf. the inscription in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (JRS), 40, 89–91 [E1. The Latin and Greek texts are available at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions*, aka *PHI Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/324417>).] The Latin is heavily formulaic, using phrasing found in other inscriptions of a similar type and period (e.g., “Jewish uprising” (*tumulto Iudaico*, lit., “Jewish tumult”; *tumultus* signifying disorder and commotion), or “demolished and burned” (*dirutum et exustum*)). The *Caesareum*, a temple, was located in the city’s southeast quarter. It was rebuilt as a long basilica with three aisles. For more, see Ward-Perkins, Ballance, and Reynolds, “The Caesareum at Cyrene and the Basilica at Cremna.”

¹¹² For an alternate translation with Latin text, see *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/C.281.html>), or Williams, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans*, 136–37 [V.88]. The Latin text can be found online at *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* (EDH 023470).

60 Aftermath, 3: Restoration of a Temple [118/119 C.E.?]

(Inscription on Marble Panel in the Temple of Hekate, Cyrene)

[*IRCyr* C.292=*AE* 1929.9=*SEG* IX.168]¹¹³

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 2nd time, twice Consul, for the city of Cyrene, ordered the restoration of the temple demolished and burned in the Jewish uprising.

61 Aftermath, 4: Temple of Artemis

(Inscription on Limestone at Cyrene)

[*IRCyr* C.283]¹¹⁴

On behalf of Emperor Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus, savior, (a certain person, son of a certain person) built the temple with its entryway from the proceeds of Apollo; the dedication was conducted by Flavius Fau. . .

62 Aftermath, 5: Temple of Isis

(Inscription on Limestone in Temple of Isis at Cyrene)

[*IRCyr* C.298]¹¹⁵

For the health and continuance of Emperor Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus. Ch_, priest of Apollo, from the proceeds of Apollo restored(?) the Temple of Isis.

63 Aftermath, 6: Restoration of a Road, 1 [118 C.E.]

(Inscription on Mile-Marker on Cyrene-Apollonia Road, Cyrene)

[*IRCyr* C.246=*AE* 1951.208]¹¹⁶

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 2nd time, twice Consul, by the military cohort . . . , restored the road which in the Jewish revolt had been ruined and undone.

¹¹³ For an alternate translation and both Latin and Greek texts, see *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/C.292.html>). On Hadrian's efforts to restore Cyrene, see Walker, "Hadrian and the Renewal of Cyrene." Also see Fraser, "Hadrian and Cyrene."

¹¹⁴ For an alternate translation and Greek text, see *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/C.283.html>).

¹¹⁵ For an alternate translation and Greek text, see *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/C.298.html>).

¹¹⁶ For an alternate translation and Latin text, see *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/C.246.html>). See Goodchild, "Roman Milestones in Cyrenaica"; note esp. Fig. 1 and its maps (p. 84). The Latin text of this mile marker is offered (p. 86) along with a complete description (and see remarks at 87–88). Goodchild, 89, notes about the inscription's recording that the road had been 'ruined and undone,' that, "this description is more easily intelligible when we consider how easy it would have been to block the steep ascents of the lower and upper escarpments by hurling down rocks and, in the area of the Cyrene necropolis, sarcophagus lids, from above the road." He suggests the destruction of the road may have been tactical—to cut the line of communication with the port of Apollonia (a natural place from which a Roman response could be expected).

64 Aftermath, 7: Restoration of a Road, 2 [118/119 C.E.]

(Inscription on Mile-Marker of Cyrene to Apollonia Road)

[*IRCyr* M.223; cf. *AE* 1919.90, *AE* 1928.1, *SEG* IX.252]¹¹⁷

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 2nd time, three times Consul, by the . . . , restored the road which in the Jewish revolt had been ruined and undone.

65 Aftermath, 8: A Dedication [118 C.E.]

(Inscription on Assembly Building)

[*IRCyr* C.102; cf. *IRCyr* C.18]¹¹⁸

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 2nd time, twice Consul; from the citizens of Cyrene.

66 Aftermath, 9: Hadrian as Its ‘Savior and Founder’ [128/129 C.E.]

(Inscription on Marble Statue in Caesareum at Cyrene)

[*IRCyr* C.14; cf. *SEG* IX.54, *SEG* XVII.809, *SEG* XVIII.731]¹¹⁹

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, *imperator* a 2nd time, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, founder and benefactor and lawgiver; by the city of the Cyrenaeans.

67 Hadrian Later Lauded as ‘Savior and Founder’ [138 C.E.]

(Inscription on Marble of Statue Base in Temple of Zeus, Cyrene)

[*IRCyr* C.91=*SEG* IX.136]¹²⁰

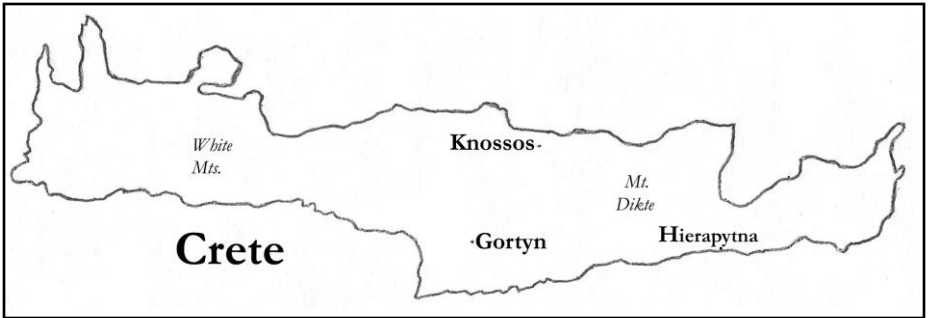
For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, *imperator* a 2nd time, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 22nd time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, savior and founder, and to Emperor Titus Aelius Caesar Antoninus, son of Hadrian Augustus, the city of Cyrene adorns itself with statues.

¹¹⁷ For an alternate translation and Latin text, see *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/M.223.html>), or Jones and Milns, *The Use of Documentary Evidence*, 73. The Latin/Greek text (*SEG* IX.252) may be accessed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/324102>).

¹¹⁸ For an alternate translation and both Latin and Greek texts, see that at *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/C.102.html>).

¹¹⁹ For an alternate translation and Greek text, see *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/C.14.html>). The Greek text was reconstructed from fragments; the text here is based on the transcription of Joyce Reynolds. The formula ‘founder and lawgiver and benefactor’ (κτίστην καὶ νομοθέτην καὶ τροφέα) also appears elsewhere in Greek inscriptions. See Perkins, Balance, and Reynolds, “The Caesareum at Cyrene and the Basilica at Cremna.”

¹²⁰ For an alternate translation and Greek text, see that at *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/C.91.html>). For remarks on this inscription see Fuks, “Aspects of the Jewish Revolt in A.D. 115–117. The Greek text is available at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/323989?&bookid=172&location=1703>).



68 A Public Building Restored at Polyrrenia, Crete [122/123 C.E.]

(Inscription)

[IC II.xxiii 66]¹²²

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian, holding tribunician power for the 7th time, three times consul, restored

c4 Bronze Coin of Crete

(*Forum.AncientCoins*; RP 19386)¹²³



OBVERSE: Laureate head of Hadrian with legend ΑΥΤΟΚ(ΡΑΤΩΡ) Ἀδριανός (in capital letters).

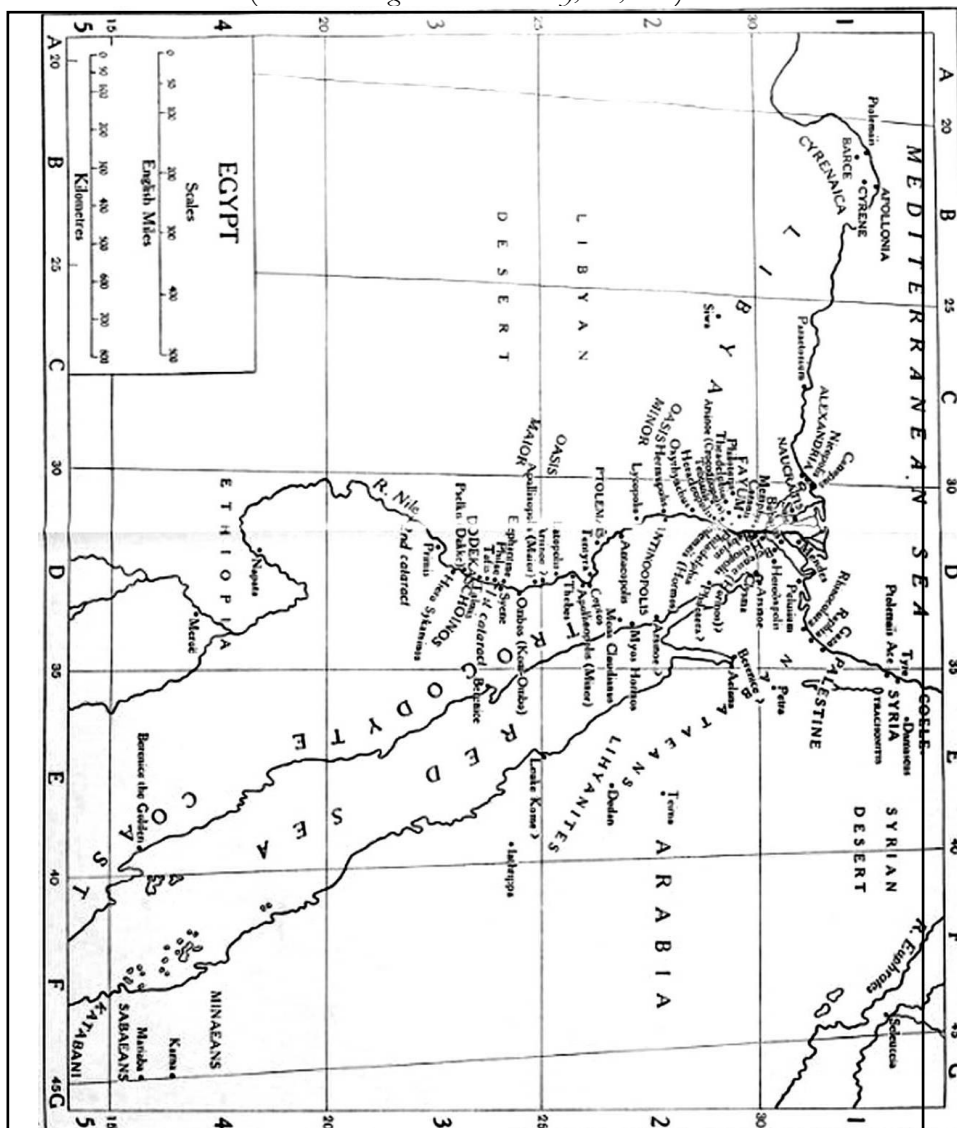
REVERSE: Κ(ρήτη) – Κ(ρήτη) with flaming tripod.

¹²¹ While many scholars think the revolt extended to Crete not all agree. Horbury, *Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*, 190–91, thinks the importance of Cyrene and Cyprus to the uprising raises the question of the same in Crete, especially as Crete under Roman rule formed with Cyrene a single province. But he says political ties were late in development and cultural differences tied Crete more to Greece and Asia Minor. He thus judges that Crete did not share in the Jewish eruptions found in Cyrene and Cyprus. It is unknown whether Hadrian visited Crete in his travels of 123–125 C.E., but a city like Hierapytna prospered under him; four statues of him graced the city and an inscription related to one of his freedmen (P. Aelius Leonas?) has been found there (see Baldwin Bowsky, “Eight Inscriptions from Roman Crete,” 265–69).

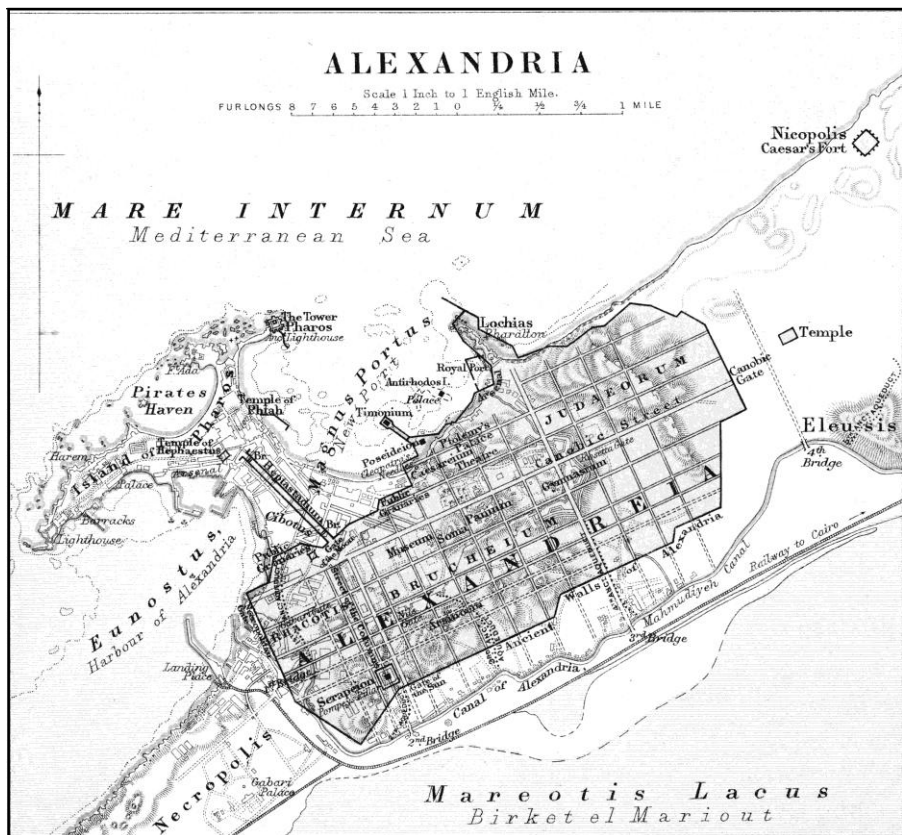
¹²² This fragmentary inscription points to the restoration of something, but is of uncertain reference. This inscription can be found online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/200104?&bookid=291&location=474>).

¹²³ Courtesy of *Forum.AncientCoins*, www.forumancientcoins.com. Used by permission.

Egypt, 1
(The Cambridge Ancient History, XI, 649)



Alexandria, 1
(Smith and Grove, *Atlas of Ancient Geography*, #67)



69 The Revolt in Egypt, 1: Destruction [c. 115/116 C.E.]

(Papyrus from Egypt)

[CPJ II 447=P. Oxy. IV.707(recto)]¹²⁴

Open lots, in which there are buildings burnt by the Jews.

70 The Revolt in Egypt, 2: A Mother's Warning [c. 115/116 C.E.]

(Extract from a Papyrus from Egypt)

[CPJ II 437]¹²⁵

... with the goodwill of the gods, especially Hermes the Unconquerable, may they (the Jews) not roast you.

¹²⁴ *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, II, 255 [#447] (Tcherikover and Fuks ed.), with Greek text also. The Greek text can be seen also online at *Papyri.info* (<https://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.oxy;4;725>).

¹²⁵ *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, II, 236 [#437] (Tcherikover and Fuks ed.), with Greek text also; also see p. 227. The translation is reproduced in Williams, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans*, 136 [V.86]. The writer is Eudaimonis, to her son Apollonios. See Ben Zeev, "Were the Jews. . .?"

71 The Revolt in Egypt,¹²⁶ 3: Unrest in Alexandria [Oct., 115 C.E.]

(Supposed Copy of an Edict by Rutilius Lupus, Roman Prefect of Egypt)

[*Papyrus Milano Vogliano* II 47=CPJ II 435 (cols. 3–4)=

Acta Alexandrinorum 9c]¹²⁷

(Col. II) . . fire against us . . .

(Col. III) are they preparing . . . and weapons. I know that they are only a handful; but many leave them be and notable people provide for them, so that they will not be abused and maltreated. It is therefore just that the wickedness of the few is an evil for which the whole city is blamed. I know that most of them are slaves; accordingly their masters are blamed.

I therefore entreat them all not to use anger as a pretext for inordinate greediness. They should understand that none of them remain unknown. Do not trust to my indulgence or (to the pleas made in the days when I was forced to protect what I could). If anyone has complaints to make against another, let him address the judge sent by Caesar for that purpose. Not even Prefects are permitted to execute someone without a trial, and there is a right time for a trial even as there is a proper place and correct method of punishment.

Let them cease who say, whether truly or falsely, that they have been injured while seeking justice violently and unjustly; for there was no need to have been hurt! Perhaps some crimes could be rationalized before the battle between the Romans

(Col. IV) and the Jews, but now they are groundless judgments, which have never been allowed.

The nineteenth year of Trajan, 16th day of Phaophi.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ In a 1959 article, Fuks, "The Jewish Revolt in Egypt," 24, listed 19 papyri referring to the revolt in Egypt. Of these, he lists P. RUMil and *Acta Pauli et Antonini* (the latter being P. Par. 68 + P. Lond. 1, p. 229 and B.G.U. 341) as concerned with events in Alexandria early in the revolt. He lists 8 papyri for the revolt in the land (χώρα) of Egypt: P. Bad. 36 and 39; P. Brem. 1 and 63; P. Giss. 19, 24, 27, and 41. For 'the scope and repercussions of the revolt' he adds: P. Brem. 11 and 15; B.G.U. 889; and, P. Oxy. 500, 705, 707, and 1189.

¹²⁷ My English translation may be compared to that in Tcherikover and Fuks (p. 232), which is also found, for example, in Méléze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, 201. The Greek text of *Papyrus Milano Vogliano* II 47 can be found in Hengstl, *Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten*, 63–64 [#17]; cf. the Greek text of *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, II, 231–32 [#435] (Tcherikover and Fuks ed.). For both an alternative translation (including additional material) and comments, see Capponi, "Alexandrian Riots under Trajan." Capponi argues that the documents concerning the trial of Antoninus (in *Acta Pauli et Antonini*) can be linked to the historical events of 115 referred to in the edict of Rutilius Lupus. She speculates (p. 159), "after the capture of Ctesiphon on 23rd February 116, the relationship between Rome and the Jews deteriorated: perhaps in the triumphal celebrations throughout the empire that followed the conquest of Parthia in 24th–27th February 116, further deaths occurred and new riots broke out, this time escalating into open war." Fuks, "The Jewish Revolt in Egypt," considers this edict pp. 35–40, and offers (40–41) a timeline.

¹²⁸ Various scholars place the specific date as the 13th, 14th, or 15th of the month.

72 The Revolt in Egypt, 4: Jews Victorious in Early Fighting [Dec., 115 C.E.]

(Papyrus from Hermopolis, Egypt)

[*P. Brem* 1=*CPJ* II 438]¹²⁹

The one hope and expectation that was left was the push of the massed villagers from our district against the impious Jews; but now the opposite has happened. For on the 20th our forces fought and were beaten and many of them were killed [...] now, however, we have received the news from men coming from [...] that another legion of Rutilius arrived at Memphis on the 22nd and is expected.

73 The Revolt in Egypt, 5: An Appeal for Leave [Nov., 117 C.E.]

(Application to the Prefect of Egypt)

[*CPJ* II 443=*P. Giss.* I 41]¹³⁰

To his excellency the praefect Rammius Martialis from Apollonius, strategus of the Apollonopolite-Heptacomia nome, greeting. I append a copy of the letter which I have already written to you, my lord praefect, concerning leave, in order that, if it please your fortune, you may grant me sixty days to put my affairs in order, especially now that I think . . . I pray for your health, my lord praefect. The . . . year [*p.* 309] of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Choiak 2.

To his excellency the praefect Rammius Martialis from Apollonius, strategus of the Apollonopolite-Heptacomia nome, greeting . . . For not only are my affairs in an utterly neglected condition by reason of my long absence, but also, owing to the rising of the impious Jews, almost all my property in the villages of the Hermopolite nome and in the metropolis has been... and requires to be re-established by me. If therefore you accede to my request, having put my affairs in order as far as possible I shall be able to take up my duties as strategus in better heart.

¹²⁹ "Root Causes of the Jewish-Christian Rift," 31. Greek text is easily accessible many places, including at *Papyri.info* (<http://www.papyri.info/hgv/19586>); also as TM 19586 at *Trismegistos* (<https://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?tm=19586>).

¹³⁰ *Select Papyri* (Hunt and Edgar trans.), II, 307, 309 (with facing Greek text) [#298]. For an alternative translation, see *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, II (Tcherikover and Fuks ed.), 248 (with Greek text, pp. 247–48; they supply "(first)" for the year, while Hunt dates the source at 120 C.E. The editors remark, "Apollonios's application to the prefect of Egypt consists of two parts; the first part (11.1-9) is a letter from Apollonios reminding the prefect of an earlier application for leave, which was not yet granted to him; the second part is a copy of the original application." Cf. text of *P. Giss.* I 41 at *Papyri.info* (<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.giss;41>). Both Apollonius ("strategus of the Apollonopolite-Heptacomia nome") and Rammius Martialis ("praefect") were administrators in Roman Egypt. On that subject, see Brunt, "The Administrators of Roman Egypt." The office of *strategos* (Greek *στρατηγός*; Latin, *strategus*) had its roots in military affairs; the *strategos* was a 'general.' It acquired the sense of being a 'military governor,' and as the letter indicates, in Egypt the strategus had authority over a limited area (a *nome*, i.e., a provincial territory). The official had both military and civil responsibilities.

74 The Revolt in Egypt, 6: Destruction by the Jews

(Appian, *The Civil Wars*)¹³¹

II.13.90 (end) Caesar could not bear to look at the head of Pompey when it was brought to him, but ordered that it be buried, and set apart; for it a small plot of ground near the city which was dedicated to Nemesis, but in my time, while the Roman emperor Trajan was exterminating [p. 395] the Jewish race in Egypt, it was devastated by them, in the exigencies of the war.

75 The Revolt in Egypt, 7: Disruption of Business Affairs

[Sept. 117–Apr., 118 C.E.]

(Excerpt from a Papyrus from Hermopolis, Egypt)

[P. Brem 11=CPJ II 444]¹³²

Ammonios and Hermokles to their most honoured Apollonios, greeting.

----[omitted material]----

We took much trouble to write to one another [...], however, because of the Jewish disturbances. Now the affair must be governed by your conscience and your view of the matter [...] consider too that not much [...] and that there was a state of riot. || For this reason we have sent to you a river-guard, so that you may reply to us as you will and the matter may be resolved before the visit of the epistrategos to the Lykopolite nome. [hand 2] We pray for your health, lord. || [hand 3] To Apollonios, strategos of Heptakomia.

76 The Revolt in Egypt, 8: Roman Losses[117 C.E.]

(Report on Papyrus)

[Excerpted from *Rom.Mil.Rec.* I 74_1=PSI 9, 1063]¹³³

Longinus Longus, of the century of Tituleis, standard-bearer (*Signifier*) of the 1st Lusitanian cohort, sends greetings to Longinus Tituleis, physician, centurion. I have received from you 423 *denarii* 20 *obols* as deposit for the century's recruits from Asia, in the number of 20 men. Year twenty-one of Trajan Optimus Caesar, our Lord, Thoth 6.

¹³¹ Appian, *The Civil Wars*, III, 393–95 (White translation in Loeb ed., with Greek text). For more about Pompey's demise and his tomb, which Hadrian restored, see later in the volume.

¹³² Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*, 47–48 (and also find Greek text there). Heptakomia ("Seven villages") was the 10 Upper Egypt *nome* (District); aka Apolloopolites.

¹³³ For an alternate translation, see Campbell, *The Roman Army*, #11. See Fink, *Roman Military Records*, 278 for Greek text. This is the first in a series of six similar texts. About this document Fink (p. 277f.) comments, "Since the theoretical strength of a century in a cohors quingenaria equitata such as this was only 60 men . . . these replacements amount to a minimum of 28 per cent and a maximum of 40 percent of the personnel of each century. The date seems to provide the explanation—the cohort had had severe losses in the Jewish rebellion of 115–116 (cf. 34) and its ranks were being replenished with recruits brought from outside Egypt." Cf. Fink's #34, about which he says (p. 161), "The high proportion of deaths recorded here, 9 of 28 men, . . . makes it reasonable to conjecture that this may be a casualty list dating from the Jewish revolt of 115–117." PSI = *Pubblicazioni della società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto: Papiri greci e latini*. (See Papyri.info (<https://papyri.info/ddbdp/psi;9;1063>)).

77 The Revolt in Egypt, 9: A Victory against the Jews

(Letter on Papyrus)

[Excerpted from *P. Giss.* I 27]¹³⁴

Aphrodeisias to his dearest Herakleios, greeting! I learned from some travelers who came from Ibion today that they had journeyed in company with a certain young slave of our lord Apollonius. This slave came from Memphis, and told them good news of Apollonius' victory and progress [προκοπής]. Accordingly I send to you that I may learn just what has happened, and may wear garlands and pay to the gods the libations that are due.

78 The Revolt in Egypt, 10: One Soldier's Report

(Letter on Papyrus of Terentianus to Tiberianus)

[*P. Mich.* VIII 477, 478]¹³⁵

Claudius Terentianus to Claudius Tiberianus, father and lord, with many greetings. Before all other matters, as is my desire, I pray for your health. I am in good health and daily make obeisance for you in the presence of our lord Sarapis, and the gods who share his temple. I wish you to know that I was ordered to go out on duty in your absence but was completely unable to go to Neapolis. For it was at that time that . . . so violent an attack of illness, and for five days I could not write anything to you, let alone go up to you. Nor were any of us able to exit the camp. I thank the god, who after our five days . . . this turmoil from which I suffered injuries. . . those who transgress the laws have been found.

. . . I am healed I have recovered from my illness, and I am even more grateful to you for coming down

¹³⁴ Gray, "New Light from Egypt," 17. Greek text can be found in Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I/2, 29.

¹³⁵ The translation follows that of Strassi's *L'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis*, 54–57 (German, with original text), and the English portions offered by Head, "The Letters of Claudius Terentianus," 234. These letters are part of an archive called 'the Archive of Tiberianus'; see Stephan and Verhoogt, "Text and Context in the Archive of Tiberianus." Both father and son, possibly residents of Karanis, a town in the Fayoum (an oasis basin west of the Nile) where the archive was discovered, served in the Roman military. Davies, "The Enlistment of Claudius Terentianus," 21, remarks, "Of the many millions of men who served in the armed forces of Rome in the Principate, the best attested is Claudius Terentianus." He served c. 110–136 C.E. His letters (*P. Mich.* 467–468) reveal that he had hoped to enlist in a legion but instead ended up in the Roman fleet *classis Augusta Alexandrina* serving on board a small patrol galley (Lat. *Liburna*) named *Neptune*. In *P. Cornell* Inv. No. I, 64, as translated by Lewis, "A Veteran in Quest of a Home," 140–41, we learn that on his discharge Terentianus, characterized as "a man of means" was recommended to one Valerius Apollinarius by his brother Valerius Paulinus ("also called Ammonas"—his original name; the Latin one came upon enlistment). Paulinus reports he has urged Terentianus to rent his house and lease his field for "the coming 21st year of Hadrianus Caesar." Lewis, 142, points to reasons to favor identifying this Terentianus with the Claudius Terentianus of the Archive. The nature of the language used by Terentianus in his letters has drawn special attention. For those with an interest, an in-depth look at the Latin found in the letters of Claudius Terentianus, can be found in Adams, *The Vulgar Latin of the Letters of Claudius Terentianus*.

79 The Revolt in Egypt, 11: A Rabbinic Legend concerning Trajan

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Sukkah* 5.1 (55b); cf. Midrash *Lamentations Rabbah* 1.16 §45]¹³⁶

[VII.A] In the time of Tronianus, the evil one, a son was born to him on the ninth of Ab, and [the Israelites] were fasting. [*p. 119*]

[B] His daughter died on Hanukkah, and [the Israelites] lit candles.

[C] His wife sent a message to him, saying, “Instead of going out to conquer the barbarians, come and conquer the Jews, who have rebelled against you.”

...

[H] . . . His legions surrounded them and killed them.

[I] He said to the women, “Obey my legions, and I shall not kill you.”

[J] They said to him, “What you did to the ones who have fallen do also to us who are yet standing.”

[K] He mingled their blood with the blood of their men, until the blood flowed into the ocean as far as Cyprus.

80 The Revolt in Egypt, 12: A Rabbinic Legend concerning Hadrian

(Midrash)

[*Tanna Debe Eliyyahu* (30)28=*Eliyyahu Rabbah*, p. 151]¹³⁷

The elder R. Eliezer, quoting *A Psalm of Asaph*. *O God, the heathen have come* (Ps. 79:1), said: Hadrian Caesar came and seized Alexandria of Egypt where there were one hundred and twenty of myriads of Jews. He misled them by having them advised as follows: Go forth and take your stand in the valley of Yadiam, and this [Egyptian] people will be unable to prevail over you. The Jews did as he advised. Thereupon at their rear, Hadrian stationed fifty thousand of his men armed with swords who kept killing the Jews until not one of them remained, as is said, *They shed their blood like water* (Ps. 79:3)—indeed, three rivers of blood, so say the Sages, flowed out of the valley of Yadaim and into the Great [Mediterranean] Sea. The sages tested the waters of the Great Sea and found three parts of it to be blood and only one part water. For seven years the nations of the world fertilized their vineyards with the blood of Israel.

¹³⁶ *The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, 17: *Sukkah*, 118–119 [Neusner trans.]. An alternative translation, with commentary, can be found online at *Judaism and Rome* (<https://www.judaism-and-rome.org/jerusalem-talmud-sukkah-51-55b>). For the translation of the Midrash, see *Midrash Rabbah: Lamentations* (Cohen trans.), 127. The Midrashic account ends by citing *Lamentations* 1:16 (“Then the Holy Spirit cried out, *For these things I weep*”) after relating the blood flowing in the ocean as far as Cyprus. Tronianus=Trajan. One textual variant offers instead of “fallen . . . standing” the words “lower down . . . higher up,” leading to a suggestion that the slaughter of the men was on the first floor of a synagogue where they had sought refuge, and the women were on the second floor. The submission of the women to the legions would have meant submission to rape.

¹³⁷ *Tanna Debe Eliyyahu*, 370 (Braude and Kapstein trans.); in a note (371n.21) they call the attribution of this slaughter to Hadrian an error, instead suggesting it refers to an earlier event conducted in the time of Alexander Tiberius. Alon, *The Jews in Their Land*, 403–05, argues for this as referring to the unrest of 115–117; others have attributed this to the Bar Kokhba war (see Mor, *The Second Jewish Revolt*, 191–92). Cordoni, *Seder Eliyahu*, 93–95, places this story under the category of ‘Pseudo-Historical Narratives.’

81 The Revolt in Egypt, 13: Judgment

(From *Acta Alexandrinorum*—*The Acta Pauli et Antonini*)

[CPJ II 158; cf. *P.Oxy.* XVIII.2177]¹³⁸

Col. i. Paulus (spoke) about the king, how they brought him forth and (mocked him?); and Theon read the edict of Lupus ordering them to lead him forth for Lupus to make fun of the king of the scene and the mime. After we had thus (testified?), the emperor took occasion to remark to Paulus and our people as follows: “During such disturbances . . . during the Dacian war. . .” The Jews . . . impious . . .

Col. ii. Caesar answered the Jews: “I learned. . . .”

The Jews: “They seized them from the prison and . . . wounded them.”

Caesar: “I have investigated all these matters(?), and not (all?) the Alexandrians but only those who are responsible should be prosecuted. . .

Col. iii. “. . . so that if some were to be exiled from Alexandria, they were none the less not seized by us, as they allege, but by them, and this occasioned a false accusation against us. Now all (the slaves) who had fled to their [*p. 95*] masters intending to secure complete safety were brought to justice by them and punished.”

The Jews: “Sir, they are lying; they do not know how many men there were.”

Cols.vi-vii. Paulus: “My only concern is for the grave in Alexandria which I expect to have. Advancing as I am towards this, I shall have no fear in telling you the truth. Listen to me then, Caesar, as to one who may not live beyond the morrow.”

Antoninus: “My Lord Caesar, I swear by your genius he speaks the truth as one who may not live another day. For when we were in such pressing circumstances and so many letters had been sent you saying that (the prefect) had ordered the impious Jews to transfer their residence to a place from which they could easily attack and ravage our well-named city—if not a line on this matter fell into your beneficent hands, then the reason for your august words is clear. It is obvious that this has been perpetrated against you, to prevent you from having any evidence of the woes that have befallen us.”

Caesar: “Let Paulus go; but have Antoninus bound. . . .”

82 The Revolt in Egypt, 14: Roman Response

(Jerome, *Chronicle* (Hadrian))¹³⁹

1c Hadrian restored Alexandria, which had been destroyed by the Jews.

¹³⁸ *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, II, 94–95 (Tcherikover and Fuks ed.), with Greek text. For more, see *Acta Alexandrinorum* (Musurillo ed.). Also see Pucci, “Alexandria ad Aegyptum: 117–119 A.D.” The *Acta Pauli et Antonini* represents a hearing before the emperor presented by two delegations. Though the emperor is commonly presumed to be Hadrian, the possibility that Trajan is intended cannot be excluded. The material poses substantial difficulties in almost every respect. On this text also see Gray, “New Light from Egypt,” 19–21. On the person Antoninus, see Rodriguez, “Antoninos,” who calls him a Roman citizen and ambassador considered by Rome a traitor.

¹³⁹ For Latin text of the Armenian version, see Jerome, *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones*.

83 The Revolt in Egypt, 15: An Historical Echo?

(Excerpt from a Petition [c. 200–202 C.E.]

[P.Oxy. IV.705(Column II. Lines 31–35)]¹⁴⁰

... the loyalty, fidelity, and friendship towards the Romans which the Oxyrhynchites had displayed both by helping them in the war against the Jews, and continuing up to the present to celebrate the day of victory by an annual festival.

84 Addendum, 1: An Inscription in Jerusalem [116/117 C.E.]

(Inscription in Jerusalem, Judea)

[CIL III, 13587=AE 1895.24 (and 76, 94, and 160)]¹⁴¹

To Jupiter Optimus Maximus Serapis, for the well-being and victory of Emperor Nerva Trajan Caesar Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus and the people of Rome; set up by a division of cavalry of the legion III Cyrenaica.

85 Addendum, 2: Temple Dedication Celebrates Hadrian [Apr. 23, 118]

(Inscription at Corinthian Temple at the Mines of Mons Claudianus in Egypt)

[OGIS II, 678=CIG 4713/=I.Pan 42]¹⁴²

For the safety and eternal victory of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus and all his house and to the good fortune of all the works he has undertaken, the temple of Zeus Helios Great Serapis and the gods who are with him, the temple and all that surrounds it was constructed by the slave Epaphroditus Sigerianus, mine contractor (i.e., *conductor metallorum*) when Rammius Martialis was Prefect (ἐπάρχωι) of Egypt, under imperial freedman Chresimos, Procurator of mines (ἐπιτρόπου τῶν μετὰλλων), in charge of the works at Mons Claudianus, (with) Claudius Avitus, centurion of the First Flavian Cilician cavalry. Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian, Pharmouthi 28 (χη').

¹⁴⁰ *Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part IV*, 163 (with Greek text, 165). The translators (p. 163) remark, “This war refers to some Jewish rising in Egypt which perhaps took place not long before the date of the letter, like the Jewish rebellion in the reign of Hadrian mentioned in B. G. U. 889; but it would seem from the use of the word ῥόλεμος to have been on a larger scale than the revolt in Hadrian’s time.” The only large scale uprisings known were Bar Kokhba’s war and the Diaspora Revolt (115–117 C.E.) during Trajan’s reign. It is uncertain which this belongs to.

¹⁴¹ The Latin text may be found online at *EDCS* (EDCS-29601637).

¹⁴² The Greek text can be found in *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (Dittenberger ed.), 422–23. It can be found online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/219095?&bookid=371&location=1695>). For the text I.Pan, 42, with French translation and detailed notes, see Bernard, *Pan du Désert*, 98–105, who offers the observation with respect to the roles of Chresimos (i.e., Marcus Ulpius Chresimos) and the centurion Avitus that here is “the civilian supervising the soldier, and vice versa” (“le civil surveillant le militaire, et réciproquement”). The works at Mons Claudianus, from which monolith columns and blocks were hauled to the Nile for later shipment to Rome, were important (see the notes on the Coin of Zeus Serapis later in this volume); a load could be 200 tons or more (Meredith, “Roman Remains,” 94). Given the date for the inscription, Horbury, *Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*, 243, speculates that rather than the Diaspora revolt of 115–117 C.E., what may be in view is the Sarmatian unrest or Mauretanian revolt.

TRAJAN'S FINAL ILLNESS, DEATH, AND LEGACY

86 Hadrian in Syria When Adopted [117 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁴³

LXVIII.33.1 Trajan was preparing to make a fresh expedition into Mesopotamia, but, as his malady began to afflict him sorely, he set out, intending to sail to Italy, leaving Publius Aelius Hadrian with the army in Syria.

87 Trajan's Death

(Aurelius Victor, *Book of the Caesars*)¹⁴⁴

13.10 Furthermore, the wine-drinking—a vice which, like Nerva, inflicted him—he prudently tamed, by forbidding his commands be followed after long banquets.

13.11 With these virtues he had reigned nearly twenty years, when a severe earthquake at Antioch and through the rest of Syria made a great impression on him. He was returning to Italy at the request of the Conscript Fathers (*patrum*, i.e., Senate) when at a great age he passed away from an illness—but not before adopting his compatriot and relative, Hadrian, to be emperor.

88 Trajan's Death and Afterwards

(Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*)¹⁴⁵

VIII.5 After having gained the greatest glory both in the field and at home, he was cut off, as he was returning from Persia, by a diarrhoea, at Seleucia in Isauria. He died in the sixty-third year, ninth month, and fourth day of his age, and in the nineteenth year, sixth month, and fifteenth day of his reign. He was enrolled among the gods, and was the only one of all the emperors that was buried within the city. His bones, contained in a golden urn, lie in the forum which he himself built, under a pillar whose height is a hundred and forty-four feet. So much respect has been paid to his memory, that, even to our own times, they shout in acclamations to the emperors, “More fortunate than Augustus, better than Trajan!” So much has the fame of his goodness prevailed, that it affords ground for most noble illustration in the hands either of such as flatter, or of such as praise with sincerity.

¹⁴³ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 422.

¹⁴⁴ For an alternate translation, see Aurelius Victor, *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus* (Bird translation), 16. The Latin text can be found in Aurelius Victor. *Libet de Caesaribus* (Pichlmayr's ed.), 92 (p. 16, 1892 ed.).

¹⁴⁵ Eutropius. *Abridgment of Roman History* (Watson's trans.), 509. The Latin text can be found in Eutropius, *Eutropius* (Hazzard ed.), 75–76. Elm, “Death and the Tigris,” 180, points out, “Trajan, to be sure, was Eutropius' exemplary ruler, the standard to which all others ought to aspire. . . .” She argues (p. 164) that Eutropius—like fellow historians Ammianus Marcellinus, Festus, and Eunapius, all with deep connections to Antioch—presents an Antiochan perspective on Roman history, focused on the East. Thus, for example, Elm, 180, notes, “Eutropius granted Trajan four times the narrative space of all other emperors, and devoted twice as much time to his conquests in the East than in the West. . . .” Thus Hadrian, in comparison to Trajan, comes off poorly.

LAST MINUTE ADOPTION BY TRAJAN

89 Adoption, 1 [August, 117 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁴⁶

LXIX.1.3 My father, Apronianus,¹⁴⁷ who was governor of Cilicia, had ascertained accurately the whole story about him, and he used to relate the various incidents, in particular stating that the death of Trajan was concealed for several days in order that Hadrian's adoption might be announced first.

LXIX.1.4 This was shown also by Trajan's letters to the senate, for they were signed, not by him, but by Plotina, although she had not done this in any previous instance.

90 Adoption, 2 [August, 117 C.E.]

(*HLA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁴⁸

4.6 On the fifth day before the Ides of August, while he was governor of Syria, he learned of his adoption by Trajan, and he later gave orders to celebrate this day as the anniversary of his adoption.

4.7 On the third day before the Ides of August he received the news of Trajan's death, and this day he appointed as the anniversary of his accession.

4.8 There was, to be sure, a widely prevailing belief that Trajan, with the approval of many of his friends, had planned to appoint as his successor not Hadrian but Neratius Priscus, even to the extent of saying to Priscus: "I entrust the provinces to your care in case anything happens to me".

4.9 And, indeed, many aver that Trajan had purposed to follow the example of Alexander of Macedonia and die without naming a successor. Again, many others declare that [*p. 15*] he had meant to send an address to the senate, requesting this body, in case aught befell him, to appoint a ruler for the Roman empire, and merely appending the names of some from among whom the senate might choose the best.

4.10 And the statement has even been made that it was not until after Trajan's death that Hadrian was declared adopted, and then only by means of a trick of Plotina's; for she smuggled in someone who impersonated the Emperor and spoke in a feeble voice.

¹⁴⁶ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 425, 427.

¹⁴⁷ I.e., Dio Cassius' father, Cassius Apronianus, of Senatorial rank; supposedly he was the son-in-law of the Greek philosopher Dio Chrysostom. Apronianus, a native of Bithynia, of consular rank (suffect c. 185), held the position of Governor in provinces of Lycia and Pamphilia (c. 179–180), Cilicia (c. 180–183), and Dalmatia (aft. 184) in the late 2nd century. Plotina might have signed because Trajan was too weak to do so, but her signature led to other reasons being speculated.

¹⁴⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, I (Magie's translation in Loeb ed.), 11. Syme, *Tacitus*, I, 240, puts the matter plainly: "Speculation leads nowhere." If the transmission of the power was managed by a resolute and sagacious woman, the validity of Hadrian's claim is not impaired—he was the next of kin, it was the will of the army, and the Senate ratified." The Ides of August was August 13.

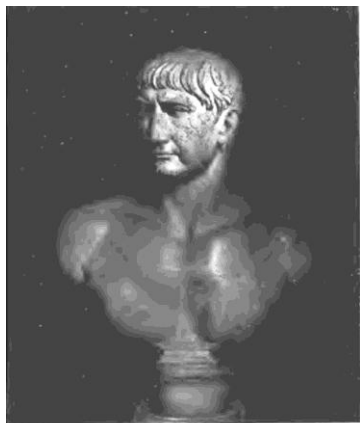
c5 Adoption Coin [117 C.E.]

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 308)



Trajan (below left) and Plotina (below right)

(Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 36)



TRAJAN
A BUST IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM



PLOTINA
A BUST IN THE VATICAN MUSEUM, ROME

PLOTINA: THE GREAT ALLY¹⁴⁹

91 On Plotina's Character

(Dio, *Roman History*)¹⁵⁰

LXVIII.5.5 When Plotina, his wife, first entered the palace, she turned round so as to face the stairway and the populace and said, "I enter here such a woman as I fain would be when I depart." And she conducted herself during the entire reign in such a manner as to incur no censure.

92 Praise of Plotina to Trajan by Pliny

(Pliny the Younger, *Panegyricus*)¹⁵¹

83. Many distinguished men have been dishonoured by an ill-considered choice of a wife or weakness in not getting rid of her; thus their fame abroad was damaged by their loss of [p. 519] reputation at home, and their relative failure as

¹⁴⁹ *Plotina* was Trajan's wife, Pompeia Plotina (c. 70–c. 121); she married Trajan in 98. For a brief account of her life as known through the sources, see McDermott, "Plotina Augusta and Nicomachus of Gerasa," 195–201.

¹⁵⁰ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 369.

¹⁵¹ *Pliny*, II (Radice trans.), 517, 519.

husbands denied them complete success as citizens. But your own wife contributes to your honour and glory, as a supreme model of the ancient virtues; the Chief Pontiff himself, had he to take a wife, would choose her, or one like her, if one exists. From your position she claims nothing for herself but the pleasure it gives her, unswerving in her devotion not to your power but to yourself. . . . How modest she is in her attire, how moderate the number of her attendants, how unassuming when she walks abroad! . . . When she sees her husband unaccompanied by pomp and intimidation, she also goes about in silence, and as far as her sex permits, she follows his example of walking on foot. This would win her praise even if you did the opposite, but with a husband so moderate in his habits, how much respect she owes him as his wife, and herself as a woman!

93 Hadrian's Favor with Plotina [c. 114–117 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁵²

LXIX.4.1 He enjoyed, too, the favour of Plotina, and it was due to her interest in him that later, at the time of the campaign against Parthia, he was appointed the legate of the Emperor.

94 Hadrian's Favor with Plotina and His Adoption [117 C.E.]

(Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*)¹⁵³

VIII.6.1a After the death of Trajan, Aelius Hadrian was made emperor, not from any wish to that effect having been expressed by Trajan himself, but through the influence of Plotina, Trajan's wife; for Trajan in his lifetime had refused to adopt him, though he was the son of his cousin.

95 Letter of Invitation to Plotina: Relationship with Plotina after Trajan's Death

(Letter of Hadrian (alleged), preserved by Dositheus Magister)

*Judgments of Hadrian (Divi Hadriani Sententiae)*¹⁵⁴

Letter of Hadrian (Jan. 24, ??). Be cheerful, best and dearest mother: as you pray to the Gods on my behalf, so do I on yours. Your sense of duty and modesty accomplishes everything. I'm delighted, all the same, by Hercules, that my actions are all pleasing and praiseworthy in your eyes. Mother, as you know, today is my birthday, and we should dine with each other, turn and turn about. If you'd like to, then, come in time with my sisters after your bath. Sabina has already started for the villa, but has personally sent a present. Make sure you come quickly, so that we can celebrate this happy day together.

¹⁵² Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 425. Also see entry #124 (below).

¹⁵³ Eutropius. *Abridgement of Roman History* (Watson's trans.), 509.

¹⁵⁴ Daniger and Purcell, *Hadrian's Empire*, 19. Also see Birley, *Hadrian*, 110, or Burns, *Great Women*, 118, or Henderson, 185, among others. Also for the source, see Boecking, *Dosithei magistri*. The letter may or may not be genuine, but does reflect a perception of the relationship between Hadrian and Plotina. If authentic, Birley would date it to 120 or 121. It is part of a collection by Dositheus Magister known as the *Divi Hadriani sententiae et epistolae*. On this work, see Lewis, *Hadriani Sententiae*. The 'sentences' (*sententiae*), or 'judgments' of Hadrian, are offered in chapter 16.

OTHER ALLIES

96 Lucius Licinius Sura, 1: Trajan's Trusted Companion

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁵⁵

LXVIII.15[32] When Licinius Sura died, Trajan bestowed upon him a public funeral and a statue. This man had attained to such a degree of wealth and pride that [4] he had built a gymnasium for the Romans; yet so great was the friendship and confidence which he showed toward Trajan and Trajan toward him, that, although he was often slandered,—as naturally happens in the case of all those who possess any influence with the emperors,—Trajan never felt any suspicion or hatred toward him. [5] On the contrary, when those who envied Sura became very insistent, the emperor went uninvited to his house to dinner, and having dismissed his whole bodyguard, he first called Sura's physician and caused him to anoint his eyes, and then his barber, whom he caused to shave his chin (for the emperors themselves as well as all the rest used to follow this ancient practice; it was Hadrian who first [6] set the fashion of wearing a beard¹⁵⁶); and after doing all this, he next took a bath and had dinner. Then on the following day he said to his friends who were in the habit of constantly making disparaging remarks about Sura: "If Sura had desired to kill me, he would have killed me yesterday." [16.1] Now he did a fine thing in running this risk in the case of a man who had been calumniated, but a much finer thing still in believing that he never should be harmed by him. [1a] Thus it was that the confidence of his conviction was strengthened by his personal knowledge of Sura's conduct rather than by the conjectures of others.

[#27 repeated] Lucius Licinius Sura, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁵⁷

2.10a Finally, through the good offices of Sura,¹⁵⁸ he was instantly restored to a friendship with Trajan that was closer than ever,

97 Lucius Licinius Sura, 3: An Important Official

(Extract from Martial, *Epigrams* VI.64)¹⁵⁹

[Martial, speaking of his writings] . . . these triflings, I say, to which the chief men of state and courts of law do not disdain to turn an attentive ear; . . . and Sura commends, he who views hard by the struggles of the mighty Circus, Sura, the neighbor of Aventine Diana; these which our lord, though he bears so vast a weight of empire, does not disdain twice and thrice to unroll, Caesar himself.

¹⁵⁵ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 391.

¹⁵⁶ See Vout, "A Revision of Hadrian's Portraiture," 444, who comments, "The fact that all of Hadrian's portraits (or at least all of those which have been identified as Hadrian) show him with a full beard and moustache, make his iconography unprecedented and the answer to what does a Roman emperor look like read differently."

¹⁵⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 7.

¹⁵⁸ Lucius Licinius Sura; see Bonario, *Commentary*, 50. Also see *HA: Vita Hadriani* 3.8, 10–11. The "he" referred to is, of course, Hadrian.

¹⁵⁹ Martial, *Epigrams*, I, 399 (Ker trans.).



98 Lucius Licinius Sura, 4: Recovery from Illness

(Martial, *Epigrams* VII.47)¹⁶⁰

O Licinius Sura, most celebrated of learned men, whose eloquence, savouring of antiquity, reminds us of our mighty ancestors, you are — (oh, by what kindness of the Fates!)— restored to us; sent back after having almost tasted the water of Lethe. Our prayers had lost their fear; our sadness wept without relief; and it appeared from our tears that you were quite lost. But the ruler of the silent Avernus feared our displeasure, and has himself restored to the Fates the distaff already snatched from their hands. Thus you know, then, [*p.* 327] what lamentations the false report of your death caused amongst your fellow-creatures, and you enjoy what will be said of you by posterity. Live as though you were stolen from death, and seize fleeting joys, and thus your recovered life will not have lost a single day.

¹⁶⁰ Martial, *The Epigrams of Martial*, 326–27. Cf. Ker's translation in Martial, *Epigrams*, I, 455–56. White, "The Friends of Martial, Statius, and Pliny," 295, lists Sura as one of three Senatorial patrons of Martial (alongside Domitius Apollinaris and Baebius Macer—and all three also friends of Pliny the Younger). Martial extols Sura's eloquence, which he notes was in a style "savoring of antiquity"—i.e., at some variance from what was common in Sura's own time. The famed Quintilian urged a return to Cicero's example favoring clarity and precision over embellishment.

99 Lucius Licinius Sura, 5: Consul for the Second Time [102 C.E.]

[Consular *fasti*]¹⁶¹

Lucius Julius Ursus Servianus, 2nd time, with Lucius Licinius Sura, 2nd time.
Suffects: March, Lucius Fabius Justus; ____ Lucius Publilius Celsus; November,
Lucius Antonius Alba and Marcus Junius Homullus

100 Lucius Licinius Sura, 6: Consul for the Third Time [107 C.E.]

(Consular *fasti*)¹⁶²

Lucius Licinius Sura, 3rd time, with Q. Sosius Senecio, 3rd time. Suffects: March,
Lucius Acilius Rufus; May, Caius Minicius Fundanus and Caius Vettennius
Severus; September, Caius Julius Longinus and Caius Valerius Paullinus

101 Lucius Licinius Sura, 7

(Curse Tablet: Interior Inscription)¹⁶³

Interior.

(Against) our adversaries,
G. Domitius Secundus
and L. Larcus
and Secundus Vacarus,
from Cibalae, and P. Citronius
Cicorellius, from Narbo,
and L. Licinius Sura, from Hispania
and Lucilius
Valens. That they cannot
act against (us);
that (the deity) distance them and not
allow them to speak badly (of us),
and that he silence them.
G. Domitius Secundus
and Lucius Larcus, from Cibalae,
Muta Tacita...
of them...

Exterior.

(Names) given, sent,
these given to the god
Save that sinks,
so that he can take care of our
adversaries,
defeat them, silence them
and that they (cannot) testify against
us

¹⁶¹ Fabius Justus, perhaps of Spanish origin, moved in influential circles. He was a correspondent with Pliny the Younger; Tacitus addressed his *Dialogus de oratoribus* (*Dialog on Orators*) to him. He governed Moesia Inferior (105–108 C.E.) and later Syria (109–112 C.E.). L. Publilius Celsus was one of Hadrian's enemies (see entries 124–126). L. Antonius Alba was father to a son of the same name, favored by Hadrian, who was a Proconsul of Asia and Suffect consul (132 C.E.). M. Junius Homullus gained some note in the Senate as a jurist, even working a case with Pliny. He later governed Cappadocia (c. 111–113 C.E.); his son of the same name was suffect consul (128 C.E.).

¹⁶² See Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, Appendix I, for a list of Roman consuls (*ordinarius* and *suffectus*) from 298 B.C.E. down to 190 C.E. (thereafter without suffects).

¹⁶³ Simón and DeLlanza, "A Latin *Defixio*," 171–72 (with Latin text, 171). The authors (p. 182) believe they can link "the Hispanic Sura of the Siscia defixio to the Trajan Sura who played an important role in the second campaign of the Dacian Wars, who was a close confidant and had the complete trust of Trajan and who even came close to being a candidate for the imperial throne, after having been a deciding factor in Nerva's choice of Trajan as his successor."

Lucius Licinius Sura, 8? (Dubious Ascription) [see #103 below]

(Inscription on Marble Statue Base)

[ILS 1022=CIL VI, 1444]¹⁶⁴

... with Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, in the successful wars against the Dacian nation and King Decebalus, and under the commander of the same with praetorian powers was presented the ‘headless spear’ (*bastis puris*) for wounding an enemy 8 times, battlefield standards (*vexilles*) 8 times, the mural crown for being first to climb an enemy’s wall twice, the honor for being first to scale an enemy rampart (*vallaris*) twice, the *classicus* twice, decoration of gold (*auratis*) twice; governor (*legatus pro praetore*) of Belgica, legate of legion I Minerva, Caesar’s candidate for praetor and tribune of the Plebs, quaestor in the province of Achaia, one of the four magistrates for road maintenance (*IIIIViro viarum curandarum*); awarded triumphal ornaments and a statue at public expense placed by decree.

102 List of Other Allies [c. 114–117 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁶⁵

4.2 At this same time he enjoyed, besides, the friendship of Sosius Papos and Platorius Nepos, both of the [p. 13] senatorial order, and also of Attianus, his former guardian, of Livianus, and of Turbo, all of equestrian rank.

103 ‘Sosius Papos’ = Q. Sosius Senecio [107 C.E.]

(Inscription on Marble Statue Base)

[CIL VI, 1444=ILS 1022]¹⁶⁶

... with Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, in the successful wars against the Dacian nation and King Decebalus, and under the commander of the same with praetorian powers was presented the ‘headless spear’ (*bastis puris*) for wounding an enemy 8 times, battlefield standards (*vexilles*) 8 times, the mural crown (*coronis muralibus*) for being first to climb an enemy’s wall twice, the honor for being first to scale an enemy rampart (*vallaris*) twice, the *classicus* twice, decoration of gold (*auratis*) twice; governor (*legatus pro praetore*) of Belgica, legate of legion I Minerva, Caesar’s candidate for praetor and tribune of the Plebs, quaestor in the province of Achaia, one of the four magistrates for road maintenance (*IIIIViro viarum curandarum*); awarded triumphal ornaments and a statue at public expense placed by decree.

¹⁶⁴ This entry is more often assigned to Socius Senecio, the next ally of Hadrian covered here.

¹⁶⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, I (Magie’s translation), 11–12.

¹⁶⁶ Benario, *A Commentary*, 56, points out of ‘Socius Papos’—“Such a man does not exist.” The figure is often identified as the well-known Socius Senecio. This inscription is sometimes referred to as the ‘headless’ inscription because of the absent beginning. It was attributed in 1970 to Socius Senecio by scholar C. P. Jones, “Sura and Senecio.” Senecio was the son-in-law of Sextus Julius Frontinus. The *hasta pura* (‘headless spear’) was called such because it did not have the iron tip of a spear used in battle; it was awarded for various acts of battlefield courage. The *vexillum*—‘battlefield standard’—was a small square of cloth, probably with an inscription, but its exact use and purpose remain unclear (see Schmöger, “The Roman vexillum”). The *corona muralis* was gold, decorated with turrets, and awarded for being first over the wall into a besieged city. The *corona vallaris*, awarded for breaching an enemy fortification, was gold with the uprights (*valli*) shown.

104 Aulus Platorius Nepos

(Inscription on Statue Base)

[CIL V, 877=ILS 1052]¹⁶⁷

To Aulus Platorius, son of Aulus, of the voting tribe *Sergia*, Nepos Aponius Italicus Manilianus Gaius Licinius Pollio, consul, augur; legate of the emperor with praetorian powers of the province of Britain, legate with praetorian powers of the province of Lower Germany, legate with praetorian powers of the province of Thrace, legate of the legion I *Adiutrix*, quaestor of the province of Macedonia, curator of the Cassian, Clodian, Ciminian and New Trajanic roads, a candidate nominated by the emperor Trajan, military tribune of the legion XXII *Primigenia Pia Fidelis*, praetor, tribune of the plebs, on the Board of Three in charge of capital sentences, Patron. By decree of the councillors.

105 Publius Acilius Attianus, 1: His Name

(Inscription on a *Fistula* at Elba)

[CIL XI, 2607; cf. at Praeneste, CIL XIV, 3039=CIL XV, 7881]¹⁶⁸

Publius Acilius Attianus

106 Publius Acilius Attianus, 2: A Gift

(Granite Altar Inscription at Elba)

[Röm. Mitth. 18 (1903), 63–67=CIL XI, 7248=AE 1903.325=ILS 8999]¹⁶⁹

Publius Acilius Attianus, praetorian prefect, given to divine Hercules as a gift.

107 Tiberius Claudius Livianus, 1: Trajan's Envoy [102 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁷⁰

[In the 1st Dacian War; Decebalus requested envoys from Trajan.]

LXVIII.9.2 Those sent were Sura and Claudius Livianus, the prefect. . .

108 Tiberius Claudius Livianus, 2: Praetorian Prefect

(Inscription at Rome)

[CIL VI, 1604=CIL VI, 31830; cf. CIL XIV, 3439]¹⁷¹

Tiberius Claudius Livianus, prefect of the praetorians, best friend.

¹⁶⁷ Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 72–73 (with Latin text with slight emendations); also see the text and a different rendering in Birley, *Roman Government of Britain*, 120–21.

¹⁶⁸ A *fistula* is a lead water pipe; inscriptions typically reveal the name of the owner and/or manufacturer. It is thought the name supplied often indicates the ownership of the land where the pipe was located, thus suggesting Attianus had holdings at Elba. The Latin text reads *P(ubli) Acili Attiani*. Hadrian favored Praeneste and may have built a villa there (Bradshaw, “Praeneste,” 237).

¹⁶⁹ The inscription is on a votive altar to Hercules that was rediscovered in 1899 in the western part of Elba. Lacey, p. 57 n. 119, conjectures that “Attianus had a villa at Praeneste and estates on the Ilva.” *Röm. Mitth.*= *Römische Mittheilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: römische Abteilung*. Note Dio, LXIX.1.2 (“Attianus, a compatriot and former guardian of his”).

¹⁷⁰ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 375. On Livianus and other prefects of the Praetorians under Trajan and Hadrian, see Syme, “Guard Prefects of Trajan and Hadrian.”

¹⁷¹ The Latin text can be found in Lacey, *Equestrian Officials*, 5 [#10]. CIL XIV, 3439, an inscription at Praeneste, reads: *Ti(beri) Claudi Liviani pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio)* | IXX (Tiberius Claudius Livianus, prefect of the praetorians, 19).

109 Marcius Turbo under Trajan, 1:

(Excerpt from Inscription)

[CIL III, 14349(02)=AE 1933.31=AE 1948.202=AE 2002.1121]¹⁷²

... Legion II Adiutrix, centurion Marcius Turbo ...

110 Marcius Turbo under Trajan, 2:

(Inscription)

[AE 1994.555=CIL XIV, 4243]¹⁷³

To Quintus Marcius Fronto Publicius Severus, son of Caius, of the tribe Tromentina, senior centurion of the 1st cohort (*primus pilus*), twice bestowed honors, for the Dacian War and the Parthian. ...

111 Marcius Turbo under Trajan, 3 [114 C.E.]

(Diploma from Terranova in Province of Sardinia and Corsica)

[CIL XVI, 60=AE 1927.3]¹⁷⁴

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Nerva—Nerva Trajan *Optimus* Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 18th time, 6 times *Imperator*, 6 times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, [repetition of preceding] has given citizenship to those who sailed on the quadrireme *Ops* and served military duty in the Misene fleet under Quintus Marcius Turbo, whose names are written below, and the same to their children and descendants.

112 Marcius Turbo under Trajan, 4: Jewish Revolt [115–116 C.E.]

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*)¹⁷⁵

[3] ... the Jews of Cyrene continued to plunder the country of Egypt and to ravage the districts in it under their leader Lucuas. The Emperor sent against them Marcius Turbo¹⁷⁶ with land and sea forces including cavalry. [4] He waged war vigorously against them in many battles for a considerable time and killed many thousands of Jews, not only those of Cyrene but also those of Egypt who had rallied to Lucuas, their king.

¹⁷² See *HA: Vita Hadriani* 4.2, which marks about the time of Turbo's service as a centurion in a legion whose Military Tribune (c. 95 C.E.) was Hadrian; both served in the Dacian Wars (101–106 C.E.). On Turbo, see Miletic and Bijadija, "Quintus Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus."

¹⁷³ The Latin text can be viewed at *EDCS* (EDCS-05802226). On the double name "Quintus Marcius Fronto Publicius Severus" see Miletic and Bijadija, "Quintus Marcius Turbo," 312–13.

¹⁷⁴ The Latin text can be found at *EDCS* (EDCS-12300264). A *quadrireme* had four banks of oars. An early notice (in 1924 and 1926) of this diploma was given by Helen McClees; in the latter notice, "A Military Diploma of Trajan," she fixes the date of the inscription and adds, 420, "Owing to the date, it seems probable that these were the ships which carried Trajan to Athens and the East, following the news of the Parthian revolt, and additional support for this conjecture may be found in the class of the ship. The quadrireme and other large vessels seem to have been used for special services, perhaps for display, while the trireme and lighter ships were employed for war and other practical uses in the fleets." Thus, Turbo accompanied Trajan for the Parthian campaign.

¹⁷⁵ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, I (Lake's translation in the Loeb edition), 305, 307 (with Greek text, pp. 304, 306).

¹⁷⁶ On Turbo, see Lacey, *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian*, 17–18 [#39].

113 Turbo under Hadrian, 1: Mauretanian Insurrection [late 117 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁷⁷

5.8b and he appointed Marcus Turbo, after his reduction of Judaea, to quell the insurrection in Mauretania.¹⁷⁸

114 Turbo under Hadrian, 2: Procurator at Mauretania

(Inscription at Rapidum, Mauretania Caesariensis)

[*AE* 1911.108]¹⁷⁹

Julius Priscus Gallonius Fronto Marcus Turbo, *procurator Augusti*.

115 Turbo under Hadrian, 3: Honored in Africa [c. 119–138 C.E.]

(Inscription on Statue Base at Utica, Africa Proconsularis)

[*AE* 1913.164]¹⁸⁰

To Quintus Marcus Turbo, prefect of the praetorians, by order of the decurions, at public expense.

116 Turbo under Hadrian, 4: Reward for Mauretanian Campaign

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁸¹

6.7 He conferred the insignia of a prefect on Marcus Turbo after his Mauretanian campaign and appointed him to the temporary command of Pannonia and Dacia.

117 Turbo under Hadrian, 5: A Tribute

(Inscription from Syria)

[*AE* 1955.225]¹⁸²

To Quintus Marcus Fronto Publicius Severus, son of Caius, of the tribe Tromentina, native of Epidaurum, twice senior centurion of the 1st cohort, prefect of the postal service, tribune of cohort VII of the *vigiles*, tribune of the imperial horse guard, tribune of the praetorians, procurator of the *ludus magnus* (gladiatorial school), prefect of the Misene fleet; by Publius Valerius Vallens, son of Publius, of the tribe Quirina, for merit.

¹⁷⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 17.

¹⁷⁸ The *HA* places this commission shortly after Hadrian's accession to emperor. There was a later uprising there in 122 C.E. In the *cursus honorum* reconstructed by Benario, *A Commentary*, 57, Turbo is listed as *procurator Mauretaniae* in 117–118 C.E.; cf. Birley, *Hadrian*, 91–92.

¹⁷⁹ The post of *procurator Augusti* ("Procurator of Augustus") was a senior administrative post in the imperial civil service open to equestrians. On this post, see Sherwin-White, "Procurator Augusti." Turbo was from Epidaurum in Dalmatia (see *AE* 1955.225). On Turbo, see Miletic and Bijadija, "Quintus Marcus Turbo." The Latin text can be found in Lacey, *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian*, 17.

¹⁸⁰ Latin text can be found in Miletic and Bijadija, "Quintus Marcus Turbo," 325. Cf. *CIL* III, 1462 (Q(uito) Marcio Turboni | Frontoni Publicio | Severo praef(ecto) praet(orio) | Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Traiani | Hadriani Augusti etc.).

¹⁸¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 11, 13. See Syme, "The Wrong Marcus Turbo."

¹⁸² The Latin text also is reproduced, with comments, by Miletic and Bijadija, "Quintus Marcus Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus," 314 n. 29 and can be viewed at *EDCS* (EDCS-12200393). *Vigiles* were firemen and police.

118 In the Wake of the Killing of the Four Consulars, 1

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁸³

7.3 Whereupon Hadrian entrusted [p. 23] the command in Dacia to Turbo, whom he dignified, in order to increase his authority, with a rank analogous to that of the prefect of Egypt.

119 Turbo under Hadrian, 7:

In the Wake of the Killing of the Four Consulars, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁸⁴

9.4 And as he could not appoint a successor for Attianus except at the latter's request, he contrived to make him request it, and at once transferred the power to Turbo. . . .

120 Turbo under Hadrian, 8: Out of Favor

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁸⁵

15.7 Ummidius Quadratus, Catilius Severus, and Turbo he persecuted [p. 49] vigorously. . . .

121 Turbo under Hadrian, 9: Praise of History

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁸⁶

LXIX.18.1 Other excellent men, also, came to light during that period, of whom the most distinguished were Turbo and Similis, who, indeed, were honored with statues. Turbo was a man of the greatest generalship and had become prefect, or commander of the Praetorians. He displayed neither effeminacy nor haughtiness in anything that he did, but lived like one of the multitude;

LXIX.18.2 among other things, he spent the entire day near the palace and often he would go there even before midnight, when some of the others were just beginning to sleep.

LXIX.18.3 In this connexion the following anecdote is related of Cornelius Fronto,¹⁸⁷ who was the foremost Roman of the time in pleading before the courts. One night he was returning home from dinner very late, and ascertained from a man whose counsel he had promised to be that Turbo was already holding court. Accordingly, just as he was, in his dinner dress, he went into Turbo's court-room and greeted him, not with the morning salutation, *Salve*, but with the one appropriate to the evening, *Vale*.

LXIX.18.4 Turbo was never seen at home in the daytime, even when he was sick; and to Hadrian, who advised him to remain quiet, he replied: "The prefect ought to die on his feet."

¹⁸³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 21, 23.

¹⁸⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 29.

¹⁸⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 47, 49.

¹⁸⁶ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 457. "To remain quiet," i.e., to rest and recover.

¹⁸⁷ Marcus Cornelius Fronto (c. 100–c. 170) was tutor to Marcus Aurelius (see chapter 10).

OPPONENTS

122 How to Make Enemies: Hadrian's Ambition and Jealousy

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁸⁸

LXIX.3.3 . . . his jealousy of all who excelled in any respect was most terrible and caused the downfall of many, besides utterly destroying several. For, inasmuch as he wished to surpass everybody in everything, he hated those who attained eminence in any direction.

123 Rumors Spread about Hadrian

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁸⁹

4.5 That he was bribing Trajan's freedmen and courting and corrupting his favourites all the while that he was in close attendance at court, was told and generally believed.

124 Celsus and Palma

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁹⁰

4.3 And when Palma and Celsus, always his enemies, on whom he later took vengeance, fell under suspicion of aspiring to the throne, his adoption seemed assured; and it was taken wholly for granted when, through Plotina's favour, he was appointed consul for the second time.

125 Lucius Publilius Celsus, 1: Favored by Trajan

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁹¹

LXVIII.16.2 He also set up images of Sosius, Palma and Celsus, so greatly did he esteem them above the rest.

126 Lucius Publilius Celsus, 2: Consul (Suffect) [102 C.E.]

(Excerpt from Military Diploma at Posada in Sardinia, Italy)

[*AE* 2013.650]¹⁹²

The 3rd day before the Nones of May, Titus Didius Secundus, Lucius Publilius Celsus consuls.

¹⁸⁸ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 429.

¹⁸⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 5, 7.

¹⁹⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 13. His second consulship was in 118 C.E.

¹⁹¹ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 389. Also see *PIR*² C 1412.

¹⁹² For Latin text, see *Prosopographia imperii Romani* (1st ed.), *saec. III*, 107 [#782] (*PIR*¹ P 782): L. PVBLILIUS CELSVS (*sic* XI 3614; L. Publicius Celsus *tegula* XIV 4080, 6= XV 2157 *neglegenter ut videtur scripta*; Celsus *alibi*) consul suffectus a. inc, consul ordinarius II a. 113 cum C. Clodio Crispino (Crispo *teg. cit.*) *fasti*. Statuam eius posuit Traianus *c.a. 113—114*, *Dio* 68, 16, 2. Inimicus Hadriani privati *vita Hadr.* 4, 3. Cum coniurationem cum (A. Cornelio) Palma, (C. Avidio) Nigrino et Lusio Quicto iniisset, Hadriano invito, ut ipse dicebat, Bais occisus est a. 118 *Dio* 69, 2, 5; *vita Hadr.* 7, 1-2; *cf.* 4, 3. *Vide num ad eum referendi sint tituli* V 7153 (. . . o Cam. Celso . . .), IX 688 (L. Publio Celso Patruino), IX 686 (L. P. D. Patruinus), *cf. Borghesi* 5 p. 13. Also see *PIR*² P 1049.

127 Aulus Cornelius Palma Frontonianus, 1: Consul Ordinarius [99 C.E.]

(Excerpt from *Consular Fasti*)¹⁹³

A. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus

Q. Sosius Senecio

**128 Aulus Cornelius Palma Frontonianus, 2: Governor of Spain
[Governor 99/100–102/103 C.E.]**

(Martial, *Epigrams* XII.9)¹⁹⁴

Palma, most benign Caesar, rules my Iberian countrymen, and under his mild rule the provinces flourish in peace. Joyfully therefore do we offer you our thanks for so great a boon; you have sent your own character into our parts.

**129 Aulus Cornelius Palma Frontonianus, 3:
Governor of Syria [106 C.E.]**

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁹⁵

LXVIII.14.5 About this same time, Palma, the governor of Syria, subdued the part of Arabia around Petra and made it subject to the Romans.¹⁹⁶

**130 Aulus Cornelius Palma Frontonianus, 4:
Consul Ordinarius 2nd Time [109 C.E.]**

(Excerpt from *Consular Fasti*)¹⁹⁷

A. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus, a 2nd time,

P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso

L. Annius Largus, (*suff.* for Palma from the Kalends of March)

¹⁹³ The Latin text can be found, among other places, in Smallwood, *Documents*, p. 3. Palma was a native of Volsinii in Etruria (central Italy) and during Domitian's reign was a praetorian legate in Asia. Trajan elevated him to the consulship, and following that he became governor of Terraconensis (*Hispania Citerior*). Grainger, *Nerva and the Roman Succession Crisis of AD 96–99*, 120, writes, "The intensity of his loyalty to Trajan and his memory may be judged from the fact that he was one of the four consular summarily executed by Hadrian soon after his accession in 117."

¹⁹⁴ Martial, *Epigrams* of Martial, 548 (Bohn ed.).

¹⁹⁵ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 389.

¹⁹⁶ Cornelius Palma Frontonianus tenure as consular legate in Syria followed his post as Governor in Spain. The annexation of Arabia was in Trajan's reign (see Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History* XIV.8.13): "It was given the name of a province, assigned a governor, and compelled to obey our laws by the emperor Trajan. . . ." (Rolfe trans, I, 71)). Freeman, "On the Annexation of Provinces to the Roman Empire," 35, calls attention to the inscriptions on milestones along the *via nova Traiana* linking Syria to the Red Sea. These inscriptions date 111–114 C.E. and "declare the reduction of Arabia to 'provincial condition', *redacta in formam provinciae*, some 5 to 8 years after the Roman invasion of Nabataea in 106." The occasion of Roman intervention was the death of King Rabbel II (reigned 71–106 C.E.). C.E. Kennedy, "Legio VI Ferrata," 186, says the intervention was aimed to prevent a successor taking the vacant throne. He adds, "Of one matter we might be quite certain: the intervention of A. Cornelius Palma in 106 was an act of deliberate and preplanned policy designed for this contingency." Bowersock, "A Report on Arabia Provincia," 228, remarks, "It is, in any case, likely that the Nabataeans, sedentary and vulnerable to invasion, no longer so economically strong as they had been through dependence earlier upon the caravan routes, would have succumbed at Rabbel's death peaceably, perhaps gladly, to the external protection of Rome."

¹⁹⁷ Latin text can be seen in Smallwood, *Documents*, p. 5. Cf. *CIL* III 7017. Also see *AE* 1927, 176.

THE TRANSITION

c6 *Trajan's Late Coin Issue* [117 C.E.]
(ANS; Dupondius)¹⁹⁸



OBVERSE: IMP CAES TRAIAN OPTIMO
AVG GERM DAC

'Emperor Caesar Trajan "Most Excellent" (Optimus) Augustus Germanicus Dacicus.'
Head of Trajan, laureate.



REVERSE: PROVID PARTHICO P M TR P
COS VI P P S P Q R

'Providentia, Parthicus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, six times Consul, Father of the Fatherland; Senate and People of Rome (S.P.Q.R.).'
Providentia standing left, leaning on column and holding scepter; at her feet a globe.

c7 *Hadrian's Adoption in Coinage Debut*
[117/118 C.E.]

(Mattingly, "Some Historical Coins of Hadrian,"
222 [Plate XXXII, #2])

OBVERSE: IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIANO OPT
AVG GERM DAC 'Emperor Caesar Trajan
Hadrian Optimo Augustus Germanicus Dacicus.'
Bust of Hadrian, laureate, draped, facing right.

REVERSE: PARTHIC DIVI TRAIAN AVG F P M
TR P COS P P; [bottom] ADOPTIO

'Adopted as son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, Consul, Father of the Fatherland.' Trajan and Hadrian standing right and left, holding rolls and clasping right hands.

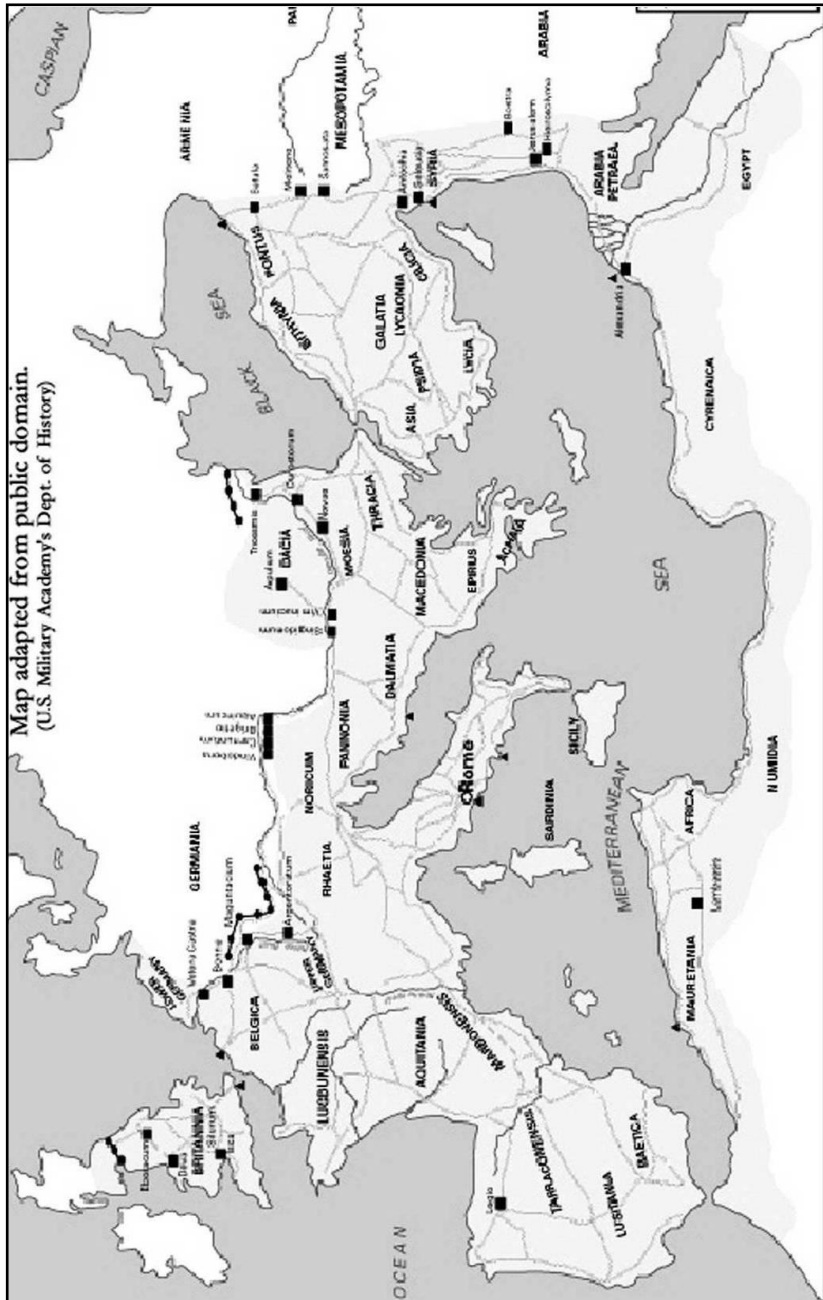


¹⁹⁸ Public domain, courtesy of American Numismatic Society (<http://numismatics.org/collection/1957.172.1641>). *RIC* II Trajan 665; cf. *RIC* II, Pt. 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 7. Mattingly, "Some Historical Coins of Hadrian," 212, writes, "The coin belongs to the last issue of Trajan and, if Providentia here, as normally, suggests the far-seeing wisdom that leads an Emperor to arrange for the succession, we have definite evidence that Trajan in A.D. 117 was planning to appoint an heir. No serious rival to Hadrian can be suggested; and why should we have difficulty in believing that Trajan did in haste on his death-bed at Selinus what he would have done with all due formality had he lived to reach Rome?"



PART II

The Roman World



Chapter 4

The Early Years of Reign: 117–120 C.E.

SUCCESSION/ACCESSION/RECOGNITION

c8 Hadrian's Early Coin Issue Sends a Message [117 C.E.]
(Public Domain; Denarius)¹⁹⁹



OBVERSE: IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIANO OPT AVG GER DAC
'Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus.' Bust of Hadrian, laureate and cuirassed, facing right.

REVERSE: PARTHIC DIVI TRAIAN AVG F P M TR P COS P P
'Son of the deified Trajan Parthicus; Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, Consul, Father of the Fatherland.'
Trajan and Hadrian (standing right and left) clasp right hands while holding rolls in their left hands.²⁰⁰

131 Hadrian Succeeds Trajan

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*)²⁰¹

IV.3.1 After Trajan had ruled for nineteen and a half years, Aelius Hadrian succeeded him in power.

¹⁹⁹ See *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 5. Cf. the image in Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, III, Plate 46 [#1]. Smyth, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 97, observes, "Addison has said that, a series of an emperor's coins is his life digested into annals; and the remark is truly exemplified in those of the present reign."

²⁰⁰ Syme, *Tacitus*, I, 248–49, marks the contrast between the two, saying of Hadrian (248), "While the one had merely to play the sturdy and stylized role of loyal servant to an autocrat, the other, something more than a senator, something less than a crown prince, endured under the eye of his formidable kinsman an apprenticeship from which he might be emancipated too late, if at all."

²⁰¹ Colm, *The Essential Eusebius*, 120; Greek text can be found in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Lake's Loeb edition, I, 307.

132 Accession during Consulship of Apronius and Niger

(John Malalas, *Chronicle*)²⁰²

XI.13a After the reign of Trajan, Aelius Hadrian began to reign during the consulship of Apronianus and Niger. He reigned for 22 years and five months.

133 Succession [Summer, 117 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)²⁰³

LXIX.1.2 [Hadrian] had been assigned to Syria for the Parthian War.²⁰⁴ Yet he had received no distinguishing mark of favour from Trajan, such as being one of the first to be appointed consul. He became Caesar and emperor owing to the fact that when Trajan died childless, Attianus, a compatriot and former guardian of his, together with Plotina, who was in love with him, secured him the appointment,²⁰⁵ their efforts being facilitated by his proximity²⁰⁶ and by his possession of a large military force. . . .

LXIX.2.1 At the time that he was declared emperor, Hadrian was in Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, of which he was governor.²⁰⁷ He had dreamed before the day in [p. 427] question that a fire descended out of heaven, the day being perfectly clear and bright, and fell first upon the left side of his throat, passing then to the right side, though it neither frightened nor injured him.

134 Hadrian's Full Title on Accession [Sept. 11, 117 C.E.]

(Papyrus)

[Excerpt from *PAlexGiss* 25]²⁰⁸

To Apollonios, *strategos* of the Apollonopolites Heptaomias, from Pcheris, son of Pouris, and Orsenouphis, son of Peteminis, overseers of irrigation for the village of Naboō. We swear by the fortune of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Optimus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus that we will make the land of those named below ready for irrigation within three days.

135 Early Recognition in His Native Province [117/118 C.E.]

(Inscription at Mirobriga Tudulorum (Cerro del Cabezo) in Baetica, Spain)

[*CIL* II, 2365=*CIL* II²/7, 852]²⁰⁹

To Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus . . . by the municipality of Flavia Mirobriga.

²⁰² Greek text from Malalas, *Chronographia*, 277. English translation from Malalas, *Chronicle*, 147.

²⁰³ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 425, 427.

²⁰⁴ As Governor, in command of the sizable military force there. Cf. Dio, LXVIII.33.1.

²⁰⁵ See entries #89 and #90.

²⁰⁶ Trajan died at Selinus in Cilicia, the province due west of Syria.

²⁰⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 13, 15.

²⁰⁸ Adams, "Stimuli for Irrigation, Agriculture, and Quarrying," 241. The original text can be found online in *Papyri variae Alexandrinae et Gissenses* (Scwartz ed.), 40 [#25] (http://dlib.nyu.edu/ancientworld/books/isaw_pbrx000007/42). The Greek equivalent to the Latin *Optimus* is ἄριστος. Swearing by the emperor's fortune (τύχην) is not uncommon in the papyri.

²⁰⁹ The Latin text can be viewed at *EDCS* (EDCS-09000902). On settlements in Baetica, Spain under the Flavians, see Haley, "Rural Settlement."

136 Announcement of Hadrian's Accession in Egypt [Aug. 25, 117]

(Oxyrhynchus Papyrus)

[*P. Oxy.* LV.3781]²¹¹

Rammius Martialis (to the strategi of the underwritten districts?), greetings.

Be it known to you that for the salvation of the whole race of mankind the | imperial rule | has been taken over from | the god his father by | Emperor Caesar | Traianus Hadrianus Optimus | Augustus Germanicus Dacicus | Parthicus. Therefore we shall pray | to all the gods | that his continuance may be preserved | to us for ever and shall wear | garlands | for ten days. This you are to publish | to the districts | under your charge. |

Year 1, Mesore, | 2nd intercalary day. Letopolite, | Memphite, Arsinoite, | Aphroditopolite, Heracleopolite, | Oxyrhynchite, | Oasis of the Heptanomia, Cynopolite, | Hermopolite.

137 Acclamation in Egypt [117 C.E.]

(Papyrus)

[*P. Giss.* I 3=*P. Giss. Lit.* 4.4=Smallwood #519]²¹²

Apollo: "In chariot by white steeds drawn having with Trajan of late ascended, I come now to you, Oh People, I Phoebus, a god you know full well, to announce to you as your new lord, Hadrian! To him let all render joyous submission, because of his deified father's merit and his fortune high."

The People(?): "Let us then kindle the altars in sacrifice, and give our hearts to mirth and wassail from the generous source? [lit., 'the spring'] and to the perfumed oils of the gymnasium. And all these things we owe to the pious devotion of our strategos to his lord (Hadrian) and to his love to ['his people,' or 'us']."

²¹⁰ Some have thought Hadrian after his accession traveled from Syria down into Egypt. On the supposed support for this idea in Epiphanius, see Baker, "Epiphanius, 'On Weights and Measures' §14." In favor of such a trip, see Gray, "New Light from Egypt," 27.

²¹¹ The translation (with Greek text) can be found at *Papyri.info* (see "Announcement of the Accession of Hadrian" in bibliography). It has been reformatted here to better match the lines in Greek (though they are not literal line readings). Also see *Sumptus sacerdotum Socnopaei Insulae* (SPP 22 183), a papyrus from the Temple of Soknopaiou Nesos in Egypt, dated to the same time, listing materials and costs associated with a festival to Hadrian known as "Hadrian's Days" (ἡμέραις Ἀδριανῶν). Also see Capponi, "Hadrian in Jerusalem and Alexandria in 117."

²¹² Gray, "New Light from Egypt," 22 (with Greek text, p. 21). I changed "thee" and "ye" to "you." The Greek text he uses is from Kornemann and Eger, *Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen*, I/1, No. 3. Cf. Smallwood, *Documents*, 192 [#519]. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* I/2, 571 [#491] has Phoebus as the first speaker and Demos as the second. Also see Jones and Milns, *The Use of Documentary Evidence*, 157, for another English translation as well as some commentary. Cf. translation of Alexander quoted by Benario, *A Commentary*, 67. For an alternate translation see Macmullen and Lane, *Paganism and Christianity, 100–425 C.E.*, 77–78 [#6.3]. Thornton, "Hadrian and His Reign," 456, observes, "The emperor promotes his connection with the sun on his coins by the appearance of Sol and Oriens (the sunrise) coins; and by the frequency in which Hadrian appears with a radiant crown on his head."

RESPONSE TO UNREST: INITIAL DECISIONS

138 Seeking Peace Abroad

(*HLA: Vita Hadriani*)²¹³

5.1 On taking possession of the imperial power Hadrian at once resumed the policy of the early emperors, and devoted his attention to maintaining peace throughout the world.

5.2 For the nations which Trajan had conquered began to revolt; the Moors, moreover, began to make attacks, and the Sarmatians to wage war, the Britons could not be kept under Roman sway, Egypt was thrown into disorder by riots, and finally Libya and Palestine showed the spirit of rebellion.

5.3 Whereupon he relinquished all the conquests east of the Euphrates and the Tigris, following, as he used to say, the example of Cato, who urged that the Macedonians, because they could not be held as subjects, should be declared free and independent.

5.4 And Parthamasiris, appointed king [p. 17] of the Parthians by Trajan, he assigned as ruler to the neighbouring tribes, because he saw that the man was held in little esteem by the Parthians.

139 Ceding Conquered Lands, 1

(Festus, *Summary of the History of Rome (Breviarium)*)²¹⁴

§14 But Hadrian, who succeeded Trajan, envious of Trajan's glory, relinquished Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, and it was his wish the Euphrates serve as the neutral ground between the Roman and Persians.

140 Ceding Conquered Lands, 2

(Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*)²¹⁵

VIII.6.2 Envyng Trajan's glory, he immediately gave up three of the provinces which Trajan had added to the empire, withdrawing the armies from Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, and deciding that the Euphrates should be the boundary of the empire. When he was pro-[p. 510]ceeding to act similarly with regard to Dacia, his friends dissuaded him, lest many Roman citizens should be left in the hands of the barbarians, because Trajan, after he had subdued Dacia, had transplanted thither an infinite number of men from the whole Roman world, to people the country and the cities; as the land had been exhausted of inhabitants in the long war maintained by Decebalus.

²¹³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 16, 17. On 5.3, see Syme, *Tacitus*, I, 241, who points out how little was actually given up by Hadrian.

²¹⁴ The "Persians" were the people of the Parthian Empire. The Latin text can be found in Sextus, *Sexti Rufi, Breviarium*, 24; cf. §20. Armenia became a client kingdom.

²¹⁵ Eutropius, *Abridgment*, 509–10. The Latin text can be found in Eutropius, *Breviarium ab Urbe Condita* (Rühl's ed.), 56.

141 Ceding Conquered Lands, 3

(Jordanes, *On the Governing of Rome (Romana)*)²¹⁶

270 For, clearly being jealous of Trajan's deeds, as soon as he succeeded him, he immediately, though without necessity, recalled the army to himself, relinquishing Mesopotamia and Assyria and Armenia to the Persians, with the Euphrates River as limit and boundary between Parthians and Romans.

What Hadrian Yielded in 117/118 C.E.
(Provinces Yielded Are Circled.)



142 A Rival in the East: The Success of Lusius Quietus under Trajan

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)²¹⁷

LXVIII.30.1–2 When he learned of the revolt, he sent Lusius and Maximus against the rebels. The latter was defeated in battle and perished; but Lusius, in addition to many other successes, recovered Nisibis, and besieged and captured Edessa, which he sacked and burned.

LXVIII.32.3 Among others who subdued the Jews was Lusius, who was sent by Trajan.

143 Dismissing Lusius Quietus, a Potential Rival

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²¹⁸

5.8a He deprived Lusius Quietus of the command of the Moorish tribesmen, who were serving under him, and then dismissed him from the army, because he had fallen under the suspicion of having designs on the throne. . . .

²¹⁶ Also see Jordanes, *Jordanes: Romana and Getica*. Latin text can be found in Jordanes, *Iordanis Romana et Getica*, 35 (Mommsen's ed.).

²¹⁷ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 419 (upon Trajan learning of the revolt occurring in conquered lands).

²¹⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 17. On Quietus, see Petersen, "Lucius Quietus."

[#97 repeated] Mauretanian Insurrection [late 117 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²¹⁹

5.8b and he appointed Marcus Turbo, after his reduction of Judaea, to quell the insurrection in Mauretania.²²⁰

Mauretania

(Abridged and Excerpted from Mommsen's 9th ed., *Römische Geschichte*, v. 5)



144 Quelling Unrest at Alexandria [late 117/ early 118 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)²²¹

LXIX.8.1^a The Alexandrians had been rioting, and nothing would make them stop until they received a letter from Hadrian rebuking them. So true is it that an emperor's word will have more force than arms.

145 Foreign Policy Summation

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)²²²

14.10 Having procured peace from many kings through secret gifts, he used to openly boast that he had secured more by leisure than others had done by force of arms.

²¹⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 17.

²²⁰ The *HA* places this commission shortly after Hadrian's accession to emperor. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 53, places this appointment "after the journey to the coast to view the body of Trajan" (*und Turbo erst nach der Reise nach der Küste, um die Leiche des Traian zu sehen zum Kommandeur gegen die Mauren ernannt*). There was a later uprising there in 122 C.E. In the *cursus honorum* reconstructed by Benario, *A Commentary*, 57, Turbo is listed as *procurator Mauretaniae* in 117–118; cf. Birley, *Hadrian*, 91–92. Turbo is mentioned earlier in the *HA* (4.2) as a friend of Hadrian.

²²¹ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 439.

²²² The Latin text can be found in Pichlmayr's edition of the *Epitome*, in the collected works of *Sexti Aurelii Victoris*, 150.

146 An Alleged Veiled Criticism of Hadrian's Reign: Is Tacitus Describing His Own Time?

(Tacitus, *Annals*, IV.32.1)²²³

IV.32.1 I am aware that many of the facts which I have recorded, and which I shall hereafter record, may appear trivial and unimportant; but these annals must not be compared with the works of writers who have compiled histories of Ancient Rome. Great wars and sieges, the defeat and capture of kings, or, if they turned their attention to domestic affairs, the quarrels between consuls and tribunes, agrarian and corn laws, and the struggles between the plebeians and the aristocracy, have provided these historians with a wide scope for their genius. The field for my researches, on the other hand, is restricted and inglorious. In the period with which I have to deal, peace was unbroken or but feebly disturbed, Rome was miserable and depressed, and the Emperor evinced no desire to extend the limits of the Empire.

147 Hadrian's Agrarian Decree for Relief of Egypt

[*Rylands Papyrus* II, 96]²²⁴

To Apollonius, Strategos of the Apollonopolite-Heptakomia Nome, from Horbaithes son of Paisis and Patnoios of the metropolis. Crown land (βασιλική γῆ) is registered in our name in the area of the said metropolis, for Horbaithes $1\frac{9}{16}$ arourae, at the rate of $3\frac{1}{12}$ artabae, and for Patnaios $\frac{3}{8}$ arourae, similarly at the rate of $3\frac{1}{12}$. Since therefore it does not bear so great a charge, and we are burdened with the rent, we henceforth undertake in accordance with the indulgence of our lord Hadrian Caesar (κατὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἀδριανοῦ) to cultivate the aforesaid arourae at a rate per aroura of $1\frac{1}{24}$ artabae of wheat, with allowances for unirrigated land, or land artificially irrigated, as usual [Editor's translation].

²²³ Tacitus, *Annals of Tacitus, Books I to VI* (Symonds trans.), 201–02. The Latin text can be found in Tacitus, *The Annals of Tacitus: Book IV*, 22 (Edwards ed.). Syme, *Tacitus*, II, 473, asks, “If, as seems highly probable, Tacitus composed the great bulk under Hadrian, not perhaps completing the eighteen books before the sixth year of that emperor, how far was he influenced by present events?” He then embarks on various possible allusions to be found in Tacitus. On p. 517, he offers a summary: “Tacitus was writing about the time of Tiberius, he recalled Domitian—and he was not oblivious of the present. Nor would his treatment of Claudius lack point and relevance—an omniscient emperor interfering everywhere, with a strong trend towards bureaucratic government. Above all, Nero. Here the peril lay in aesthetic tastes, Hellenic habits, and intellectual megalomania. Hadrian shared Nero’s aptitude for certain of the arts, even painting and sculpture. Tacitus labels Nero in a striking phrase of his own creation as ‘incredibilium cupitor’. It suits Hadrian very well.” With respect to using Tiberius to allude to Hadrian, Syme, “How Tacitus Wrote *Annals* I–III,” 1037, comments, “When Senators purused those early chapters of the *Annales*, they came upon startling parallels in situations and in personalities. Tiberius could be seen to foreshadow Hadrian.” Fettweis, “Restraining Rome,” 129—following Birley’s lead (*Hadrian*, 116)—remarks, “Tacitus may well have been speaking indirectly of his own era. . . .”

²²⁴ Gray, “New Light from Egypt,” 23. The Apollonopolite-Heptakomia Nome—the 10th Upper Egypt district (in the Thebiad)—was on the western bank of the Nile. The Roman town of Apollonopolites Heptakomias, chief city of the district, is known today as Kom Isfaht.

JOURNEY TO ROME

148 Viewing Trajan's Remains

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²²⁵

5.9 After taking these measures he set out from Antioch to view the remains of Trajan, which were [p. 19] being escorted by Attianus, Plotina, and Matidia.

5.10 He received them formally and sent them on to Rome by ship and at once returned to Antioch; he then appointed Catilius Severus governor of Syria, and proceeded to Rome by way of Illyricum.

149 The End of Trajan's Remains, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)²²⁶

LXIX.2.3 The bones of Trajan were deposited in his Column, and the Parthian Games, as they were called, continued for a number of years; but at a later date even this observance, like many others, was abolished.

150 The End of Trajan's Remains, 2

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)²²⁷

13. 11. The ashes of his cremated body were carried back to Rome and buried in the Forum of Trajan, under his column, with an image placed on top of it, in the customary manner of celebrating a triumph, with the Senate and army preceding it into the city.

151 Letter to Roman Senate Concerning Honors for Trajan [117 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²²⁸

6.1 Despatching to the senate a carefully worded letter, he asked for divine honors for Trajan. This request he obtained by a unanimous vote; indeed, the senate voluntarily voted Trajan many more honors than Hadrian had requested.

6.2 In this letter to the senate he apologized because he had not left it the right to decide regarding his accession, explaining that the unseemly haste of the troops in acclaiming him emperor was due to the belief that the state could not be without an emperor.

152 Deification of Trajan [117 C.E.]

(Jerome, *Chronicle* (Hadrian))²²⁹

If/The senate declares Trajan to be among the gods.

²²⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 17, 19.

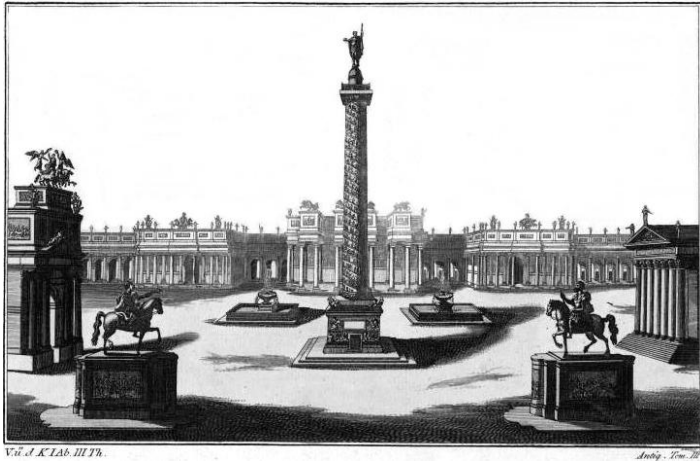
²²⁶ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 427. For actions involving Hadrian while he was still at Antioch, see *HA: Vita Hadriani* 5.5–7, presented elsewhere in this volume.

²²⁷ For an alternate translation see Banchich's rendering at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. The Latin text is: *Huius exusti corporis cineres relati Romam humatique Traiani foro sub eius columna, et imago superposita, sicut triumphantes solent, in urbem invecta, senatu praeunte et exercitu.*

²²⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 19.

²²⁹ Roger Pearse et al. at the Tertullian Project (http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm).

*Forum of Trajan (Where Trajan's Temple Believed to Have Been Built)*²³⁰
(Etching by Paul Weindl (1810), in Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Collection)



c9 The Deified Trajan, "Father of the Emperor" [117 C.E.]
(Münzkabinett Wien)²³¹



OBVERSE: IMP(erator) CAES(ar) TRAIAN HADRIANO OPT(imus)
AVG(ustus) G(ermanicus) D(acicus) PART(hicus):
'Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian, Best Augustus, Germanicus Dacicus Parth-
icus.'

Bust of Hadrian, laureate, cuirassed, facing right, viewed from front.

REVERSE: DIVO TRAIANO PATRI AVG:

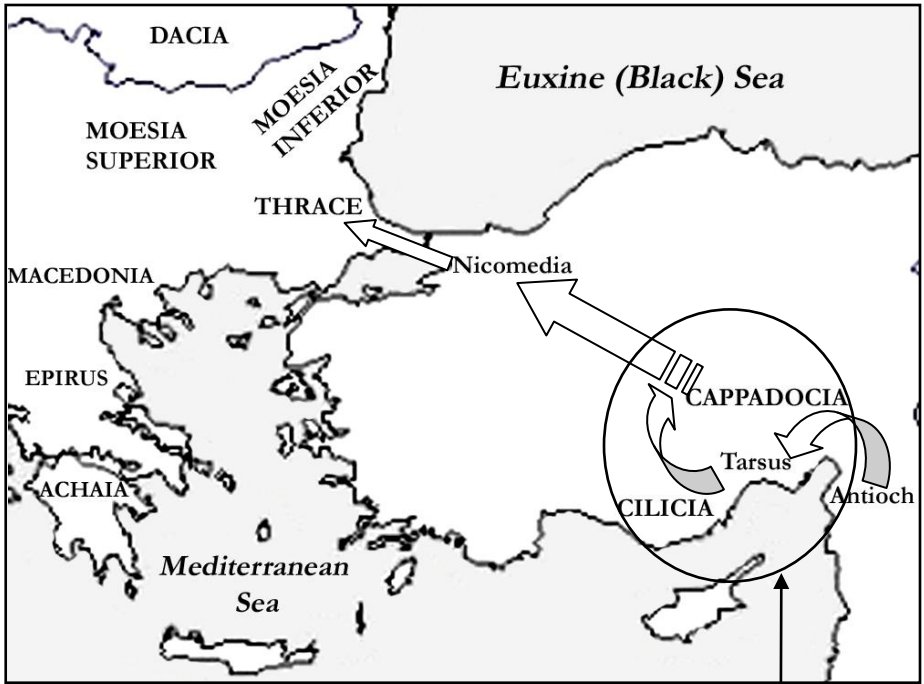
'To Deified Trajan, Father of Augustus.'

Bust of Divus Trajan, laureate, draped, cuirassed, facing right.

²³⁰ Though Hadrian finished Trajan's forum he did not create one of his own. Mols, "The Cult of Roma Aeterna in Hadrian's Politics," 458–59, suggests that Hadrian refrained in the realization that such a forum to be useful had to be larger and more impressive than Trajan's, but both the prohibitive cost and practical problems (e.g., a lack of room at Rome's center for such a project) dissuaded him; he instead developed the land available for the Temple of Venus and Rome.

²³¹ The image (© Münzkabinett Wien) is made available by Creative Commons (CC by 3.0) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/legalcode>); it has been changed to grayscale. Both image and text can be found at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian>). Text abbreviations are expanded. *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 28; reference *RIC* II Hadrian 24A.

Map of Journey, 1



*Cilician Gates
(circled on map)*

Approaching the Cilician Gates on Route from Tarsus into Cappadocia
(Ramsay, "Cilicia, Tarsus, and the Great Taurus Pass," 373 [Fig. 1])



*The Cilician Gates from the South*²³²

(Ramsay, "Cilicia, Tarsus, and the Great Taurus Pass," 379 [Fig. 2])



²³² Ramsay writes (373–74), "At last there appeared in front of us a lofty ridge or wall of rock, stretching from east to west right across the line of our path, the front wall of the main mass of Taurus. It can hardly be less than 1500 feet in sheer height above us, as we first see it. It would bar the progress of any one except an active mountaineer, were it not for a narrow cleft which pierces it from north to south, where the water of the stream finds a passage from the broad back of the Taurus plateau down through our gorge to the Cilician Plain. This cleft is the Cilician Gates in the strict sense." Later, he writes (378), "The actual passage of the Gates is about 100 yards long. On both sides the rock walls rise almost perpendicularly (that on the west side literally so, at one point to about 100 feet above the road), and then slope steeply back towards the towering summit of the ridge."

153 Travelling toward Rome: A Partial Itinerary [Oct., 117 C.E.]

(Inscription at Rome (*see map*, p. 80))

[CIL VI, 5076]²³³

October . . . four days before the Ides . . . three days before the Ides, Mopsucrene; the day before the Ides, Panhormos; on the Ides of October to Aquae Calidae; the 17th day before the Kalends of November, Tynna; the 16th day before the Kalends, Tyana; the 15th day before the Kalends of November, Andabalis; the 13th day before the Kalends of November . . .

154 A Stop at Tyana in Southern Cappadocia [Oct., 117 C.E.]

(Strabo, *Geography*)²³⁴

XII.2.7. Only two prefectures have cities, Tyanitis the city Tyana, which lies below the Taurus at the Cilician Gates, where for all is the easiest and most commonly used pass into Cilicia and Syria. It is called “Eusebeia near the Taurus”; and its territory is for the most part fertile and level. Tyana is situated upon a mound of Semiramis, which is beautifully fortified.

155 Hadrian Writes a Letter on His Way to Rome [Nov. 17, 117 C.E.]

(Letter of Reply from Juliopolis to Pergamon)

[IGR IV, 349]²³⁵

Good fortune!

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, holding tribunician power,²³⁶ to the assembly of young men at Pergamon, Greetings.

Noting from your letter and through your representative Claudius Cyrus the great joy you have expressed at our succession, I consider this a sign of your excellence.

Be prosperous. 11th of November, from Juliopolis.

²³³ Hadrian’s journey northward led from Tarsus into Cappadocia. The Latin text translated here can be viewed online at EDCS (EDCS-18500306). See Timeline at the beginning of this volume. The ‘Ides of October’ would be October 15th; the ‘17th day before the Kalends of November’ would be October 16, and thus the subsequent days were October 17 (Tyana), and October 18 (Andabalis). From there they trekked northwestward into Galatia, perhaps reaching Ancyra at the end of the month and then pushed into Bithynia and Pontus, where he is recorded at Juliopolis (entry #155) in mid-November.

²³⁴ Strabo, *Geography* (Jones trans.), V, 359 (with Greek text, facing page). “Only two prefectures have cities”: δύο δὲ μόναι στρατηγίαι πόλεις ἔχουσιν; a prefecture was an administrative district. The entry here covers just a portion of one prefecture. Hadrian reached Tyana on October 17, 117. On the visit to Tynna, see Aristodemou, “Aspects of Romanization in Cappadocia,” 66–68.

²³⁵ Birley, *Hadrian*, 84 (translation of the body of the letter from after the preliminary formalities and greeting, to before the farewell and date; I added the rest). Greek text can be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, IV, 136 [#349].

²³⁶ The question of when each year Hadrian assumed tribunician power has not been definitively solved, but is commonly regarded as December 10. He entered tribunician power upon becoming emperor, in August, 117, but it is unclear whether on Dec. 10 of that year he assumed the power for the second time, or did so in 118; hence there is commonly a little fudging in offering dates. See Hammond, “The Tribunician Day during the Early Empire,” 43–45.

156 Milestone in Moesia Inferior [Aug. 11–Dec. 9, 117 C.E.]

(Stone Milestone Inscription Near Reginum)

[*IMSZB* 1995-537]²³⁷

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, once Consul, designate for Consul a 2nd time. From Oescus, 40 miles.



157 Quelling the Sarmatians and Roxolani [early 118 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani* [6.7 repeats #100])²³⁸

6.6 Then, on hearing of the incursions of the Sarmatians and Roxolani, he sent the troops ahead and set out for Moesia.

6.7 He conferred the insignia of a prefect on Marcius Turbo after his Mauretanian campaign and appointed him to the temporary command of Pannonia and Dacia.

6.8 When the king of the Roxolani complained of the diminution of his subsidy, he investigated his case and made peace with him.

158 King of the Roxolani

(Inscription on Sarcophagus on Uljanik Island)

[*CIL* V, 32]²³⁹

Publius Aelius Rasparaganus, | King of the Roxolani; | his living wife made this.

159 War against the Sarmatians [118 C.E.], 1

(Jerome, *Chronicle* (Hadrian))²⁴⁰

IV*d* War waged against the Sauromatians.

160 War against the Sarmatians [118 C.E.], 2

(Paulus Orosius, *History against the Pagans*)²⁴¹

VII.13 He carried on a war against the Sauromatae and conquered them.

²³⁷ *IMSZB* (*Izvestiya na muzeite ot Severozapadna Bulgaria*) is a journal. The Latin text can be viewed at EDCS (EDCS-76700106). Oescus was on the Danube River. On this inscription, see Kolb, “Comments on Two Milestones,” 3–4. Also see Panaite, “Roman Roads in *Moesia Inferior*.”

²³⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 21.

²³⁹ The horse Borysthene may have been a gift to Hadrian from Rasparaganus (*HA: Vita Hadriani* 6–8). Having been granted Roman citizenship, he took the name Publius Aelius Rasparaganus. The Latin text can be viewed online at EDCS (EDCS-04200032).

²⁴⁰ Roger Pearse et al. at the Tertullian Project (http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm). The Latin text can be seen in Jerome, *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones*, 280.

²⁴¹ For an alternate translation, see Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 63 [#112]. For the Greek text see *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/303021?bookid=747&location=1674>).

161 Across the Danube

(*Suda*)²⁴²

This same person arrived in Pannonia and crossed the Danube (river) with men at arms. And these were amazed at the barbarians there.

Danube Lands (Lands of the Sarmatians at Right) ²⁴³

(Excerpted from *The Cambridge Ancient History*, XI, 555)



162 Death of C. Julius Quadratus Bassus in Conflict [118 C.E.]

(Excerpt from an Inscription at Pergamon)

[*IVP* III, 21; cf. Smallwood #214]²⁴⁴

This same man while making war in Dacia and administering his province (ἐπαρχείαν διέπων), died, and his body was brought back to Asia being carried by soldiers drawn up under the military standard of the principal centurion Quintilius Capito, at the head of a procession through the entire city and military encampment (παρεμβολήν), as ordained by the deified emperor Hadrian, and this memorial (μνημα) to him was prepared out of the imperial purse (*fiscus*).

²⁴² The Greek text can be found in *Suidae Lexicon* (Bekker ed.), 27–28. The Greek text and an English translation can also be found online at the *Suda On Line* (<http://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/alpha/527>). There is no indication of when this happened in the *Suda*. Syme, *Tacitus*, I, 243–44, places Hadrian wintering on the banks of the Sea of Marmara (between the Euxine and Aegean seas), at perhaps either Byzantium or Nicomedia, and from there directing operations or negotiations on the Danube.

²⁴³ Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 198, remarks, “Hadrian was able to bestow municipal or colonial rights on a number of military posts on the Danube itself, Aquincum (the modern Buda, which we combine with Pesth), Carnuntum, east of Vienna, and Vienna itself (Vindabona). . . .”

²⁴⁴ The Greek text can be viewed at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/303021>). Bassus was the first Greek governor of Cappadocia (107/8–110/111 C.E.).

163 Hadrian Removes a Bridge Built by Trajan

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)²⁴⁵

LXVIII.13 (end) [Trajan, in 104, had built a stone bridge over the Ister River (LXVIII.13, beginning) to support his military operations.] Hadrian, on the contrary, was afraid that it might make it easy for the barbarians, once they had overpowered the guard at the bridge, to cross into Moesia, and so he removed the superstructure.

164 Return to Rome [117–118 C.E.]: Summary

(Aurelius Victor, *Book of the Caesars*)²⁴⁶

14.1 Accordingly, Aelius Hadrian, who was more favorably disposed to eloquent speeches and public business, having organized peace in the East returned to Rome.

165 Seeking Peace at Home

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁴⁷

5.5 Moreover, he showed at the outset such a wish to be lenient, that although Attianus advised him by letter in the first few days of his rule to put to death Baebius Macer,²⁴⁸ the prefect of the city, in case he opposed his elevation to power, also Laberius Maximus,²⁴⁹ then in exile on an island under suspicion of designs on the throne, and likewise Crassus Frugi,²⁵⁰ he nevertheless refused to harm them.

5.6 Later on, however, his procurator, though without an order from Hadrian, had Crassus killed when he tried to leave the island, on the ground that he was planning a revolt.

5.7 He gave a double donative²⁵¹ to the soldiers in order to ensure a favourable beginning to his principate.

²⁴⁵ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 387.

²⁴⁶ For an alternative translation, see Aurelius Victor, *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus* (Bird translation), 16. The Latin text can be found in Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, Pichlmayr's edition, 92.

²⁴⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 17. These events are placed by the *Vita Hadriani* as taking place while Hadrian was still at Antioch, before leaving to view Trajan's body.

²⁴⁸ Quintus Baebius Macer was of Hadrian's father's generation; Syme, Tacitus, II, 666 (bottom), argues for a date in the early 90s (under Domitian) for Macer being Praetor. He was, notes Syme (p. 667), Proconsul of Hadrian's native Spanish region of Baetica in 100 C.E., and became Prefect of Rome in 117 C.E. Macer was a correspondent of Pliny the Younger (see *Letters*, III.5; mentioned in IV.9 and IV.12 with respect to his legal pleadings), and praised by the epigrammatist Martial (see *Epigrams* X.18.6), for whom he was a senatorial patron.

²⁴⁹ Manius Laberius Maximus, twice consul, governor of Moesia Inferior, was most prominent under Trajan, particularly during the Dacian Wars.

²⁵⁰ Gaius Calpurnius Piso Crassus Frugi Licinianus rose to the post of suffect consul under Domitian (87 C.E.). He was exiled by Nerva, returned by Trajan for a time before being exiled again—for the same cause as before: aspirations for greater power. This exile to an island off Italy's coast ended when he was killed trying to depart it at the start of Hadrian's reign.

²⁵¹ A *donative* was a gift of money; such donatives were often used by emperors at their accession to secure the loyalty of the military, especially the Praetorian Guard.

KILLING OF THE FOUR CONSULARS

166 Killing of the Four Consulars [117–118 C.E.], 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)²⁵²

LXIX.2.5 Hadrian, though he ruled with the greatest mildness, was nevertheless severely criticized for slaying several of the best men in the beginning of his reign and again near the end of his life, and for this reason he came near failing to be enrolled among the demigods. Those who were slain at the beginning were Palma and Celsus, Nigrinus and Lusius, the first two for the alleged reason that they had conspired against him during a hunt, and the others on certain complaints, but in reality because they had great influence and enjoyed wealth and fame. Nevertheless, Hadrian felt so keenly the comments that this [*p.* 429] action occasioned, that he made a defence and declared upon oath that he had not ordered their deaths. Those who perished at the end of his reign were Servianus and his grandson Fuscus.²⁵³

167 Killing of the Four Consulars [117–118 C.E.], 2

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁵⁴

7.1 A plot to murder him while sacrificing was made by Nigrinus, with Lusius and a number of others as accomplices, even though Hadrian had destined Nigrinus for the succession; but Hadrian successfully evaded this plot.

7.2 Because of this conspiracy Palma was put to death at Tarracina, Celsus at Baiae, Nigrinus at Faventia, and Lusius on his journey homeward, all by order of the senate, but contrary to the wish of Hadrian, as he says himself in his autobiography.

7.3 Whereupon Hadrian entrusted [*p.* 23] the command in Dacia to Turbo, whom he dignified, in order to increase his authority, with a rank analogous to that of the prefect of Egypt. He then hastened to Rome in order to win over public opinion, which was hostile to him because of the belief that on one single occasion he had suffered four men of consular rank to be put to death. In order to check the rumours about himself, he gave in person a double largess to the people, although in his absence three aurei had already been given to each of the citizens.²⁵⁵

7.4 In the senate, too, he cleared himself of blame for what had happened, and pledged himself never to inflict punishment on a senator until after a vote of the senate.

²⁵² Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 427, 429. Grainger, *Nerva and the Roman Succession Crisis of AD 96–99*, 127, writes, "Hadrian seized power when Trajan died because he was on the spot, like Nerva; and like Trajan, he forthwith killed a group of men who were an apprehended threat to him. . . ."

²⁵³ Cf. *Historia Augusta* 1.2 (and note there) and 23.3—both presented elsewhere in this volume.

²⁵⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 21, 23.

²⁵⁵ The gold aurei were *congiarium* (distribution of largesse); when such distributions were given to soldiers this was called a *donative*. The aureus was more valuable than the *sestertius* or *denarius*.

168 Killing of the Four Consulars [117–118 C.E.], 3: Aftermath

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁵⁶

9.3 Unable to endure the power of Attianus, his prefect and formerly his guardian, he was eager to murder him. He was restrained, however, by the knowledge that he already labored under the odium of murdering four men of consular rank, although, as a matter of fact, he always attributed their execution to the designs of Attianus.

9.4 And as he could not appoint a successor for Attianus except at the latter's request, he contrived to make him request it, and at once transferred the power to Turbo;

9.5 at the same time Similis also, the other prefect, received a successor, namely Septicius Clarus.

169 An Alleged Veiled Criticism of Hadrian through an Account of the Emperor Tiberius by the Historian Tacitus

(Tacitus, *Annals*, I.6)²⁵⁷

I.6 The first atrocity of this new reign was the murder of Posthumus Agrippa Of this transaction Tiberius avoided any mention in the senate; he pretended that orders had been given by his father, in which he enjoined the tribune appointed to the custody of his person, "not to delay to slay Agrippa whensoever he himself had completed his last day." . . . When the centurion, according to the custom of the army, acquainted Tiberius "that his commands were executed," he answered, "he had commanded no such execution, and that he must appear before the senate, and be answerable to them for it."

c10 *The Emperor Is Safe* [118 C.E.]

(ANS; Silver Denarius)²⁵⁸

OBVERSE: IMP CAESAR
TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG
'Emperor Caesar Trajan Augustus.'
Laureate bust of Hadrian facing
right.



REVERSE: SALVS AVG P M TR P COS II 'Salvation of Augustus, Pontifex
Macimus, holding tribunician power, twice Consul.' Salus, goddess of safety and
well-being, is pictured seated on a throne, facing left, feeding a snake coiled
around an altar.

²⁵⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 29. On Similis and Clarus, see next page.

²⁵⁷ Tacitus, *Annals of Tacitus*, I–VI, 18–19; Latin text can be found in Tacitus, *Cornelii Taciti, Annalium*, 4. The *Annals*, Tacitus' last work, was likely completed in Hadrian's reign.

²⁵⁸ Public domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (<http://numismatics.org/collection/1927.38.52>). Mattingly, "Some Historical Coins of Hadrian," 213, remarks, "'Salus' certainly suggests the escape of the Emperor from imminent danger. . . ." He views this as the first in a series of three historical coin issues, followed by 'Securitas' (shown later in this volume).

SULPICIUS SIMILIS & SEPTICIUS CLARUS

170 Servius Sulpicius Similis, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)²⁵⁹

LXIX.19.1 Similis was of more advanced years and rank than Turbo, and in character was second to none of the great men, in my opinion. This may be inferred [p. 459] even from incidents that are very trivial. For instance when Trajan of course summoned him, while he was still a centurion, to enter his presence ahead of the prefects, he said: “It is a shame, Caesar, that you should be talking with a centurion while the prefects stand outside.”

LXIX.19.2 Moreover, he assumed the command of the Praetorians reluctantly,²⁶⁰ and after assuming it resigned it. Having with difficulty secured his release, he spent the rest of his life, seven years, quietly in the country, and upon his tomb he caused this inscription to be placed: “Here lies Similis, who existed so-and-so many years, and lived seven.”

171 Servius Sulpicius Similis, 2

(Inscription on Stone found at Carthage, Africa)

[CIL VIII, 24587=AE 1988.1108]²⁶¹

Servius Sulpicius Similis . . . *flamen perpetuus* . . . (served in) the Parthian war . . . prefect of Egypt.

172 Servius Sulpicius Similis, 3 [109 C.E.]

(Excerpt from a Dual Language Inscription on an Altar of Granodiorite at the Temple of Serapis at Mons Claudianus, Egypt)

[*Pan du desert* 37; cf. SEG XXXVI.1399a-b]²⁶²

a.1 (Latin) The favorable spring (*fons*) of Trajan Dacicus.

b.1 (Greek) The fortunate watering place (*hydreuma*) of Trajan Dacicus.

c.1 (Latin) Year 12 of Emperor Nerva Trajan Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus. By Sulpicius Similis, Prefect of Egypt.

²⁵⁹ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 457.

²⁶⁰ Around 112 C.E. The resignation seems to have come after Trajan's death, when Hadrian became emperor. Birley, *Hadrian*, 96, suggests Hadrian was not eager to accept the resignation, but it came to pass and Similis went into retirement, dying about 125 C.E.

²⁶¹ The Latin text can be found as *ILTun* 968 (*Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*). The Latin text can also be seen online at EDCS (EDCS-24800873). Similis was Prefect of Egypt from 107–112. On inscriptions for Similis, see Christol and Demougin, “Notes.” The title *flamen perpetuus* means “priest for life” (in perpetuity). McIntyre, *A Family of Gods*, 138, comments, “One of the problems with the title of *flamen perpetuus* is that although it has been most commonly affiliated with the worship of the imperial family, the exact nature of this priesthood and its responsibilities are not clear.” With respect to a *flamen perpetuus* of Hadrian, see CIL VIII, 12018=ILS 4454 (EDCS-24400148), naming C. Pescennius Satorius Cornelianus in Africa Proconsularis.

²⁶² The Latin and Greek text can be found at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/219352>). For comments on this text, see Cuvigny, “A Survey of Place Names,” 177–78. A *hydreuma* was a well. Two other original language texts related to Similis can be accessed through *Atlas patrimonii Caesaris* (<https://patrimonium.huma-num.fr/people/2991>).

173 Servius Sulpicius Similis, 4

(Rescript of Trajan to Similis, Cited by Ulpian)

[Ulpian, *De officio praetoris tutelaris* (*Fragmenta Vaticana* 233)]²⁶³

--- according to a letter of the deified Trajan to Sulpicius Similis—all of which are given in a letter to the prefect of provisions (*praefecti annonae*).

174 Septicius Clarus, 1

(Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* (Dedication))²⁶⁴

To Gaius Septicius Clarus, Prefect of the Praetorian Guard.

175 Septicius Clarus, 2

(Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, I—*Letter 9: To Domitius Apollinaris*)²⁶⁵

II.9.4 . . . Gaius Septicius, is the most genuinely reliable, frank and trustworthy man I know.

*c11 A New Year and Renewed
Sense of Security [119 C.E.]
(ANS; Sestertius)*²⁶⁶

OBVERSE: IMP CAESAR
TRAIANVS HADRIANVS
AVG:

‘Emperor Caesar Trajan

Hadrian Augustus.’ Hadrian facing right, laureate, draped on left shoulder.

REVERSE: PONT MAX TR POT COS III S C (beneath) SECVR AVG:
‘Securitas Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, three times
Consul, by decree of the Senate.’

Goddess Securitas seated, facing left, holding scepter and resting her head on
her left hand.



²⁶³ The Latin text can be found in Lacey, *Equestrian Officials*, 9 [#23]. See the full text in Ulpian, *Ulpiani Liber singularis regularum* (Krueger ed.), 72, §233. The word ‘rescript’ (lit., ‘writing back’) refers to a particular form of written address in which some specific matter raised by the addressee is dealt with by the writer. Many rescripts are covered in entries in this volume.

²⁶⁴ The Latin text can be found in Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum in C. Suetoni Tranquilli quae Supersunt Omnia* (Roth ed.). Rolfe in his introduction to Suetonius, *Suetonius*, I, xii–xiii, comments, “From a reference of Johannes Lydus, of the sixth century, it appears that he used a codex with the dedication to Septicius Clarus, and hence presumably with the missing portion of the *Julius*.”

²⁶⁵ Pliny the Younger, *The Letters of the Younger Pliny*, 66 (Radice trans.). The letter was in support of Sextus Erucius Clarus (Senator, twice Consul), nephew of Septicius Clarus. The Latin text can be found in Pliny the Younger, *Pliny. Letters* (Loeb ed., Melmouth trans.), I, 118. More on Septicius Clarus can be found elsewhere in this volume in conjunction with Suetonius.

²⁶⁶ Public domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (<http://numismatics.org/collection/1987.17.16>); see *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 238–40. Mattingly, “Some Historical Coins of Hadrian,” 213, sees this as one in a sequence of three Hadrianic coins reflecting a change from a sense of danger to one of security; this coin follows the *Salus* coin of 118 C.E. (above). He notes, “‘Securitas,’ the next stage, freedom from anxiety about danger to come. . . .”

WELCOMED AT ROME

c12–13 *Adventus Roma* [118 C.E.]

(ANS (left); Gusman, *La villa impériale*, p. 5 (right); Dupondius)²⁶⁷



OBVERSE: IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG:

‘Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus.’

Bust of Hadrian, radiate and bare-chested, facing right.

REVERSE: PONT MAX TR POT COS II ADVENTVS AVG SC:

‘Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, Consul twice; Advent of Augustus. Issued by decree of the Senate.’

Personification of Roma seated on cuirass and shield, holding spear and clasping hands with Hadrian, standing and holding scroll.

c14 *Social Harmony Is Asserted* [119–121 C.E.]

(Mattingly, “Some Historical Coins of Hadrian,” 222

[Plate XXXII, #3]; Sestertius)²⁶⁸



OBVERSE: IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS III: ‘Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, three times Consul.’ Hadrian, laureate, draped, facing right.

REVERSE: CONCORDIA EXERCITUUM S C

The goddess Concordia stands facing left, holding a standard in each hand.

²⁶⁷ Public domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (<http://numismatics.org/collection/1906.236.313>).

²⁶⁸ Mattingly, “Some Historical Coins of Hadrian,” 213, sees this coin as the third in a sequence that began with the ‘Salus’ coin, followed by the ‘Securitas’ coin (both above). He comments, “‘Concordia Excertium,’ struck a little later, tells us discretely that any trouble in the army which may have been stirred by the execution of the marshals has been satisfactorily quieted.”

176 Arval Brethren Salute the New Emperor [Jan., 118 C.E.]

(Arval Brethren Record)

[CIL VI, 2078= CIL VI, 32374]²⁶⁹

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, consul for the 2nd time and consul Gnaeus Pedanius Fusco Salinator²⁷⁰; on the 3rd day before the *Nones* of January; Marcus Valerius Trebius Decianus, *Magister*.

In the Capitol we gathered to express our best wishes for the safety of Emperor Caesar, son of the divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland.²⁷¹ Agreed upon by the Arval Brothers Marcus Valerius Trebicius Decianus, *Magister*, Quintus Fulvius Gillo Bittius Proculus, Tiberius Julius Candidus Caecilius Simplex, Tiberius Julius Candidus, Tiberius Julius Alexander Julianus, Lucius Antonius Albus, (and) Publius Metilius Secundus.

177 Announcement of Forthcoming Annual Sacrifice to Dea Dia

[Jan., 118 C.E.]

(Arval Brethren Record)²⁷²

In the same consulship, on the 7th day before the *Ides* of January, in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Concord, the Arval Brethren met to announce the appointed gathering under the celestial vault for the sacrifice to Dea Dia, and Marcus Valerius Trebicius Decianus, *Magister*, his hands washed and his head covered, stood facing east with his colleagues and declared it to be good, favorable, blessed, fortunate and beneficial for Emperor Caesar, son of the divine Trajan and grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, his entire household, the Roman commonwealth of citizens, and the Arval Brethren, that the annual sacrifice to Dea Dia occur the 6th day before the Kalends of June at home, the 4th day before the Kalends of June in the sacred grove and at home, and all present on the 3rd day before the Kalends of June to complete matters at home. In the college, Marcus Valerius Trebicius Decianus, *Magister*, Tiberius Julius Candidus Caecilius Simplex, Tiberius Julius Candidus, Lucius Antonius Albus, and Publius Metilius Secundus.

²⁶⁹ The Latin text can be found in *Acta Fratrum Arvalium, cli* (Henzen ed.). Henzen's volume uses italics rather than brackets; thus *Hadriano* = Ha[dri]ano, etc. Hadrian refused the title of *Pater Patriae* until substantially into his reign (128 C.E.). Syme, *Some Arval Brethren*, 118, remarks, "With an affection for archaic writers, Hadrian cared little for the national antiquities; and he disliked pomp and ceremonial. Hadrian was addicted to cults and 'curiosa' of all kinds: 'omnium curiositatum explorator'. The Arval brethren were not exotic enough to entice and capture the cosmopolitan traveller."

²⁷⁰ Gnaeus Pedanius Fuscus Salinator; cf. Cassiodorus, *Chronicle*, 763, which has "Hadrian and Salinator."

²⁷¹ Despite the Arval Brethren's use of the title, and its appearance in scattered inscriptions before 128 C.E., Hadrian refused it at his accession and, as noted above, agreed to it only in 128.

²⁷² The Latin text can be found in *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (Henzen ed.), cli–clii; cf. the Latin text (p. 154) and translation of Beard (pp. 154–55), "Writing and Ritual."

178 Honoring the New Emperor's Recommendation [Feb., 118 C.E.]

(Arval Brethren Record)²⁷³

In the same consulship, the 4th day before the Ides of March, in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Concord, having offered the customary prayer, Marcus Valerius Trebicius Decianus, *Magister*, in order to replace Publius Metilius Nepos admitted and called to the sacred duties Lucius Julius Catus, in accord with the letter (of recommendation) of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus to the Arval Brethren, which bore a seal stamped with an impression of the head of Augustus. When opened it read, "Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus to his brothers of the Arval College, *Salute*. In place of Publius Metilius Nepos in our College my considered opinion is to select Lucius Julius Catus."

In attendance at the college: Marcus Valerius Trebicius Decianus, *Magister*, Tiberius Julius Candidus Caecilius Simplex, Tiberius Julius Candidus, Tiberius Julius Alexander Iulianus, and Lucius Julius Catus.

179 The New Emperor Arrives in Rome [July, 118 C.E.]

(Excerpt from Arval Brethren Record)²⁷⁴

Lucius Pomponius Basso, L . . . Barbarus (?) consuls; the 6th day before the Ides of . . .

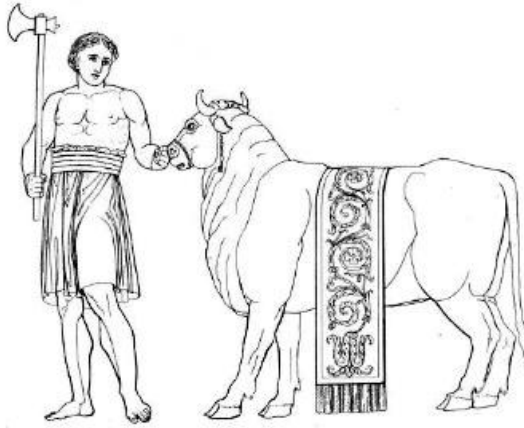
the Arval Brethren convened in the Capitol for the advent of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, and there Trebicius Decianus, *Magister* of the college of Arval Brethren, sacrificed a noble bull at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus; to Queen Juno, to Minerva, and to Salus Publica a heifer each; to Mars the Avenger a bull; (and) to the goddess of Victory a heifer. In attendance at the College, Trebicius Decianus, *Magister*, . . . Tiberius Julius Alexander Julianus, Lucius Antonius Albus. During the same consulship . . . August, in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Concord the Arval Brethren convened to co-opt Emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus according to his rank as emperor (succeeding) Caesar Trajan Parthicus, Father of the Fatherland, to be called to the sacred duty and for the same were the records opened.

SPECIAL NOTE On the preceding page's 2nd entry: the January announcement of when the days of sacrifice to Dea Dia would occur that year are formally known by scholars as the *indictio*. The *pronaos* is the open inner area of the Temple *portico* (the roof-covered porch supported by columns). *Dea Dia* belongs to ancient Roman religion as a goddess of fertility (sometimes identified with Ceres). I've chosen to render *populo Romano Quiritibus*—a technical formula—as "Roman commonwealth of citizens" rather than highlight the contrast between *Quirites*, the people in their civil capacity, and *Romani*, a self-description highlighting political and military capacities. *Domus* refers to the ceremony taking place within Rome at the house of the *magister*, while *locus* refers to the sacred grove of Dea Dia (about 7 kilometers west of the city walls). The third and final day was again within the city. For more on the Arval Brethren and their devotion to Dea Dia, see Beard, "Writing and Ritual."

²⁷³ The Latin text can be found in *Acta Fratrum Arvalium, clii* (Henen ed.). I have rendered *sententia* here as "considered opinion."

²⁷⁴ The Latin text can be found in *Acta Fratrum Arvalium, cliii–cliv* (Henen ed.).

Sacrificial Bull
(Hope, *Costume of the Ancients*, #266)



Bull adorned for sacrifice

c15 *Fortuna Redux* [117 C.E.]
(ANS; Denarius)²⁷⁵



OBVERSE: IMP(erator) CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIAN OPT(imus)
AVG(ustus) GER(manicus) DAC(icus).
Bust of Hadrian, laureate.

REVERSE: PARTHIC(us) DIVI TRAIAN AVG(ustus) F(ilius) P(ontifex)
M(aximus) TR(ibunicia) P(otestas) CO(n)S(ul) P(ater) P(atriciae) // FORT(una)
RED(ux) (in exergue)
Fortuna seated left on throne, holding rudder and cornucopia.

²⁷⁵ Public Domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (ANS); it, with text, can be viewed at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian&start=40>). Image has been transformed to grayscale; the text abbreviations have been expanded. *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 17-18. *Fortuna Redux*, Goddess of Fortune (or 'Luck') was in charge of bringing people far away safely home.

c16 *Desire for Peace (Concordia) and Hope (Spes) [118 C.E.]*
(Münzkabinett Wien; Aureus)²⁷⁶



OBVERSE: IMP(erator) CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG(ustus): Bust of Hadrian, laureate, cuirassed, right, viewed from front | Bust of Hadrian, laureate, draped and cuirassed, right, viewed from front.

REVERSE: P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunica) P(otestas) CO(n)S(ul) II // CONCORD (in exergue): Concordia seated left on throne, holding patera and resting on figure of Spes; cornucopia under throne.

180 Hadrian Sponsors Triumph for Trajan

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁷⁷

6.3 Later, when the senate offered him the triumph which was to have been Trajan's, he refused it for himself, and caused the effigy of the dead Emperor to be carried in a triumphal chariot, in order that the best of emperors might not lose even after death the honor of a triumph.

181 Hadrian Declines Title "Pater Patriae"

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁷⁸

6.4 Also he refused for the present the title of Father of his Country, offered to him at the time of his accession and again later on, giving as his reason the fact that Augustus had not won it until late in life.

182 Honoring Hadrian [118 C.E.]

(Inscription on Marble, Ostia, Italy)

[*IED* 670=*AE* 1995.172]²⁷⁹

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 2nd time, twice Consul.

M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus with his son Q. Egrilius Plarianus.

²⁷⁶ The image (© Münzkabinett Wien) is made available by Creative Commons (CC by 3.0) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/legalcode>); it has been transformed to grayscale. The image, with the text, can be viewed at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian&start=40>). Text abbreviations have been expanded. *RIC* II, Part 3 Hadrian 106–107.

²⁷⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 19.

²⁷⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 19.

²⁷⁹ The Latin text can be found in *Italia Epigraphica Digitale*, II, 543 [#670].

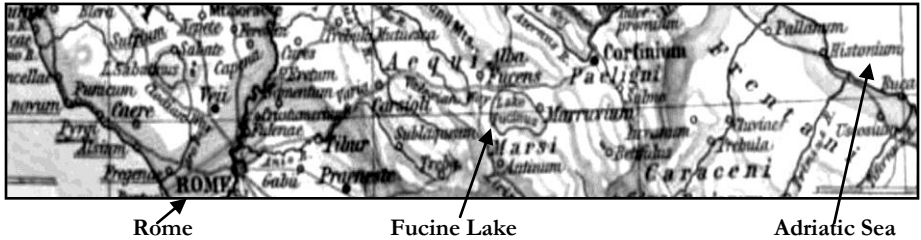
183 Draining the Fucine Lake [118 C.E.?] ²⁸⁰

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁸⁰

22.12 He drained the Fucine Lake.²⁸¹

Fucine Lake

(Extracted from Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 27)



184 Trajan's Draining the Fucine Lake [116/117 C.E.]

(Inscription on Statue Base at Alba Fucens, Italy)

[CIL IX, 3915=*AE* 1994.546]²⁸²

To Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Nerva, Nerva Trajan Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 21st time, saluted as *imperator* 12 times, consul 6 times, Father of the Fatherland, the Senate and people of Rome give thanks for having restored the land and its possessors by reducing Lake Fucine after it violently drove them away.

Fucine Lake

(Fabretti, *De Columna Traiana Syntagma*, facing 389)



²⁸⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 69.

²⁸¹ Hadrian's was not the first effort to drain the lake (located in central Italy), which had no natural outlet and so was prone to disastrous flooding when rainfall exceeded the normal range. Campbell, *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome*, 233, notes, "It has been calculated that Claudius drained about 50 of the lake's 140 square kilometers; further work by Hadrian drained another 30 square kilometers." On the effort by Claudius, see Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars: Claudius*, 20.

²⁸² The Latin text may be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-14804945).

REFORM OF IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION²⁸³

185 Attentive to the Public Treasury

(Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*)²⁸⁴

VIII.7.2c He had no great reputation for clemency, but was very attentive to the state of the treasury and the discipline of the soldiers.²⁸⁵

186 Support by Remitting Debts, 1

(Inscription)

[CIL VI, 967=ILS 309]²⁸⁶

Vv The senate vv and vv the Roman vv people. | (Dedicated) to Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Traianus | Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, | Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, pontifex || maximus, holding the tribunician power for the second time (December 10, A.D. 117 to December 9, 118), consul for the second time, | who was the first of all our Leaders and the | only one to remit 900 | 000,000 sesterces owed to the fiscus (i.e., Imperial Treasury), | (and) not only his present citizens but || also their offspring be rendered | vv safe by this liberality.

187 Support by Remitting Debts, 2

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)²⁸⁷

LXIX.8.1² On coming to Rome he cancelled the debts that were owing to the imperial treasury and to the public treasury of the Romans, fixing a period of fifteen years from the first to the last of which this remission was to apply.

188 Support by Remitting Debts, 3

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁸⁸

7.6 Moreover, he used every means of gaining popularity. He remitted to private debtors in Rome and in Italy immense sums of money owed to the privy-purse, and in the provinces he remitted large amounts of arrears; and he ordered the promissory notes to be burned in the Forum of the Deified Trajan, in order that the general sense of security might thereby be increased.

²⁸³ Mattingly, *The Imperial Civil Service of Rome*, 35, comments, “His reign marks the beginning of a new epoch in the financial administration . He finally excluded freedmen from the great offices, in which they had hitherto won importance in the State, entrusting them to knights and giving them a definite place in the knight’s career. Under him the whole civil system received a new form, and the first step was taken towards the formation of a real bureaucracy.”

²⁸⁴ Eutropius. *Abridgment of Roman History* (Watson’s translation), 510. The Latin text can be found in Eutropius, *Breviarium ab Urbe Condita*, Rühl’s edition, 56.

²⁸⁵ On Hadrian’s attention to the discipline of the army, see Dio, LXIX.9.1–3 and parallels in *Historia Augusta* 10.2–4.

²⁸⁶ Sherk, *The Roman Empire*, 182 (#142). The Latin text may be found at *Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy* [Eagle] (EDR103995).

²⁸⁷ Dio Cassius’ *Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 439.

²⁸⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 23. “Owed to the privy purse”: *quae fisco debebatur*—see note 291. On the Forum of the Deified Trajan, see illustration on p. 79.

c17–18



Remission of Arrears (left)
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 310)²⁸⁹

Remission of Debts (right)
(Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 5 [Fig. 13])



FIG. 13.
REMISE DES CRÉANCES.

189 Establishes the *Advocatus fisci*

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁹⁰

20.6 He was the first to appoint a pleader for the privy-purse.²⁹¹

190 Frugality and Fiscal Responsibility

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁹²

6.5 Of the crown-money [p. 21] for his triumph he remitted Italy's contribution, and lessened that of the provinces, all the while setting forth grandiloquently and in great detail the straits of the public treasury.

191 Financial Changes, 1

(Jerome, *Chronicle (Hadrian)*)²⁹³

II*b* Hadrian freed the rest of the cities from tribute, having burned the records in public: he also discharged many free-men from these same tributes.

192 Financial Changes, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁹⁴

7.7 He gave orders that the property of condemned persons should not accrue to the privy-purse, [p. 25] and in each case deposited the whole amount in the public treasury.

²⁸⁹ See Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 143 [#142b] on the coin BMC III 1207.

²⁹⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 63.

²⁹¹ Latin: *fisci advocatum primus instituit*. "Pleader for the privy-purse"—Benario, *Commentary*, 120–21, succinctly explains this: "Hadrian had cancelled the enormous outstanding debt to the *fiscus*, which had proved uncollectable (see 7.6). But evidently, in the hope that a similar circumstance might not arise in the future, he appointed an *advocatus fisci* to represent the treasury in dealings with private persons. There was now, so to speak, an official state prosecutor whose charge it was to collect the monies due." The term 'privy-purse' renders the Latin term *fiscus* (a 'basket' or 'money bag'), the central imperial treasury. It was officially the emperor's property.

²⁹² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 19, 21.

²⁹³ Roger Pearse et al. at the Tertullian Project (http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm). The Latin text can be found in Jerome. *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones*, 279. Hadrian's relationship to Roman freedman was complicated; most notably he somewhat curtailed their exercise of power in government (see footnote 301, below).

²⁹⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 23, 25. See entry #1249 as of related interest.

193 Administrative Policy in Italy, 1

(Appian, *The Civil Wars*)²⁹⁵

I.5.38 (It appears that there were proconsuls at that time governing the various parts of Italy; Hadrian revived the custom a long time afterward when he held the supreme power, but it did not long survive him.)

194 Administrative Policy in Italy, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁹⁶

22.13 He appointed four men of consular rank as judges for all Italy.²⁹⁷

195 Antoninus One of the Four Consulars Named Above (HA 22.13)

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)²⁹⁸

2.11 [Speaking of Antoninus] He was chosen by Hadrian from among the four men of consular rank under whose jurisdiction Italy was placed, to administer that particular part of Italy in which he greater part of his holdings lay; from this it was evident that Hadrian had regard for both the fame and the tranquility of such a man.

196 Administrative Policy in Italy, 3

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)²⁹⁹

7.5 He established a regular imperial post, in order to relieve the local officials of such a burden.

197 Civil Service Change

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³⁰⁰

22.8 He was the first to put knights³⁰¹ in charge of the imperial correspondence and of the petitions addressed to the emperor.

²⁹⁵ Appian. *Appian's Roman History* (White's translation), II, 29 (Vol. III, 75 in Loeb ed.). Appian is referencing the "Social War" (*bellum sociale*, 91–88 B.C.E.) between Rome and her Italian allies. The Greek text may be seen in Appian, *The Civil Wars* (Mendelssohn's edition; Loeb), III, 74.

²⁹⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 69.

²⁹⁷ Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 481, observes, "Hadrian appointed four ex-consuls to exercise the higher jurisdiction in four sections of the country. The institution was abolished and later restored by Marcus Aurelius and Verus, who created officers called 'iuridici.' The object was to relieve the courts in the capital and to afford convenience to litigants." Syme, "Journeys of Hadrian," 162, sees this decision as perhaps flowing from his excursion into Cisalpina in 127 C.E.

²⁹⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 105. Antoninus was Hadrian's successor.

²⁹⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 23. See Mattingly, *The Imperial Civil Service of Rome*, 84.

³⁰⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 69. The official held an office known as *ab epistulis*. On this office, see Townend, "The Post of ab Epistulis in the Second Century."

³⁰¹ "Knights"—members of the equestrian class. Mattingly, *The Imperial Civil Service of Rome*, 35, writes, "Nerva and Trajan both strove to confine the influence of imperial freedmen within reasonable limits, but it was left to Hadrian to give this endeavour definite form. His reign marks the beginning of a new epoch in the financial administration. He finally excluded freedmen from the great offices, in which they had hitherto won importance in the State, entrusting them to knights and giving them a definite place in the knight's career. Under him the whole civil system received a new form, and the first step was taken towards the formation of a real bureaucracy." Also see Mattingly, 38–39, 74–75.

198 Adroit Administration: Summation

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)³⁰²

14.11 Truly, aside from a few changes made by Constantine, the public and imperial offices (but not the military ones) remain the same to the present.

"In order to check the rumours about himself, he gave in person a double largess to the people." (HA 7.3)

c19

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*,
V, 2, 310)



**DOUBLE CONGIARIUM
GIVEN BY HADRIAN.**

Congiarium to the People
(Clement, *The Eternal City*, II, 563)



GRATUITOUS DISTRIBUTION TO THE PEOPLE.

³⁰² For an alternate English translation of Ps. Aurelius Victor, see Banchich's online rendering at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. The Latin text can be found in Pichlmayr's edition of the *Epitome* in the collected works of *Sexti Aurelii Victoris*, 150–51. Abbott, *A History and Description of Roman Political Institutions*, 318, remarks, "By far the most important administrative change which Hadrian made consisted in the introduction of a bureaucratic system into the civil service, with its fixed gradation of offices and corresponding order of promotion. The functions of each official were carefully marked out and the government took into its own hands certain matters, like the collection of taxes, which before had been wholly or in part managed under private contract."

199 The *Alimenta*³⁰³

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³⁰⁴

7.8 He made additional appropriations for the children to whom Trajan had allotted grants of money.

200 On the Maintenance of Children (the *Alimenta*)

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)

[XXXIV.1.14[1] (Ulpian, *Fideicommissa*, II)]³⁰⁵

Hadrian established that boys are maintained up to the age of eighteen, and girls up to the age of fourteen, and our emperor has ruled in a rescript that the formula worked out by Hadrian is to be observed

201 Providing Guardians

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³⁰⁶

22.1a He very often assigned guardians.³⁰⁷

202 Other Relief Acts

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³⁰⁸

7.9 He supplemented the property of senators impoverished through no fault of their own, making the allowance in each case proportionate to the number of children, so that it might be enough for a senatorial career; to many, indeed, he paid punctually on the date the amount allotted for their living.³⁰⁹

7.10 Sums of money sufficient to enable men to hold office he bestowed, not on his friends alone, but also on many far and wide,

7.11 and by his donations he helped a number of women to sustain life.

³⁰³ The *alimenta* welfare distribution for children is thought to have begun under Nerva (c. 98), and continued through Trajan and Hadrian, and their successors into the late 3rd century. See Ashley, “The ‘Alimenta’ of Nerva and His Successors.” While it has been common to see the targets of such beneficence being the truly impoverished, with the aim to combat rural poverty and depopulation, Woolf, “Food, Poverty and Patronage,” argues against such an interpretation. Instead, he contends (pp. 226–27) that the *alimenta* can be seen as “an extension to Italians of the privilege granted to the inhabitants of the capital, the *frumentatio*.” (The *frumentatio* was grain distribution.) Woolf suggests the *alimenta* provided a symbolic binding of emperor to Italy against an anxiety they were drifting apart, and at the same time the *alimenta* offered one more example of the imperial largesse employed as part of an emperor’s self-representation and legitimation.

³⁰⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 23.

³⁰⁵ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian*, III, 144 (Watson’s edition). A *Fideicommissum* is an obligation on an heir (or legatee) in a will to transfer property to someone. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen’s edition), II, 144. The discrepancy in age is because girls at 14 were deemed to have passed through puberty and were soon to be married, which then would place them in a household as the responsibility of their husband. Boys did not typically marry as early as girls and their dependence on support continued until after achieving adulthood.

³⁰⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 67.

³⁰⁷ On the general subject, see Szabó, “*Tutela Mulierum*: The Institution of Guardianship.”

³⁰⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 25.

³⁰⁹ For the difficulties posed by the Latin of this text, see Benario, *A Commentary*, 74–75.

203 Later Freedom from Tributes

(Cassiodorus, *Chronicle*, 769–770)³¹⁰

769 Aviola and Pansa

770 Under these consuls Hadrian freed the rest of the cities from tribute, having burned the records in public: he also discharged many free-men from these same tributes.

204 Extension of Latin Citizenship

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³¹¹

21.7 To many communities he gave Latin citizenship, and to many others he remitted their tribute.

205 Of Horses and Wagons

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³¹²

22.6 He forbade the entry into Rome of heavily laden wagons, and did not permit riding on horseback in cities.

BIRTHDAY BASH IN ROME

206 Benefactions in Rome: Plays, Games, and Exhibitions, 1

[Jan. 24, 119 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)³¹³

LXIX.8.2 On his birthday he gave the usual spectacle free to the people and slew many wild beasts, so that one hundred lions, for example, and a like number of lionesses fell on this single occasion. He also distributed gifts by means of little balls which he threw broadcast both in the theatres and in the Circus, for the men and for the women separately. And further, he also commanded them to bathe separately.

207 Benefactions in Rome: Plays, Games, and Exhibitions, 2

[Jan, 119 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³¹⁴

7.12 He gave gladiatorial combats for six days in succession, and on his birthday he put into the arena a thousand wild beasts.

³¹⁰ Procee, *Cassiodorus Chronicle*, released into public domain (2014). The Latin text can be found in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, XI* (Mommsen ed.); see pp. 109–61 for complete text. Cassiodorus has 121 C.E. as the first year of Hadrian's reign, so attributes this act to 122 C.E. Marcus Acilius Aviola and Lucius Corellius Neratius Pansa were the consular colleagues.

³¹¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 65. The date of this is unknown.

³¹² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 69. Gough, "Appendices and Notes," I, 29, comments, "[T]he conveyance of enormous loads was not forbidden out of any consideration for pedestrians, who might have been injured just as much by smaller ones, but because of the dangerous effect of the shaking on houses, pavements, and *cloacae*." (*Cloacae* refers to sewers.)

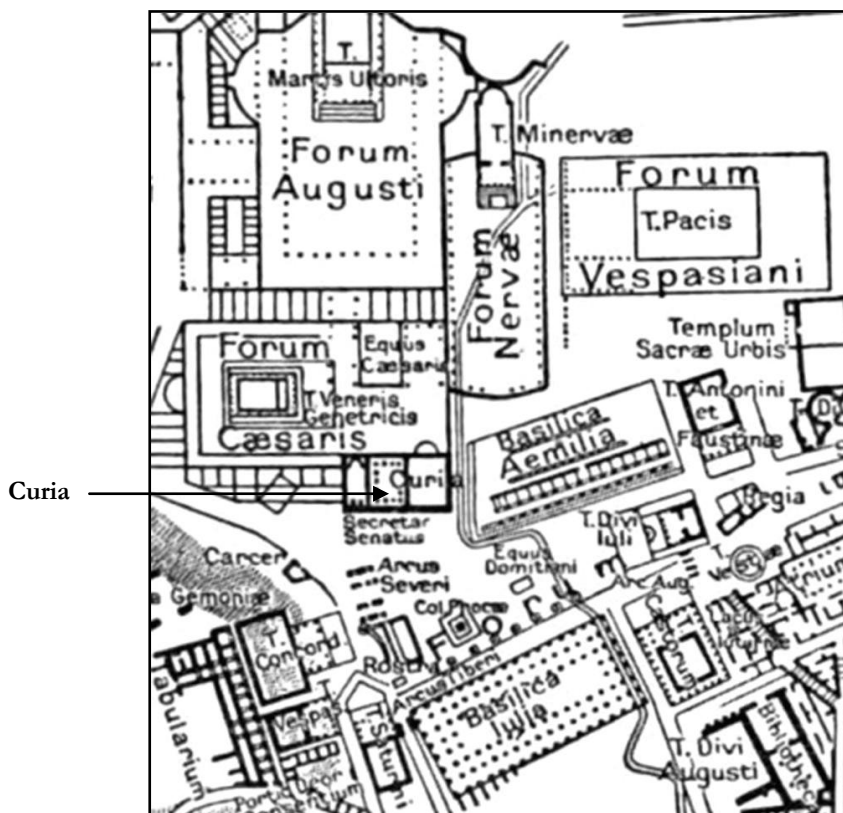
³¹³ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 439.

³¹⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 25. On Hadrian's command for men and women to bathe separately: clearly this means mixed sex bathing was taking place some places. Most baths did not have separate facilities but instead designated separate bathing times.

RELATIONS WITH THE SENATE

Location of the Curia Julia

(Extracted from Map of Rome in *Nordisk Familjebok*, 16 (1923), after p. 981)



208 Relations with Senators, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)³¹⁵

LXIX.7.1 He transacted with the aid of the senate all the important and most urgent business and he held court with the assistance of the foremost men, now in the palace, now in the Forum or the Pantheon or various other places, always being seated on a tribunal, so that whatever was done was made public. Sometimes he would join the consuls when they were trying cases and he showed them honor at the horse-races.

³¹⁵ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 437. Corbett, "The Legislation of Hadrian," 766, comments, "Hadrian maintained the formal equality of the senate as a criminal court against the growing preponderance of the imperial tribunals. In an edict cited by Ulpian in D 49, 2, 1, 2, he ordained that there should be no appeal from the senate's decision to the Emperor."

209 Relations with Senators, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³¹⁶

8.1 The foremost members of the senate he admitted to close intimacy with the emperor's majesty.

8.2 All circus-games decreed in his honor he refused, except those held to celebrate his birthday.

8.3 Both in meetings of the people and in the senate he used to say that he would so administer the commonwealth that men would know that it was not his own but the people's.³¹⁷

8.4 Having himself been consul three times, he reappointed many to the consulship for the third time and men without number to a second term;

8.5 his own third consulship³¹⁸ he held for only four months, and during his term he often administered justice. [*p.* 27]

8.6 He always attended regular meetings of the senate if he was present in Rome or even in the neighbourhood.

8.7 In the appointment of senators he showed the utmost caution and thereby greatly increased the dignity of the senate, and when he removed Attianus from the post of prefect of the guard and created him a senator with consular honors, he made it clear that he had no greater honor which he could bestow upon him.

8.8 Nor did he allow knights to try cases involving senators whether he was present at the trial or not.³¹⁹

8.9 For at that time it was customary for the emperor, when he tried cases, to call to his council both senators and knights and give a verdict based on their joint decision.

8.10 Finally, he denounced those emperors who had not shown this deference to the senators.³²⁰

³¹⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 27. For more on the general subject of Hadrian's relationship to the Roman Senate, see Syme, "Hadrian and the Senate."

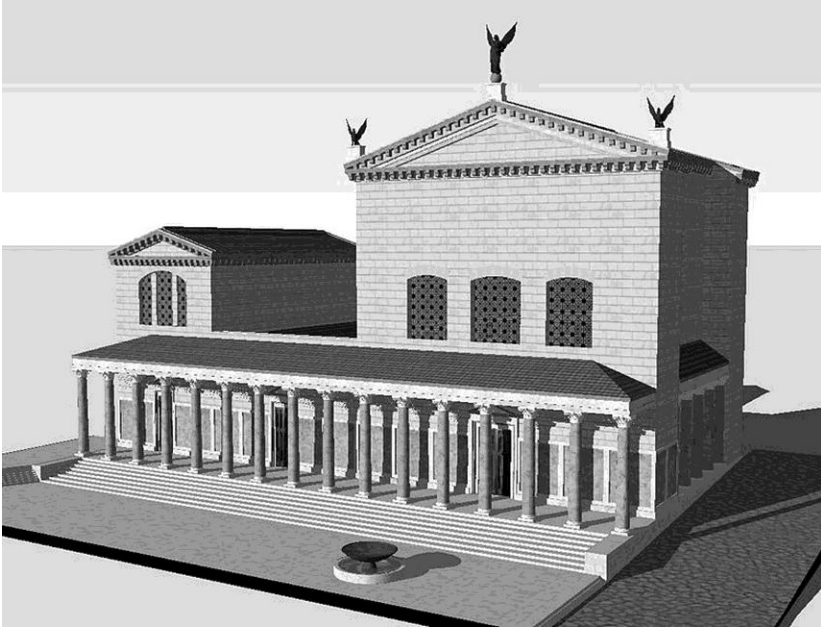
³¹⁷ Cf. the declaration of Augustus, *Res Gestae* (34.1), "In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had extinguished civil wars, and at a time when with universal consent I was in complete control of affairs, I transferred the republic from my power to the dominion of the senate and people of Rome" (Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 55); with reference to 34.2, see Hadrian's request recorded in Charisius, *Artis Grammaticae* II.222 (Barwick ed., 287), recorded in chapter 15 of this volume. Benario, *A Commentary*, 76, notes that in the *Vita Hadriani* are few remarks of a "political-philosophical nature"—and ranks this as one of the most important.

³¹⁸ Held with Publius Dasumius Rusticus: *Ipse anno 119 consulatum ordinarium gessit*.

³¹⁹ 'Knights' were members of the equestrian class, one social step below senators—and thereby deemed unfit to serve as judges upon them.

³²⁰ Many would have been alive during the reign of Domitian (81–96), for example; his relations with the Senate were recorded by the contemporaneous Seutonius (*Lives of the Caesars*, Domitian, X.2–4, XIII.1, XXIII.1).

Meeting House of the Imperial Roman Senate
(The *Curia Julia*)³²¹



210 Relations with Senators, 3

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³²²

9.7 But when at Rome, he frequently attended the official functions of the praetors and consuls, appeared at the [p. 31] banquets of his friends, visited them twice or thrice a day when they were sick, even those who were merely knights and freedmen, cheered them by words of comfort, encouraged them by words of advice, and very often invited them to his own banquets.

211 Relations with Senators, 4

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³²³

22.2 He ordered senators and knights to wear the toga whenever they appeared in public except when they were returning from a banquet,

22.3 and he himself, when in Italy, always appeared thus clad.

22.4 At banquets, when senators came, he received them standing, and he always reclined at table dressed either in a Greek cloak or in a toga.

³²¹ A derivative work of a 3D model by Lasha Tskhondia-L.VII.C. made available under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>). This work has been modified by transforming to grayscale.

³²² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 29, 31.

³²³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 67.

VISIT TO CAMPANIA

212 Description of Campania

(Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*)³²⁴

I.11.16.3 The district of Campania is the fairest of all regions not only in Italy but in the whole world. Nothing can be softer than its climate: indeed it has spring and it flowers twice a year. Nowhere is the soil more fertile; for which reason it is said to have been an object of contention between Liber and Ceres. Nowhere is the coast more habitable, [p. 53] which contains the famous harbours of Caieta, Misenum, Baiae with its hot springs, and the Lucrine and Avernian Lakes where the sea seems to enjoy perpetual repose. Here are the vine-clad mountains of Gaurus, Falernus and Massicus, and Vesuvius, the fairest of them all, which rivals the fires of Etna.

213 Trip to Campania

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³²⁵

9.6 After Hadrian had removed from the prefecture the very men to whom he owed the imperial power, he departed for Campania, where he aided all the towns of the region by gifts and benefactions³²⁶ and attached all the foremost men to his train of friends.³²⁷

214 Alleged Veiled Criticisms by Tacitus in Writing about Tiberius

(Tacitus, *Annals* IV.4)³²⁸

IV.4 Now again was revived by Tiberius his stale and oft counterfeited purpose of a progress into the provinces. He pretended “the multitude of veterans to be discharged, and the necessity of recruiting the armies; for there was a deficiency of volunteers, or if there were a sufficient supply, they were inferior in courage and conduct, as those who volunteered were generally desperate and loose characters.”

IV.57 In the meantime, according to a design long meditated, and from time to time deferred, Tiberius at last retired [p. 214] to Campania; under pretence of dedicating a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and one at Nola to Augustus; but in truth, determined to remove for ever from Rome.

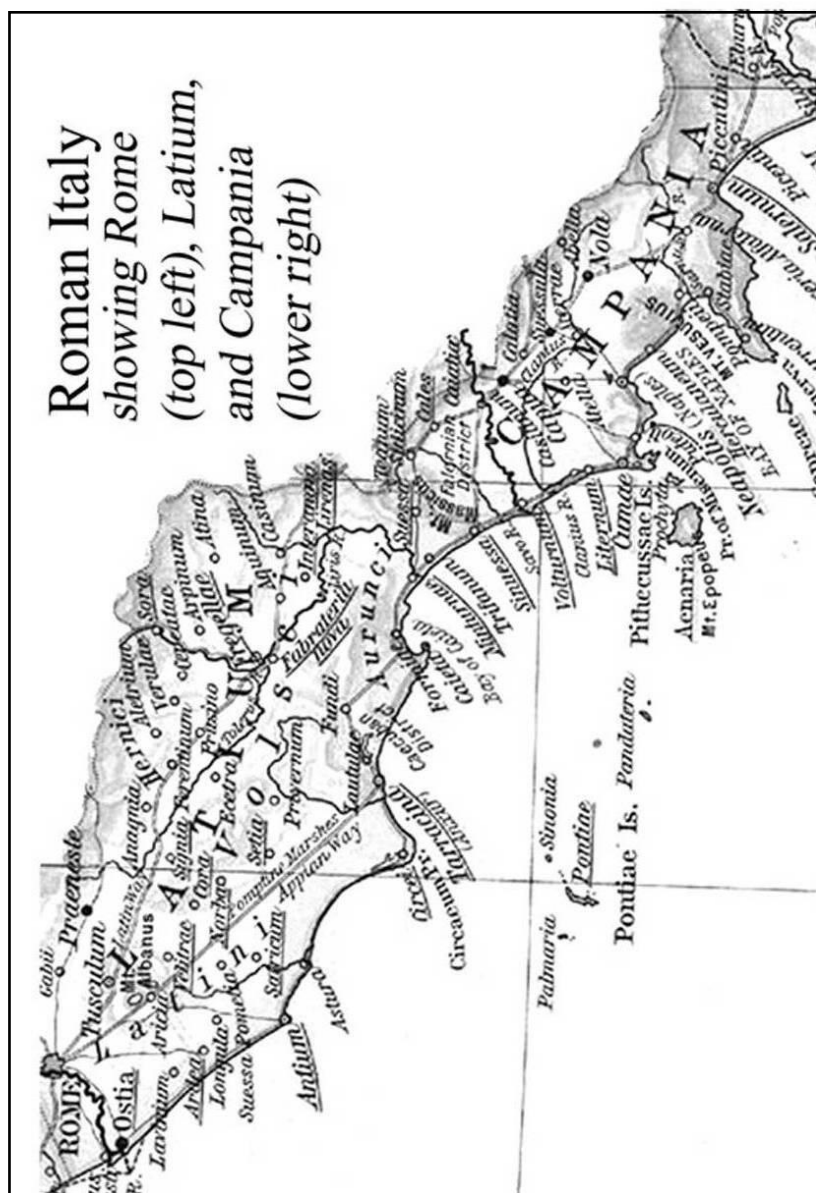
³²⁴ Florus, *Epitome of Roman History* (Forster trans.), 51, 53 (with facing Latin text). African born Florus wrote his work during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.

³²⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 29. The Prefects removed were Attianus, replaced by Turbo, and Sulpicius Similis, replaced by Septicius Clarus—see *HA* 9.3-5 (presented earlier).

³²⁶ For example, the Appian Bridge (*Ponte Ratto*, ‘the broken bridge’) over the Calore River near Beneventum was begun in 118 and completed in 126 when Hadrian ordered renovations to the existing road (see Germinario et al, “Damage Diagnosis of Ponte Rotto,” 278).

³²⁷ Later, at Puteoli in Campania, Antoninus Pius built a temple to Hadrian (see *HA* 27.3); games in honor of Hadrian were also held at Puteoli (see Peterson, *The Cults of Campania*, 130).

³²⁸ Latin text from Tacitus, *Cornelii Taciti, Annalium*, 167 (Fisher ed.). English translation from Tacitus, *Annals of Tacitus, I-VI*, 213–14 (Brooks trans.); cf. Tacitus, *Tacitus. The Annals of Rome*, 186 (Grant trans.).



³²⁹ For a more detailed map, see Peterson, *The Cults of Campania*, Frontpiece. Destephen, “The Time Travelling Emperor,” 69–70, observes, “Given in his long stay in Tivoli and his death at Baiae, in the Gulf of Naples, Hadrian probably made frequent and short trips to Latium and Campania.”

Campania
(Knight, *A Description of Latium*, Frontispiece)



Praeneste (Palestrina) and Aricia (Laricia on map) circled.

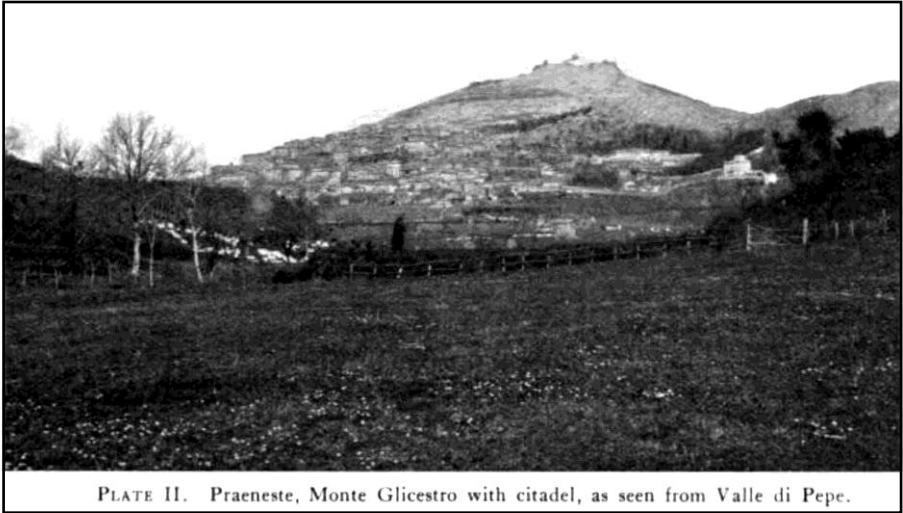


PLATE II. Praeneste, Monte Glicestro with citadel, as seen from Valle di Pepe.

215 Hadrian Makes a Civic Appointment

(Inscription at Praeneste (Palestrina) in Latium, Italy)

[SEOR II¹, 794=CIL XIV, 3003]³³¹

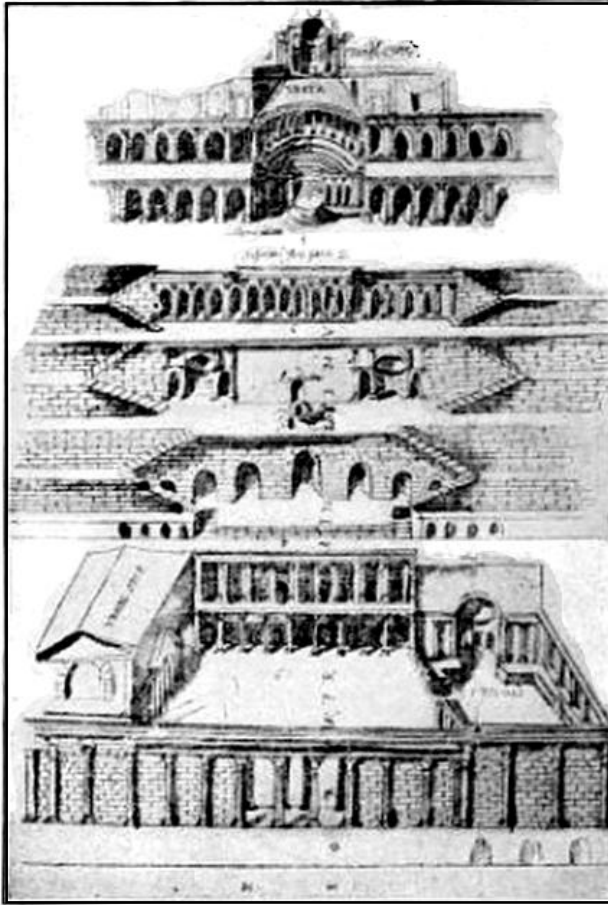
Marcus Scurreius Fontinalis, priest of Fortuna Primigenia, selected by senatusconsult, *sevir Augustalis*, trustee (*curator*) of the *sevir*, (appointed) by Emperor Hadrian Augustus to the collegium of carpenters (*collegio fabrum tignuvariorum*) ‘five years in perpetuity’ (*quinquennalis perpetuus*); with Scurreius Vestalis, his son; done with his own money. Site provided by decree of the Decurion.

³³⁰ Bradshaw, “Praeneste,” 235, writes: “The town of Praeneste (modern Palestrina) lies about 23 miles east of Rome on the slope of Mount Glicestro, a spur of the Apennines, where the limestone of the mountains runs down into the volcanic plain. The town faces nearly due south towards the Alban Hills, and is in a position of great natural strength, which was made still stronger by artificial means.” Von Deman Magoffin, *A Study*, 13, remarks, “The natural limits of the ancient city proper can hardly be mistaken. The city included not only the arx and that portion of the southern slope of the mountain which was walled in, but also a level piece of fertile ground below the city . . .” He adds later (p. 33), “Strabo, in a well known passage, speaks of Tibur and Praeneste as two of the most famous and best fortified of the towns of Latium, and tells why Praeneste is the more impregnable . . .” (with reference to Strabo, *Geography*, V.3, 11 [238, 10]).

³³¹ The Latin text can be found in *Sylloge Epigraphica Orbis Romani* (Vigliori ed.) II¹, 100 [#794], or *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIV* (Dessau ed.), 323. The *sevir Augustalis* constituted a prestigious religious and social group found in the Western provinces. Generally members were freedmen and election to the office conferred both privileges and obligations, the latter presumably focused on the imperial cultus. With a different text in mind, Shorey, “Plato Sophist 236c and Laws 668 Aff.”, 323, remarks about the Latin phrase *quinquennalis perpetuus*, “My own impression is that it is not impossible, but that *quinquennalis perpetuus* may have been employed for a magistrate that actually served for only one year but retained the title and certain dignities for life.”

The Temple of Fortuna

(Frothingham, *Roman Cities in Italy and Dalmatia*, facing 21 [Fig. II])³³²



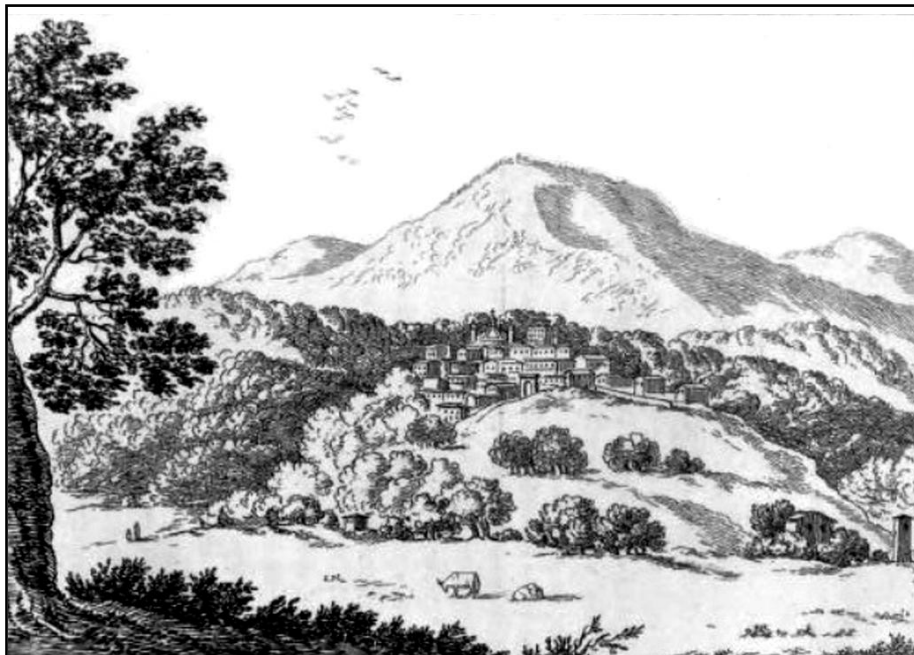
Praeneste, Temple of Fortuna as Restored
by Late Renaissance Architect (Durm)

³³² Frothingham, *Roman Cities in Italy and Dalmatia*, 18–19, notes, “The Fortune of Praeneste was called Fortuna Primigenia, or Fortune the First-born of Jove, the giver of all good gifts to men, the fore-teller of the future, the all-wise oracle. Even Rome was jealous of the renown obtained by this shrine, and forbade its being consulted by her public men. It seems to have been the only temple in Latium which occupied as an oracle a similar position to that held in Greece by the oracles of Delphi, Olympis and Dodona.” Bradshaw, “Praeneste,” 237, comments, “From the earliest times the fame of Praeneste was bound up with that of the sanctuary and oracle of the Goddess Fortune, who was here worshipped as Primigenia or ‘First-Born’ of Jupiter. The oracle delivered its responses by means of ‘lots’ or slips of wood with letters carved upon them.”

ARICIA IN CAMPANIA

Aricia (Laricia)

(Knight, *A Description of Latium*, facing p. 75)



216 Dedication to Hadrian at Sanctuary of Diana at Nemus Aricinum³³³ [122/123 C.E.]

(Inscription at Aricia in Latium, Italy)

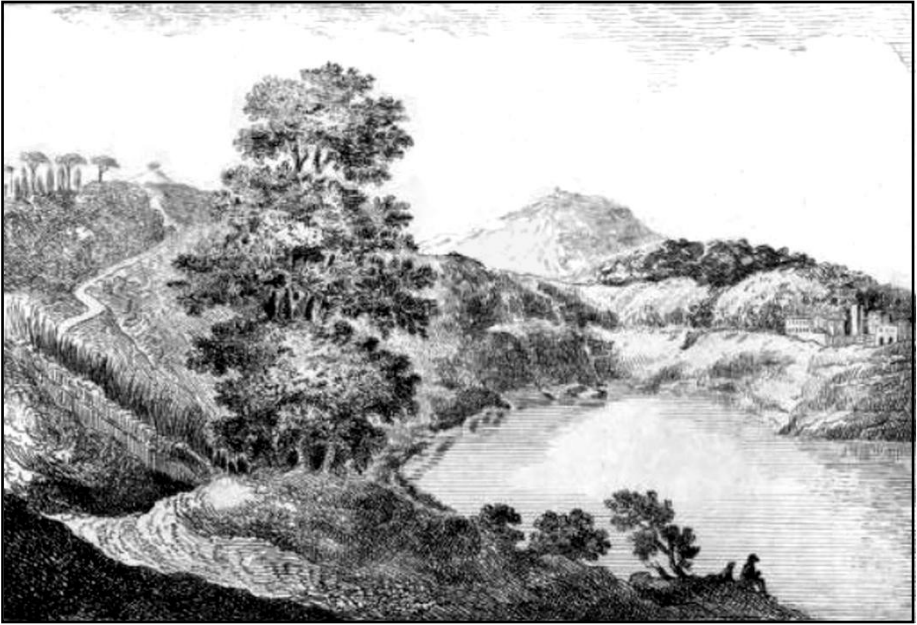
[CIL XIV, 2216]³³⁴

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 6th time, three times consul, restored the ancient damaged shrine (*faunum*) which Darius, son of the king of the Parthian Arsacides, had built.

³³³ Rous, “Forms of Cult?” 338, notes this cult of Diana has long fascinated people for many reasons, including her priesthood—the *rex Nemorensis*—in which one’s succession to the priesthood necessitated the murder of his predecessor (as Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 1, famously put it, “A candidate for the priesthood could only succeed to office by slaying the priest, and having slain him, he retained office till he was himself slain by a stronger or craftier.”). Rous adds, “It was commonly believed that at the Lake of Nemi was located a doorway to the netherworld and the goddess worshipped there exhibited many traits that could be thought of as un-Roman.”

³³⁴ The Latin text: *Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici filius divi Nervae nepos Traianus / [Hadrianus Augustus pontifex] max(imus) trib]unic(ia) potest(ate) VI co(n)s(ul) III / [— quod Dareius regis regu]m Parthorum fil(ius) Arsacidis / [fecerat vetustate collapsu]m restituit.*

Nemus Aricinum, near Aricia
(Knight, *A Description of Latium*, facing p. 85)³³⁵



217 Gift of an Image of Hadrian [119 C.E.]
(Inscription on the Via Appia, south of Rome)
[#304]³³⁶

To the sacred spirit of Silvanus Sanctus . . . Ti. Claudius Priscus gives as a gift to the *collegiums* at his own expense an image of the emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus of one pound silver, with a bronze base for the gift. Enacted on the fifth day before the Kalends of June (25 May), in the consulship of Q. Gargelius Antiquus and Q. Vibius Gallus.

³³⁵ 'Nemus Aricinum,' 'Grove of Aricia,' was close by Aricia and on the shores of Lake Nemi. Knight, *A Description of Latium*, 86, remarks, "All this country, including the valley of Aricia, was anciently denominated 'the kingdom of Diana,' who had here a celebrated temple. . . ." Knight, *A Description of Latium*, 85, writes, "The *grove of Aricia*, or, as it was often called, *the grove of the Taurick Diana*, has left its name to the little town of Nemi. . . . The description which Strabo gives of this place exactly answers to the situation of modern Nemi, which overlooks the beautiful lake, not improperly styled 'the mirror of Diana,' as the clearness of the waters, and the form of the whole, give a just idea of the resemblance. Nothing can exceed its picturesque beauty: the elevation and varied outline of its banks, and of the hills which rise above them, added to the hanging woods, and bold volcanic masses projecting in different directions, give it an appearance at once sublime and interesting."

³³⁶ Lomas, *Roman Italy*, 184 [#304]. Marcus Paccius Silvanus Quintus Corelius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus was a suffect consul in May–June, 119.

NEAPOLIS AND PUTEOLI IN CAMPANIA

Neapolis (Naples) and Puteoli in Campania



218 Chief Magistrate in Neapolis (Naples)

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³³⁷

19.1b In the Latin towns he was dictator and aedile and duumvir, in Naples demarch. . . .³³⁸

219 Honoring Hadrian at Puteoli, 1 [121 C.E.]

(Inscription on Statue Base at Puteoli in Campania, Italy)

[*AE* 1977.200]³³⁹

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, three times Consul, from the populace of the Lartidian ward.

220 Honoring Hadrian at Puteoli, 2 [121 C.E.]

(Inscription on Statue Base at Puteoli in Campania, Italy)

[*AE* 1977.201]³⁴⁰

[Same as above until end:] . . . from the populace of the Anniani ward.

³³⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 57, 59.

³³⁸ Naples (Neapolis), in Campania, began as a Greek colony. In the Republic and early Empire it was a center of Greek culture, and this is reflected in the title of *demarche* for its chief magistrate.

³³⁹ The Latin text can be seen online at *Musei di Archeologia Subacquea* (<https://www.progettomusas.eu/reperto/base-con-dedica-degli-inquilini-vici-lartidiani-ad-adriano/>), with illustration and map. Puteoli developed along a coastal strip (the *Ripa puteolana*) with distinct suburbs. The 'populace' of the Lartidian 'ward' (*inquilini vici*—inhabitants of a village), as in the next inscription those of the Anniani ward, constituted such a suburb. Costa et al., "The Long and Intertwined Record," 5, notes both suburbs were "reserved for Nabataean Arab foreigners." Neapolis, Puteoli, and nearby areas, received significant attention in Hadrian's reign in response to the devastation wrought by Mt. Vesuvius. See Taylor, "Roman Neapolis."

³⁴⁰ The Latin text can be seen online at *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* (<https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD007113>).

221 Hadrian Restores a Road [121 C.E.]

(Stone Inscription on Nuceria–Stabiae Road in Campania, Italy)

[CIL X, 6939; cf. CIL X, 6940 at Neapolis]³⁴¹

XI. Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, three times Consul, made this.

222 Hadrian Restores a Temple, 1 [121 C.E.]

(Inscription at Antium in Latium of the Campania, Italy)

[CIL X, 6652]³⁴²

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, restored the temple which had decayed of old age.

223 Hadrian Restores a Temple, 2 [121 C.E.]

(Inscription at Caiatia in Campania, Italy)

[CIL X, 4754]³⁴³

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, three times Consul, decorated the temple with Cubulterian marble at his own expense.

224 Honoring Hadrian at Surrentum [121 C.E.]

(Inscription on Statue Base at Surrentum in Campania, Italy)

[CIL X, 676a=CIL X, 676b]³⁴⁴

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, three times Consul, and very best (*optimus maximus*) of *Princeps*, the Decurions of the city (*municipes*) of Surrentum collected the funds (to erect the statue).

³⁴¹ The Latin text: *XI Imp(erator) Caes[ar] divi Traia[ni] Parthici [filius] divi Nerva[e n(epos)] Traianu[s] Hadrianus Augustus pontif(ex) maximus trib(unicia) pot(estate) V co(n)s(ul) III fecit.*

³⁴² The Latin text: *Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici filius divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Augustus pontifex maximus trib(unicia) potest(ate) V aedem vetustate corruptam restituit.* Antium (Anzio) was a coastal town some 31 miles (50 km) south of Rome. Hadrian had a residence at Antium, referred to by Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, VIII.20 (see in ch. 15, “Hadrian Collects Philosophy”). The sea-facing and terraced imperial villa at Antium was first established under Augustus and then enjoyed improvements made during the reigns of Domitian and Hadrian (who contributed a bathing complex whose ruins remain visible today, as well as his library, etc.).

³⁴³ The Latin text can be seen online at *Epigraphic Datenbank* (EDCS-19700762). The marble was from quarries at nearby Cubulteria (modern Alvignano), along the Trebulani Mountains.

³⁴⁴ The Latin text can be found online at EDCS (EDCS-28300194). Rosati, “*Landes Campaniae*,” 117, notes that Surrentum was linked to the legend of the Sirens and the cult of Minerva, and at the southernmost tip of the Sorrentine peninsula was a prominent temple reputed to have been founded by Greek hero Ulysses.

MATIDIA



XL.

*Marciana,
Mother of Matidia
and Sister of Trajan, 1*
(Lee, *Roman Imperial Profiles*, Plate 40)



*Marciana,
Mother of
Matidia
and Sister of
Trajan, 2*
(Museo
Capitolino
*Illustrato Bottari
et Foggini*, 102)

Matidia, 1
(Lee, *Roman Imperial Profiles*, Plate 41)

Matidia, 2
(Legrand, *Galerie des Antiques*, #194)



XLI.



225 Honoring Matidia, 1 [Dec., 119 C.E.]

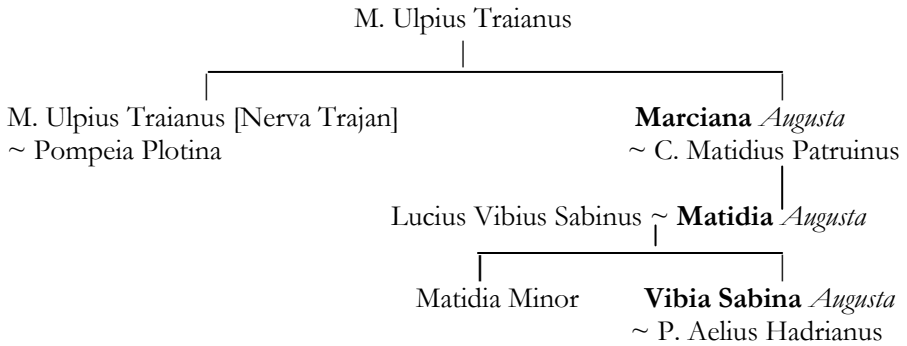
(Excerpt from an Arval Brethren Record)

[CIL VI, 2080]³⁴⁵

C. Herennius Capella and L. Coelio(?) Rufus, consuls; C. Vitorius Hosidius Geta, Magister; On the 10th day before the Kalends of January, in consecration of Matidia Augusta, mother of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, two pounds of perfume and also 50 pounds of frankincense have been sent together in the name of the College of Arval Brethren by the order of C. Vitorius Hosidius Geta, Magister.

³⁴⁵ Matidia was the mother of Hadrian's wife, Sabina. The evidence suggests that Hadrian was very fond of her—arguably more fond of his mother-in-law than of his wife. The Latin text is available at *EDCS* (accessed online *EDCS*-18900579). The *Magister* was the leader of the order. C. Vitorius Hosidius Geta was the son of M. Vitorius Marcellus, from Teate (a central Italian town situated on the right bank of the Pescara River), who married into the distinguished patrician family of Hosidius Geta (who earned triumphal decorations under Claudius in the expedition to Britain), thus raising Marcellus and his family's status to new heights.

Genealogical Chart for Matidia and Sabina



226 Honoring Matidia, 2 [Dec., 119 C.E.]

(HA: *Vita Hadriani*)³⁴⁶

9.9 On his mother-in-law he bestowed especial honor by means of gladiatorial games and other ceremonies.

227 Honoring Matidia, 3 [Dec., 119 C.E.]

(HA: *Vita Hadriani*)³⁴⁷

19.5 In Rome, in addition to popular entertainments of unbounded extravagance, he gave spices to the people in honor of his mother-in-law, and in honor of Trajan he caused essences of balsam and saffron to be poured over the seats of the theatre.

c20 Matidia Coin

(Public Domain coin images from an old coin catalog)



Denarius. Diademed and draped bust with wording: MATIDIA AVGVSTAE DIVAE MARCIANAE. On reverse: Matidia standing between her children Sabina and Matidia (the younger) with wording, PIETAS AVGVST[A].

³⁴⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 31. In a footnote to this text (p. 30) and referencing the text at 19.5, also noted is the issuance of coins bearing the legend *Divae Matidiae Socrui* and "a representation of a temple-like building in which Matidia is seated between niches holding statuettes of Victory."

³⁴⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 59.

228 Speech of Hadrian Honoring Matidia³⁴⁸

(*Laudatio Matidiae* inscription)

[CIL XIV, 3579=Smallwood #114]³⁴⁹

She came to her uncle (Trajan) after he had assumed the position of Emperor, and from that time on she followed him until his final day, accompanying him, living with him, and honoring him as a daughter would; she was never seen without him.

Lines 11–20. But what more is there to say about the virtuous character of my mother-in-law? For how could a one of such weighty merit not be a woman approved most highly? I would describe one-by-one, and in detail, all her virtues if I were not so troubled by my present grief. But I do wish and will say what I am able, regretting only my inability to do more worthy of her praise or sufficient for my pain. For there remains in my mind's eye the saddest image of my mother-in-law slipping away and still my ears hear the echoes of the mournful cries of those closest to me.

Lines 21–33. Bear with my inability to do more than hold up what you already remember and know so well about her, even if what I say is nothing new. She was most dear to her husband, and after his passing remained chaste through a very long widowhood, even though she was in the full flower of life, possessing great beauty. She was most dutiful toward her mother, while being herself a most kindly mother. She was a most pious relative, helping all, never troublesome or gloomy. As toward myself, she was always more concerned about what I deserved, than for herself, and of such great modesty and self-restraint that she never asked for anything, not even for many things which I would have liked to have given her. She had the best wishes for my hopes, and after many offerings and supplications, she realized in my fortunes what she had hoped. She preferred to rejoice in my eminence rather than to profit from it. She was niece of my deified father as the daughter of his sister Marciana Augusta (and so even of a goddess); by my adoption she became a cousin to me. To her belongs honor in accordance with her merits.

³⁴⁸ Smyth, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 94, offers his warm regard as follows: “She was in the first class of those illustrious dames who adorned the court of Trajan, and redeemed the character of the palace. She accompanied her uncle into the East; and Spartian expressly tells us that she assisted Plotina in bearing his ashes to Rome. . . . Their living together in so much harmony afforded Trajan infinite pleasure; he saw, with great satisfaction, this amiable understanding among ladies so nearly allied to him, and so dear to his heart; and thus, having no domestic anxieties, he was the more at leisure to attend to the public welfare.” (“Spartian” = “Spartianus,” the name given for the author of the *Vita Hadriani*.)

³⁴⁹ The translation is my own rather free rendering. The inscription is difficult to read in many places and this has led to various reconstructions of the text of CIL XIV, 3579, which can be found at EDCS (EDCS-04800013). A translation based on a somewhat different reconstruction can be found in Jones, “A Speech,” 268–9 (which see for textual variations). On the Latin text, also see Dehner, *Hadriani Laudatio Matidiae*. The Latin text is also reproduced in Smallwood, *Documents*, 56 [#114]. Cf. Bickerman’s incidental remarks on Matidia in “*Diva Augusta Marciana*.”

229 Well-Wishes from the Arval Brethren [Jan. 3, 120 C.E.]

(Arval Brethren Record)³⁵⁰

Lucius Catilius Severus, for the 2nd time, and Titus Aurelius Fulvus, consuls. The 3rd day before the Nones of January. At the Capitol we have expressed our prayers for the health of Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus; the Arval Brethren convened being Gaius Vitorius Hosidius Geta, *Magister*; Marcus Valerius Trebicius Decianus, Tiberius Iulius Candidus Caecilius Simplex, Tiberius Iulius Candidus, Lucius Antonius Albus, Titus Haterius Nepos, Lucius Julius Catus.

230 The *Parilia*

(Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*)³⁵¹

I.88.3 On this day, which comes in the beginning of spring, the husbandmen and herdsmen offer up a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the increase of their cattle. But whether they had celebrated this day in even earlier times as a day of rejoicing and for that reason looked upon it as the most suitable for the founding of the city, or whether because it marked the beginning of the building of the city, they consecrated it and thought they should honour on it the gods who are propitious to shepherds, I cannot say for certain.

231 The *Parilia* Becomes a New *Natalis Urbis* [Apr. 21, 121 C.E.]

(Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*)³⁵²

VIII.63 And it happened to be the time of a festival which used formerly to be called the *Parilia*, but which is now called the *Romana*, in honour of the temple built to the Fortune of the City, by that most excellent and accomplished sovereign Hadrian. And all the inhabitants of Rome (and all the foreigners sojourning in the city) every year keep that day as a remarkable one.

³⁵⁰ The Latin text can be found in *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, clviii (Henen ed.). Haley, “Hadrian as Romulus,” 971, notes the speculation that Hadrian might have used Vergil as an oracle on this occasion to mark a new Golden Age (*saeculum aureum*). The Haterius Nepos mentioned here is the one of senatorial rank later described as a governor of Arabia (and not to be confused with the Haterius Nepos of equestrian rank). It has been speculated the senator (and suffect consul in 134) Haterius Nepos was the son of the equestrian official of the same name (see, for example, Zyromski, *The Elite in the Lower Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*, 63).

³⁵¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Roman Antiquities* (Cary trans.), 305 (with facing Greek text). Also see Ovid, *Fasti* IV.820ff. The *Parilia*—regarded as founded by Romulus—is succinctly described by Johnson, “*Natalis urbis* and *Principium anni*,” 113: “The *Parilia*, as we know it, was essentially a rite of purification which involved the cleansing of sheep and sheep-folds, and the leaping of celebrants over fires of burning bean-straw.”

³⁵² Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* (Younger trans.), II, 570. Another translation can be found in Athenaeus (Gulick’s ed.), *The Deipnosophists*, IV, 137 (with Greek text, p. 136). See Mols, “The Cult of Roma Aeterna in Hadrian’s Politics,” 462. Walton, “Religious Thought in the Age of Hadrian,” 167, argues, “In creating the cult of Urbs Roma Aeterna, for which he built the great temple of Rome and Venus, Hadrian was both continuing and extending Augustan policy. . . . In lasting effect this was, perhaps, Hadrian’s single most important innovation, for the *Natalis Urbis Romae Aeternae* on April 21st won and maintained its place in the official *fasti*, and the type of Roma Aeterna continues to appear on coins down to the end of the fourth century.”

c21 Marking the Year 121 (=874 A.U.C.) (aureus; RIC II, 144)
(Stevenson, Smith, and Madden, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins*, 46)³⁵³



OBVERSE (not shown): IMP. HADRIANUS AVG. COS. III

REVERSE: ANN. DCCCLXXIII NAT. URB. P. CIR. CON. In the year 874 from the founding of the City, games were for the first time established in the Circus (Maximus).³⁵⁴

Dedication of a New Temple of Venus and Rome [Apr. 12, 121 C.E.]
(Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 197)



Fig. 75. — Bas-relief with the Temple of Venus and Rome.

³⁵³ Stevenson, Smith, and Madden, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins*, 46, remark, “This unique historical legend is found on the reverse of a gold coin, and also of a large brass, of Hadrian (the latter with S.C.). The type of both represents a female seated at the base of three obelisks, or *metae* (the gold coin exhibits only *one*) which she embraces with her left arm, whilst she holds a wheel resting on her right knee.—The legend of the obverse is IMP. CAES. HADRIANUS AVG. COS. III.”

³⁵⁴ This translation reads the coin abbreviations as *annis DCCCLXXIII natali urbis primum circenses constitute*.

Chapter 5

Travels in the West, 121–123 C.E.

HADRIAN THE TRAVELER

232 Hadrian's Activeness

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)³⁵⁵

14.4 His immeasurable labors obviously can be seen in such things as his making a circuit by walking through all the provinces, moving faster than his accompanying troops, restoring entire towns, raising their station.

c22 Hadrian's Expedition to the West [121–123 C.E.]

(ANS; Sestertius)³⁵⁶



OBVERSE: IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG: 'Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus.'

Head of Hadrian, laureate and cuirassed, facing right.

REVERSE: P M TR P COS III S C EXPED AVG: 'Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, three times Consul, by decree of the Senate; Expedition of Augustus.'

Hadrian, bare-headed, is in military dress, with his cloak flying behind him, on horse prancing in a leftward direction; Hadrian is raising his right hand and holding in his left hand a spear, nearly vertical.

³⁵⁵ For a different English translation of Ps. Aurelius Victor see Banchich's online rendering at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. The Latin text can be found in Pichlmayr's edition of the *Epitome* in the collected works of *Sexti Aurelii Victoris*, 150. Mattingly, *Roman Imperial Civilization*, 69, remarks, "Hadrian showed a readiness to rethink the Empire in terms of its provinces, as individuals with wishes of their own, not merely as satellites of the central sun."

³⁵⁶ Public domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (<http://numismatics.org/collection/1954.203.181>). Mattingly, "Some Historical Coins of Hadrian," 217, notes this as one of two special types produced to mark the Western expedition. He remarks, "though the form of a military expedition is preserved, Hadrian actually traveled modestly and with little state." *RIC II*, Part 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 640–42. On this trip, see Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 98–117 (99–100 lists a series of coin reverses related to the journey), and Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 113–50.

233 A Travelling Man, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)³⁵⁷

LXIX.9.1a Hadrian travelled through one province after another, visiting the various regions and cities

234 A Travelling Man, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³⁵⁸

17.8b So fond was he of travel, that he wished to inform himself in [p. 55] person about all that he had read concerning all parts of the world.

AN EMPEROR NEVER TRAVELS ALONE

235 A Traveling Companion, 1

(Memorial Inscription at Rome)

[*CIL* VI, 8991]³⁵⁹

I, Lucius Marius Vitalis, son to Lucius, lived seventeen years and days fifty-five. Being perfected in book learning, I persuaded my parents to let me learn Art. I departed from the city in the suite of Hadrian Augustus Caesar. While I studied, the Fates were jealous of me. They snatched me from my Art and consigned me to this place.

Maria Malchis, his most unhappy mother, to her darling son.

236 A Traveling Companion, 2

(Inscription on Statue at Cirta in Numidia)

[*CIL* VIII, 7036=*ILS* 1068]³⁶⁰

For Titus Caesernius, son of Titus, of the Palatina tribe, | Quintius Statanus Memmius Ma|crinus, consul; priest of Augustus; legate *pro praetore* | province of Africa; legate of legion XIV Gemina Martia Victrix | assigned to recruit young men in the Transpadane region of Italy to serve the divine Hadrian; Tribune of the Plebs, Quaestor as a candidate of the divine Hadrian; | companion of the emperor in the East; one of the ten men in charge of the | centumviral courts: (this statue) having been decreed by the decurions, using public funds, for the patron of the four colonies.

³⁵⁷ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 441.

³⁵⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 53, 55.

³⁵⁹ Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 79. For an alternate translation, see Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 122 [#196]. It is not known when Vitalis accompanied Hadrian. For more on Hadrian's traveling companions, see Chown, "Traveling Companions of Hadrian." The Latin text is available online at *EDCS* (EDCS-18900058).

³⁶⁰ The Latin text is available online at *EDCS* (EDCS-13002066). This source is repeated with a variant translation under a different heading as #745 (p. 455). Titus Statanus Macrinus served as suffect consul in 141 C.E. (Sept.–Oct.). His older brother, Titus Statanus Quinctianus, is similarly styled as 'companion of the deified Hadrian in the East and Ilyria' (*CIL* V, 865).

NOTABLE ACTS OCCURRING AWAY FROM HADRIAN

237 Restoration of Alexandria, Egypt [121 C.E.]

(Cassiodorus, *Chronicle*, 767–768)³⁶¹

767 Verus³⁶² and Augur.

768 Under these consuls Hadrian restored Alexandria, which had been sacked by the Romans, from public funds.

238 Fixing of Dates for Worship of *Dea Dia* [122 C.E.]

(Inscription at Rome)

[CIL VI, 32373=AE 1964.69b]³⁶³

That it be good, favorable, blessed, fortunate and beneficial for Emperor Caesar—son of the divine Trajan and grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus and his entire household, the Roman commonwealth of citizens, the Arval Brethren, and myself, the annual sacrifice to Dea Dia shall occur the 6th day before the Kalends of June at home, the 4th day before the Kalends of June in the sacred grove and at home, and on the 3rd day before the Kalends of June at home to complete matters. Present at the College, Marcus Valerius Junianus *promagister*, Lucius Julius Catus, and Tiberius Julius (Candidus).

239 The *Pomerium* Restored at Rome [122 C.E.]

(Boundary stone at the Campus Martius, Rome)

[CIL VI, 40855; CIL VI, 1233a=31539a-b; CIL VI, 1233b=31539c]³⁶⁴

The College of Augurs in accordance with a decree of the Senate (and) with the authority of Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, three times Consul, Proconsul, restored the sacred boundaries (*pomerium*).

240 Plotina Dies [c. 121/122 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)³⁶⁵

LXIX.10.3¹ It is not strange, then, that upon the death of Plotina, the woman through whom he had secured [*p.* 445] the imperial office because of her love for him, he honored her exceedingly, wearing black for nine days, erecting a temple to her and composing some hymns in her memory.

LXIX.10.3^a When Plotina died, Hadrian praised her, saying: “Though she asked much of me, she was never refused anything.” By this he simply meant to say: “Her requests were of such a character that they neither burdened me nor afforded me any justification for opposing them.”

³⁶¹ Procee, *Cassiodorus Chronicle*, 29. The Latin text can be found in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* (Mommsen ed.) XI; see pp. 109–161 for complete text.

³⁶² Marcus Annius Verus (for the 2nd time) was the grandfather of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

³⁶³ The Latin text can be seen at EDCS (EDCS-21100431). Cf. entry #177.

³⁶⁴ Latin text can be found in Sandys, *An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, 141.

³⁶⁵ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 443, 445.

ON THE WAY [Spring, 121 C.E.]³⁶⁶

Provinces: Travel, 121–122 C.E.



HADRIAN HARANGUING
THE ARMY OF NORICUM.

c23 Noricum

(Left: Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 333)

c24 Rhaetia

(Right: Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 333)



HADRIAN HARANGUING
THE ARMY OF RHAETIA.

³⁶⁶ Gregorovius, *The Emperor Hadrian*, 53, offers the opinion that, “These countries of the Celts, Sarmatians, and Germans, from the Alps to the Danube, and from Gaul to Britain, which were looked upon by the Romans as barbarous and without history of their own, were not calculated to excite the emperor’s desire for travel, either by the beauty of their scenery or by the importance of their cities. He was in the first instance, therefore, impelled to visit them by his duties and aims as a sovereign.” On this trip, see Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 105–109. On p. 105 he begins by calling attention to coins proclaiming Hadrian’s arrival (*adventus Galliae*) and being proclaimed Gaul’s ‘restorer’ (*restitutor Galliae*); see coin images next page. He speculates (p. 106) that Hadrian spent the summer in Gaul and turned to Germania in autumn.

GAUL

241 'After this, . . . the provinces of Gaul' [121 C.E.]

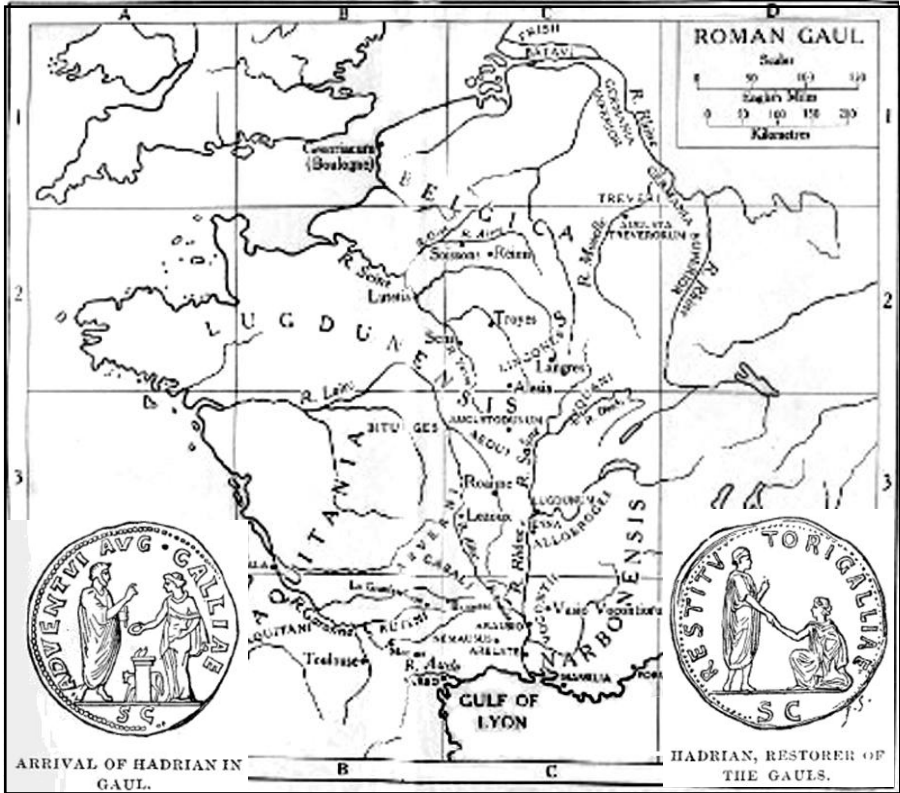
(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)³⁶⁷

10.1 After this he travelled to the provinces of Gaul, and came to the relief of all the communities with various acts of generosity. . . .

Gaul

(*The Cambridge Ancient History*, XI, 501)

c25–26 (Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 345)



242 Marking Hadrian's Roadwork [121/122 C.E.]

(Milestone near Antigny (Pictones) in Gallia Aquitania)

[*CIL* XVII², 378]³⁶⁸

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland; boundary XI, to Limonum, 10 miles.

³⁶⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 31.

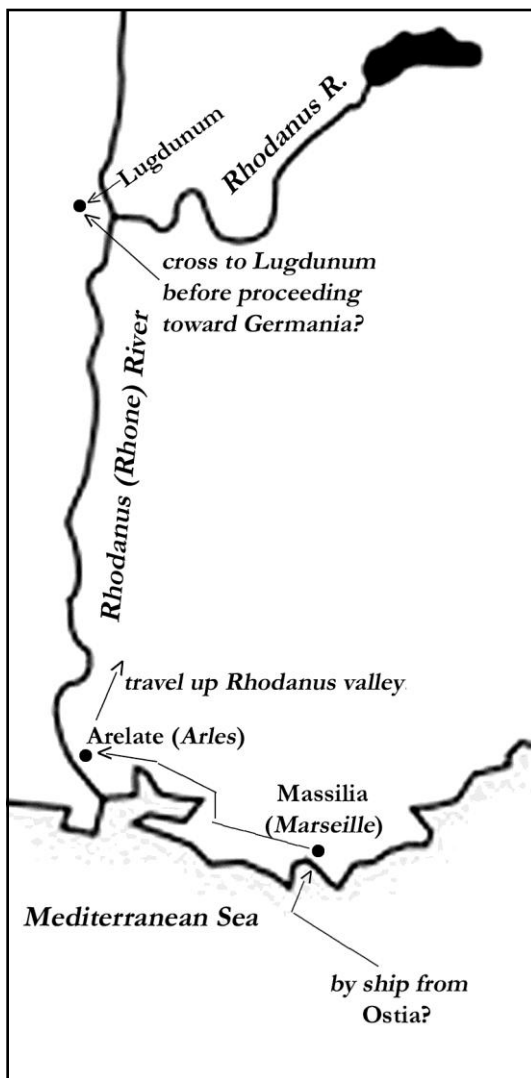
³⁶⁸ The Latin text can be found online at *EDCS* (EDCS-12400112). Limonum=Lemonum.

243 Hadrian Sails on the Rhodanus (Rhone) River [121 C.E.]

(Inscription by Mariners)³⁶⁹

(To) Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the third time, three times Consul. (By) the sailors of the Rhone.

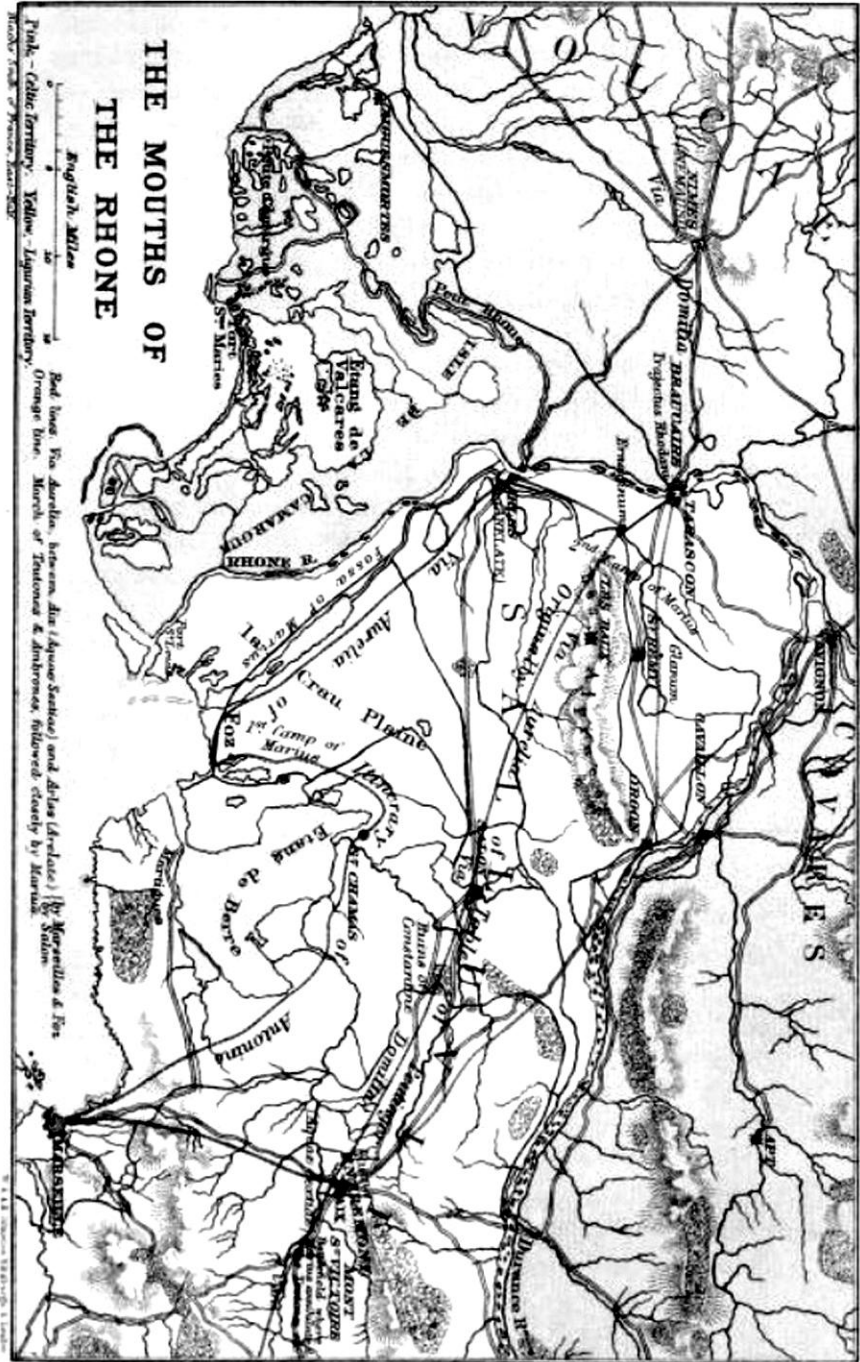
*Possible Route through Gaul*³⁷⁰



³⁶⁹ Gregorovius, *The Emperor Hadrian*, 54 (with Latin text); he writes, "That Hadrian sailed on the Rhone seems to be proved by an inscription made by the sailors of the river." Latin: HADRIANO. AUG. P. M. TR. POT. III. COS. III. N (AUTAE). RHODANICI. PRINCIPI. INDULGENTISSIMO.

³⁷⁰ See Birley, *Hadrian*, 113.

(Hall, *The Romans on the Riviera and the Rhone*, 13)



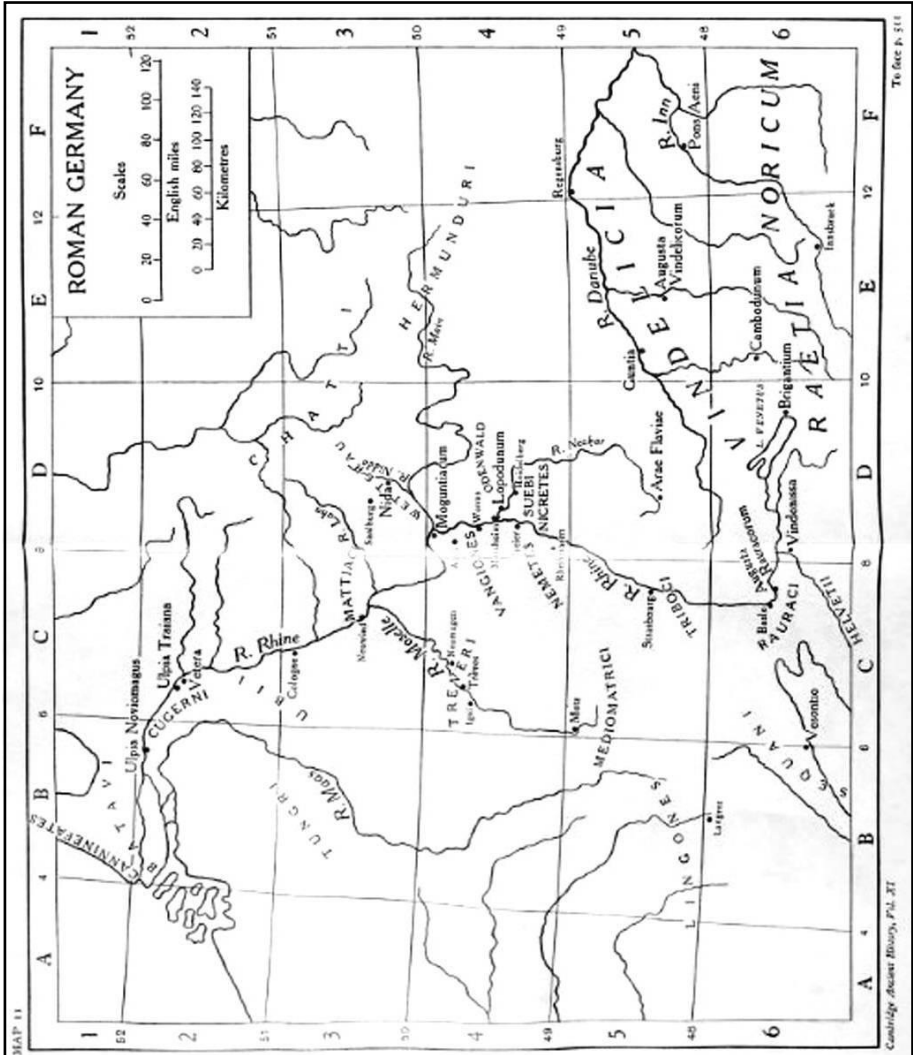
GERMANIA

244 ‘And from there, . . . into Germany’ [121 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)³⁷¹

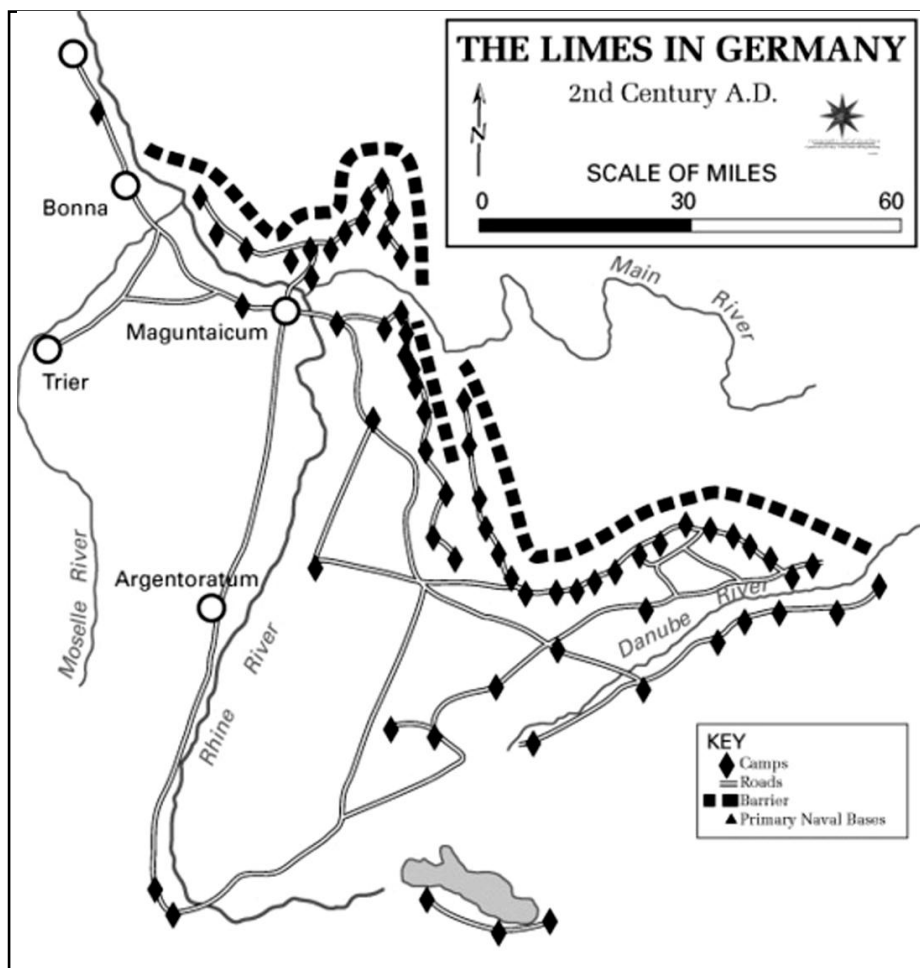
10.2a and from there he went over into Germany.

Roman Germany (Germania)
(*The Cambridge Ancient History*, XI, 511)



³⁷¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 31. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 105–106, suggests that Hadrian passed from Lugdunum to Augusta Treverorum (Trier) and then on to Mogontiacum (Mainz), though it is impossible to know for sure. Cf. Birley, *Hadrian*, 113–114.

*Boundary Line (Latin "Limes Germanicus") in Germany*³⁷²
(United States Military Academy's Department of History (Public Domain))



³⁷² Pelham, "The Roman Frontier System," 174, observes, "The terms used to denote the frontiers were 'limes' or its plural 'limites,' and it is worthy of notice that the use of these terms to designate the imperial frontiers, begins as we should expect, towards the close of the first century A.D. with Frontinus and with Tacitus. To the latter we owe in particular the phrase 'limes imperii.'" King, *Roman Gaul and Germany*, 169, remarks, "Hadrian was also responsible for setting up a wooden palisade along the land frontier in Upper Germany, probably in AD 121-2. This made it much more of a barrier and, as such, the immediate predecessor of his wall in Britain, which was made considerably more imposing because of the greater threat there from beyond the frontier." Schallmayer, "Der Limes," argues that tree-ring analysis (dendrochronology) of palisade trees set a date of 119/120 C.E., meaning when Hadrian arrived the work was already well underway. Brogan, "The Roman Limes in Germany," 2, reports the total length of the German frontier as 239 miles along Upper Germany and a Raetian stone wall of 103 miles length.

245 Settling Matters in Germania [121 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³⁷³

12.6 During this period and on many other occasions also, in many regions where the barbarians are held back not by rivers but by artificial barriers, Hadrian shut them off by means of high stakes planted deep in the ground and fastened together in the manner of a palisade.

12.7a He appointed a king for the Germans. . . .



c27 Germania [130–133 C.E.]
(*ANS; Denarius*)³⁷⁴

OBVERSE: HADRIANVS
AVG(ustus) CO(n)S(ul) III
P(ater) P(atriae).

REVERSE: GERMANIA:
Figure of Germania standing

facing right, holding spear and resting on shield.

246 Milestone in Germania, 1 [121 C.E.]

(Road between Divodorum (modern Metz) and Augusta Treverorum (Trier))

[*CIL* XVII, 543]³⁷⁵

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, three times Consul; from *colonia* Augusta Treverorum, 25 miles.

³⁷³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 39. On Hadrian in Germany, see Birley, *Hadrian*, 113–22. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, writes about the Roman military presence and discusses *canabae* (p. 196): “Round the great permanent camps on the frontiers, in which the army was almost entirely quartered in the earlier imperial centuries, there grew up by a natural process settlements which were often of considerable extent and importance. Their general designation is ‘canabae,’ a term common in inscriptions, though rare in literature. . . . The ‘canabae’ took on them to an ever increasing extent the features of the town, even when the ordinary signs of a municipality, the senate and the magistracy, were not present.” Later (p. 218), he comments on one of these: “The three great army stations in lower Moesia on the line of the great river were Novae (Sistov), Durostorum (Silistria) and Troesmis, near the point where the Danube, after running from south to north, makes its final eastward turn. Silistria has continued to be a great fortress to the present day. The ancient ruins here are extensive and inscriptions have shown that ‘canabae’ of some extent arose. A curiosity is that they were named ‘canabae Aeliae’ after Hadrian.” On Hadrian’s visit to Gaul, Germany, Rhaetia and Noricum, also see Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 105–09.

³⁷⁴ Public Domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (ANS); it, with text, can be seen at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian>). Image has been transformed to grayscale; abbreviations are expanded. *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 1518–1525.

³⁷⁵ Among other places, the Latin text can be seen online at *Regnum Francorum Online* (<http://francia.ahlfeldt.se/page/documents/20417>). .

247 Milestone in Germania, 2 [121/122 C.E.]

(Inscription near Moguntiacum, Germania Superior)

[CIL XVII, 626=CIL XIII, 9124=AE 1896.102]³⁷⁶

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 6th time, Father of the Fatherland; from Aquis Mattiacorum, 6 miles.

A German Family
(Clement, *The Eternal City*, II, 444)



248 Troops in Upper Germany [121/122 C.E.]

(Excerpt from a Military Diploma at Vindonissa, Germania Superior)

[CIL XVI, 81=AE 1930.16=AE 1954.112=AE 1958.81]³⁷⁷

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, three times Consul, Proconsul: to the soldiers who served in my headquarters in Praetorian cohorts I, II, III, IIII, V, VI, VII, VIII, VIIII, X, who bravely and faithfully discharged their military duties, I grant to them the legal right of marriage (*jus conubii*), but only to the first wife after discharge, so that though they marry a foreign (*peregrine*) woman, they may raise children as if they were born to two Roman citizens.

The 14th day before the Kalends of December, Caius Trebius Maximus and Titus Calestrius Tiro, Consuls.

Copied and authenticated (*descriptum et recognitum*) from the bronze tablet set up at Rome on the wall behind the temple of the deified Augustus near (the statue of) Minerva.

³⁷⁶ The Latin text can be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-12400368).

³⁷⁷ The Latin text can be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-12300285). See Radulva, “Legal Protection,” 16–17.

BRITAIN

Britain, 1
(Marchant, *Books of Britain and the Emperors*, I, 32)







c28 Britannia (Brass Coin, Reverse Side)

(Ackerman, *Coins of the Romans Relating to Britain*, Plate I [#7]; description p. 25)

Legend reads BRITANNIA. Image of a female figure seated on a rock, holding a javelin, her right hand supporting her head, a large shield by her side, with a spike in its center.

[excerpt from #138] Prelude: Troubles in Britain at Start of Reign

(Excerpt from *HA: Vita Hadriani* 5.2)³⁷⁸

... the Britons could not be kept under Roman sway. ...

249 Overview of Hadrian in Britain

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³⁷⁹

11.2 And so, having reformed the army quite in the manner of a monarch, he set out for Britain,³⁸⁰ and there he corrected many abuses and was the first to construct a wall, eighty miles in length, which was to separate the barbarians from the Romans.

250 Roman Losses in Britain

(Fronto, "On the Parthian War")³⁸¹

De Bello Parthico 2 (end) Again under the rule of your grandfather Hadrian what a number of soldiers were killed by the Jews, what a number by the Britons!"

**c29 Hadrian, on a Dais, Addresses Soldiers,
Who Bear Military Standards**

(Hobler, *Records of Roman History*, 329 [#662])³⁸²



Legend: B. Exerc. Britannia

³⁷⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 15. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, I, 188, writes, "Under Hadrian a severe disaster occurred here, to all appearances a sudden attack on the camp of Eburacum, and the annihilation of the legion stationed there, the same 9th legion which had fought so unsuccessfully in the war with Boudicca."

³⁷⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 35.

³⁸⁰ The question is not so much 'when he set out' as when he arrived; some say 121, others 122. On Hadrian's visit to Britain, see Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 109–11, and Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 123–41.

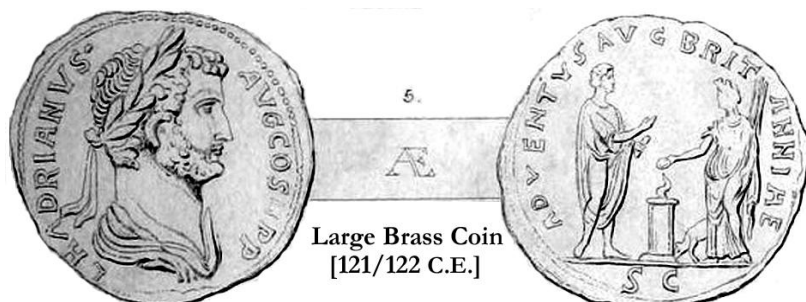
³⁸¹ Fronto, "On the Parthian War", in Fronto, *Correspondence*, II, 22 (with Latin text, p. 23). Graafstal, "Hadrian's Haste," 124, suggests two 'wars' against the Britons under Hadrian—in 117/118 and 123–124 C.E. Home, *Roman London*, 85, writes, "[T]here must have been 'black days' of defeatism followed by calculations of bad debts, when the evil tidings filtered through that Legio IX had been annihilated in that still mysterious disaster in the North."

³⁸² For an introduction, see Moorhead, *A History of Roman Coinage in Britain* (especially 81–87).

c30 *Hadrian' Crosses the Channel*
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*,
V, 2, 245)



c31 *Hadrian's Arrival in Britain*
(Ackerman, *Coins of the Romans Relating to Britain*, Plate I [#5]; description p. 23)



OBVERSE: HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III P. P. *Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriae*. Laureated bust of Hadrianus, with the chlamys buckled over the right shoulder.

REVERSE: ADVENTVS AVG. BRITANNIAE. *Adventis Augusti Britanniae*. In the exergue, S. C. An altar with the fire kindled, placed between the emperor in a toga, holding a patera, and a female figure with a victim lying at her feet.³⁸³

c32 *Denarius Found at
Chesterholm*
(Collingwood Bruce,
*The Hand-book to the
Roman Wall*, 174)



OBVERSE: Bust of Hadrian. Legend reads IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS ADRIANVS AVG. *Emperor Caesar Trajan Augustus*

REVERSE: Winged Figure of Victory. Legend reads PM TR COS III. *Pontifex Maximus, Tribunician Potestas* ("Holding tribunician power"), *Consul III* ("3 times Consul").

³⁸³ On the personification of Britannia, see Toynbee, "Britannia on Roman Coins."

6.



c33 *Hadrian and Britain, 1*

(Ackerman, *Coins of the Romans Related to Britain*, Plate I [#6]; description, 25–26)

Reverse only shown (cf. next coin image)

OBVERSE. HADRIANVS AVG. CON. III P. P. (*Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriae*). Laureated head of Hadrianus to the right.

REVERSE. PONT. MAX. TR. POT. COS. III P. P. *Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia Potestate, Consul tertium, Pater Patriae*; in the exergue, BRITANNIA. A female figure seated on a rock, holding a javelin, her right hand supporting her head; a large shield by her side, with a long spike in the middle.

c34 *Hadrian and Britain, 2 [119–120 C.E.]*

(Public domain image at Classical Numismatic Group, LLC; Bronze As)³⁸⁴

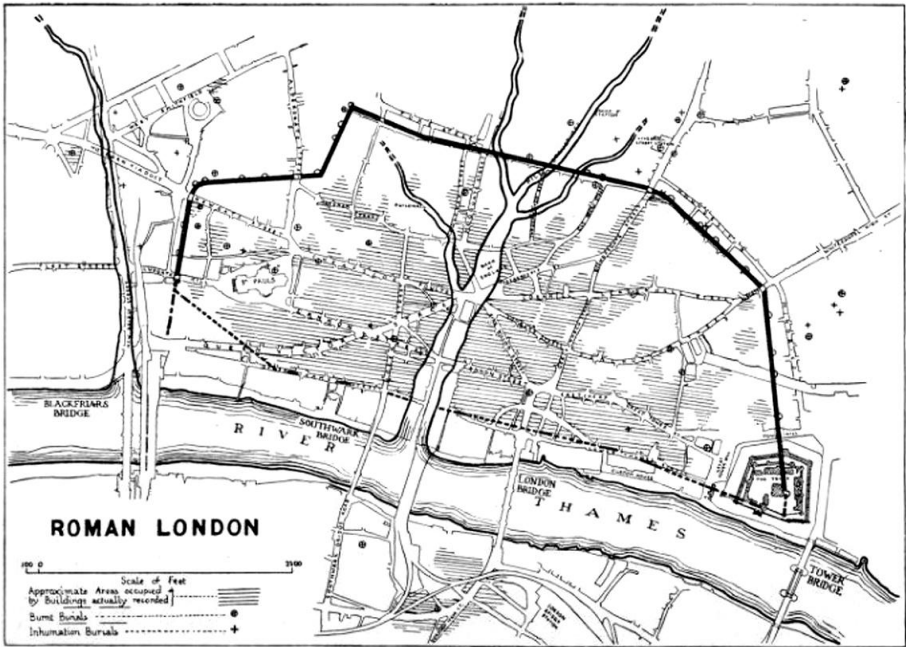


OBVERSE: IMP(erator) CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG(ustus): Head of Hadrian, laureate, right | Bust of Hadrian, laureate, bare chest, traces of drapery on far shoulder usually visible, right.

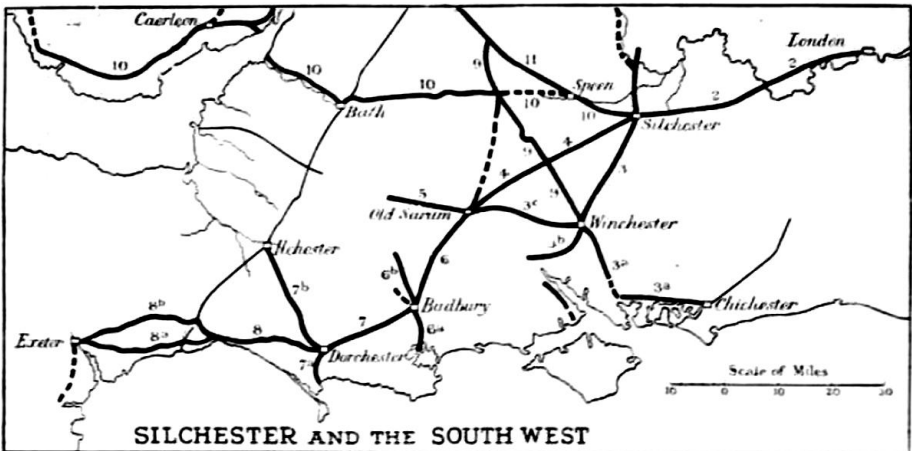
REVERSE: PONT(ifex) MAX(imus) TR(ibunicia) POT(otestas) CO(n)S(ul) III || BRITANNIA (in exergue) || S C (in field): Britannia seated facing, foot on rock, drawing up hood of *birrus Britannicus* and holding spear, elbow resting on shield on the ground; boss of the shield usually has prominent spike.

³⁸⁴ The public domain image can be found at Classical Numismatic Group, LLC (<https://www.cngcoins.com/>), and at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian>). Image has been transformed to grayscale; text abbreviations are expanded; description is from OCRE. See OCRE [RIC II, Part 3 (2nd ed.) Hadrian 241–242; reference RIC II Hadrian 577a. The personification of Britain on the Roman coins show a female figure in various poses. Juház, “Britannia on Roman Coins,” 147, says personifications of Britain are of five distinct types, of which two are associated with Hadrian: Britannia seated in variant versions (mints of 119–120 and 134–138 C.E.); and *adventus* coins with both Hadrian and Britannia, the latter sacrificing. The *birrus Britannicus* was a hooded woolen cloak that was used to shield against rainy, cold weather.

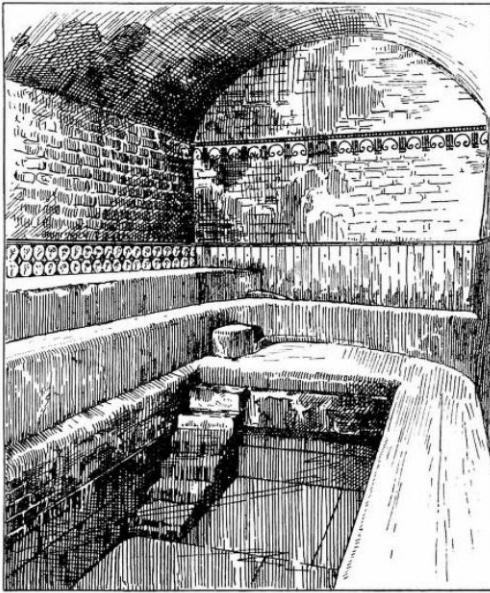
Hadrian Visits Londinium (London)
(Collingwood, *Roman Britain*, 44)



Roman Roads to Londinium (London) in Southwest Britain
(Codrington, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 237)³⁸⁵



³⁸⁵ Codrington, 235, notes, "The road takes a direct course from London to cross the Thames at Staines, beyond which it bends slightly towards the south, and then turns due west, straight to Silchester, the Roman *Calleva Atrebatum*. From Silchester a road of which little trace remains led to the north. To the south a road went to Winchester, and on to Porchester and Chichester. . . ."



THE ROMAN BATH, LONDON.

Hadrian Bust in London
(Home, *Roman London*,
83)



*Found in the bed of the Thames R.
at London Bridge.*



Honor to Hadrian by Legio II Augusta
(Collingwood Bruce, *The Hand-book to the Roman*
Wall, 119)

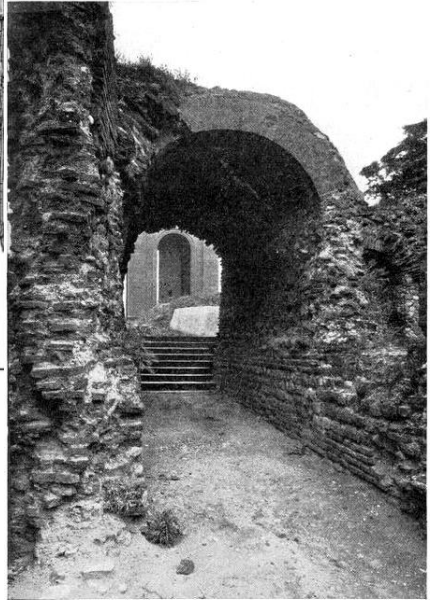
251 Hadrian Builds in Britain

(Inscription on Stone found at Netherby in North Yorkshire)

[RIB¹ 974=CIL VII, 961]³⁸⁶

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus the Second Legion Augusta built this.

³⁸⁶ See Collingwood, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, 324 for Latin text. Also see p. 462, #1427 for similar dedications as #1340 by legion VI Victrix Pia Fidelis; p. 520 [#1638] by legion II Augusta; and p. 525 [#1666] by same. These inscriptions identify legions active in Britain during Hadrian's reign. For other documents related to the wall, see Birley, "Hadrian's Travels," 439–41.



A TOWN GATEWAY
Colchester, Balmerne Gate

Commemorative Stone
(Duruy, *History of Rome*
and the Roman People, V,
2, 338)



252 Milecastle, 1

(Inscription at Milecastle 37)

[*RIB*¹ 1634; cf. *RIB*¹ 1637 etc.]]³⁸⁷

In honor of the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus the second legion [styled] the august [erected this day by command of] Aulus Platorius Nepos, legate and propraetor.

253 Milecastle, 2

(Inscription at Milecastle 38 in Northumberland)

[*RIB*¹ 1638]]³⁸⁸

The II Legion Augusta of the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus (built this) under Aulus Platorius Nepos, Pro-Praetorian Legate of Augustus.

254 A Fort in Britain [c. 122–126 C.E.]

(Inscription at Halton Chesters Fort in Northumberland)

[*RIB*¹ 1427 (restored)]]³⁸⁹

For the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus the VI Legion Victrix Pia Fidelis (built this) under Aulus Platorius Nepos, Pro-Praetorian Legate of Augustus.

³⁸⁷ Collingwood Bruce, *The Hand-book to the Roman Wall*, 117 (with Latin text). Cf. Birley, *Government of Roman Britain*, 120 (“The Second Legion Augusta (built this work of the) Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Aulus Platorius Nepos (being) propraetorian legate”). Similar inscriptions are *RIB* 1637 and 1638 (Mile Castle 38), *RIB* 1666 (Mile Castle 42), and *RIB* 1935 (Mile Castle 50)—all with texts and translations in Birley. For other inscriptions associated with Hadrian, see online *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, which lists 84 such (<https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/search?qv=Hadrian&submit=>).

³⁸⁸ Ireland, *Roman Britain*, 91 [#128]; cf. Collingwood, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, 520 [#1638] for Latin text and a translation. Also sometimes referred to as ‘Hotbank’; the fort is near Hotbank farm. On its east-west axis it was 59 feet long and on its north-south axis it was 49 feet long (18 x 15 meters).

³⁸⁹ Ireland, *Roman Britain*, 91 [#126]; cf. Collingwood, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, 462 [#1427] for Latin text and a translation. The fort, when built in the time of Hadrian, was a little more than 4 acres in size and, uniquely, was L-shaped.

255 Hadrian, Owner

(Inscription at Lutudarum in Derbyshire)

[CIL VII, 1208]³⁹⁰

Property of the Emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus. From the mines at Lutudarum.

256 The Pons Aelius [122 C.E.]

(Inscription at Roman Bridge over the Tyne River, at Newcastle on Tyne)

[RIB¹ 1319; cf. RIB¹ 1320]³⁹¹

To Neptune the Sixth Legion Victrix Pia (set this up).



Figure of Mercury at the Pons Aelius
(Collingwood Bruce, *The Wallet-Book*
of the Roman Wall, 46)

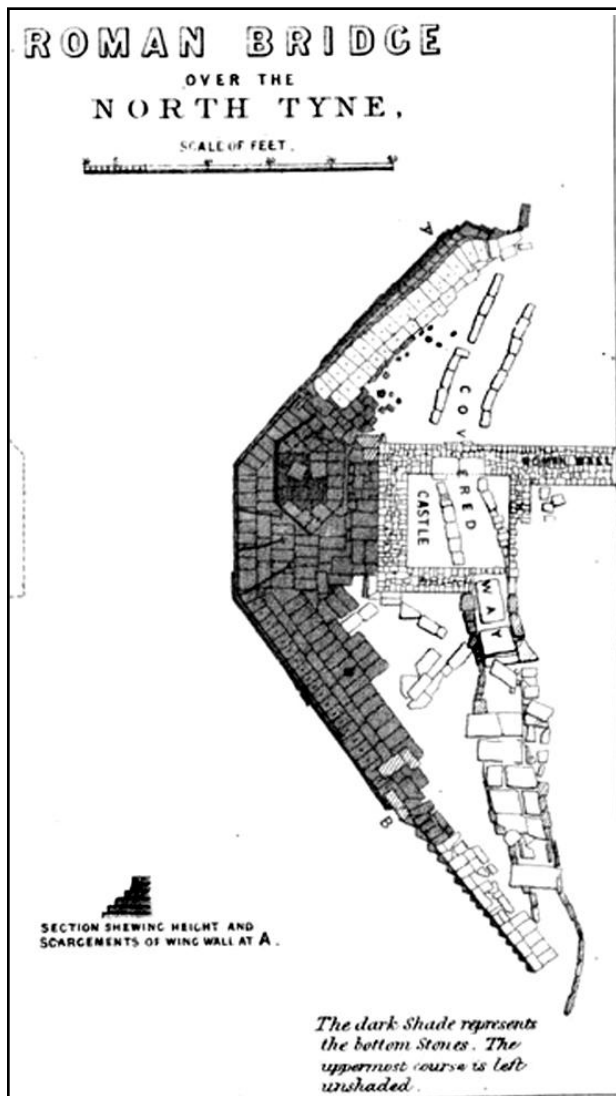
The Work of Building
(Collingwood Bruce, *The Wallet-Book*
of the Roman Wall, 34)



The accompanying illustrations, taken from Trajan's column, show the mode in which the stones were carried.

³⁹⁰ Ireland, *Roman Britain*, 222 [#437]. McCaul, *Brittano-Roman Inscriptions*, 39, remarks, "this inscription would mean no more than that the block of lead upon which it was stamped belonged to the Emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus, from the metallic district of Lutudarum." McCaul, 47, further explains, "According to my view the blocks of lead manufactured by proprietors of mines were stamped either with their own names or with those of the reigning emperor—the former being for sale, the latter belonging to the *fiscus* as tribute or as a royalty." On p. 48 he expresses the opinion that the inscription fits material intended as tribute or royalty. (He has the Latin text on pp. 38 and 47.)

³⁹¹ Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, 436 [#1319]. They note that this bridge was designed as the original starting point for Hadrian's Wall.



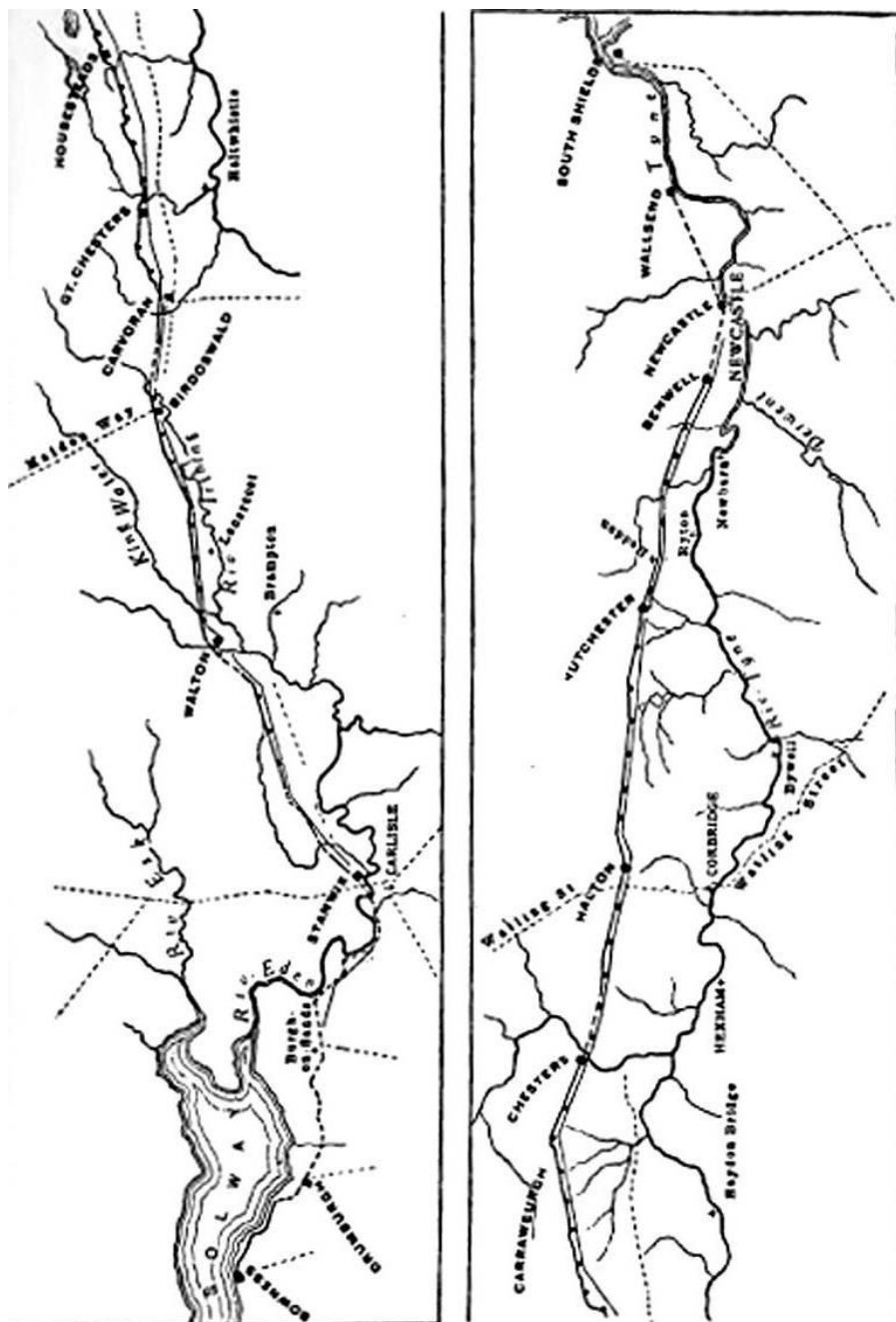
[excerpt from 249] Hadrian Builds a Border

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)³⁹²

11.2 [Hadrian] was the first to construct a wall, eighty miles in length, which was to separate the barbarians from the Romans.

³⁹² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic's trans.), I, 35. On the wall, see Breeze, *Hadrian's Wall*.

Hadrian's Wall, 1
(Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 153)



(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 337)



Hadrian's Wall
(Mothersole, *Hadrian's Wall*, 29)



THE WALL SEEN FROM CUDDY'S CRAG. HERE FOR A LONG DISTANCE IT IS EASY TO WALK ALONG THE TOP OF THE WALL, WHICH IS 8 FEET WIDE, AND 5 OR 6 FEET HIGH

List of Forts along Hadrian's Wall
(Mothersole, *Hadrian's Wall*, xvi)

LIST OF IDENTIFIED FORTS ON THE WALL.

Fort.	Modern Name.	Miles between.	Size.	Gates.	Troops stationed there.	Great Wall joins its Wall.
Segedunum.	Wallsend	—	3½ acres	4	4th Cohort Lingones	North Jamb of W. gateway
Pons Aelii .	Newcastle	4	?	4	1st Cohort Cornovii	?
Condercum .	Benwell Hill	2½	?	4	1st Ala Asturians	Midway
Vindobala .	Rudchester	7	3½ acres	4	1st Cohort Frixigi (Frisii)	"
Hunnum .	Halton Chesters	7½	4½ "	4	Ala Saviniana	"
Cilurnum .	Walwick Chesters	6	5½ "	6	2nd Ala Asturians	"
Procolitia .	Carrawburgh	3½	3½ "	4	1st Cohort Batavians	North rampart
Borcovicium	Housesteads	nearly 5	only 5 "	4	1st Cohort Tungrians	"
Vindolanda .	Chesterholm	—	3½ acres	4	4th Cohort Gauls	Lies 1 " mile south of Great Wall
Æsica . .	Great Chesters	5½	3 "	4	1st Cohort Asturians	North rampart
Magna . .	Carvoran	2½	3½ "	4	2nd Cohort Dalmatians	Lies to south of both Wall and Vallum
Amboglanna	Birdoswald	3½	5½ "	6	1st Cohort Dacians	North rampart
46½ miles from Wallsend.						

Structure of Hadrian's Wall
(Mothersole, *Hadrian's Wall*, 19)

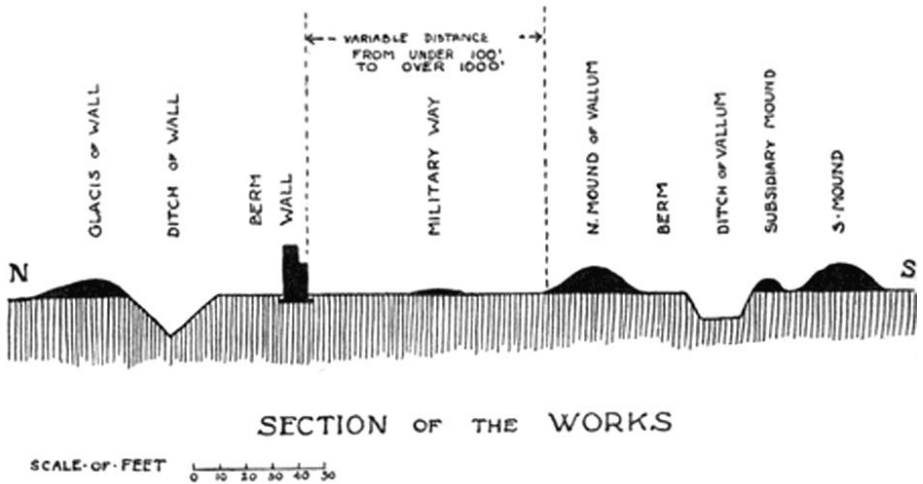


FIG. 1.—Section showing the relative positions of the Stone Wall, the Vallum and the Military Way.

*Structure of the Vallum*³⁹³
(Mothersole, *Hadrian's Wall*, 19)

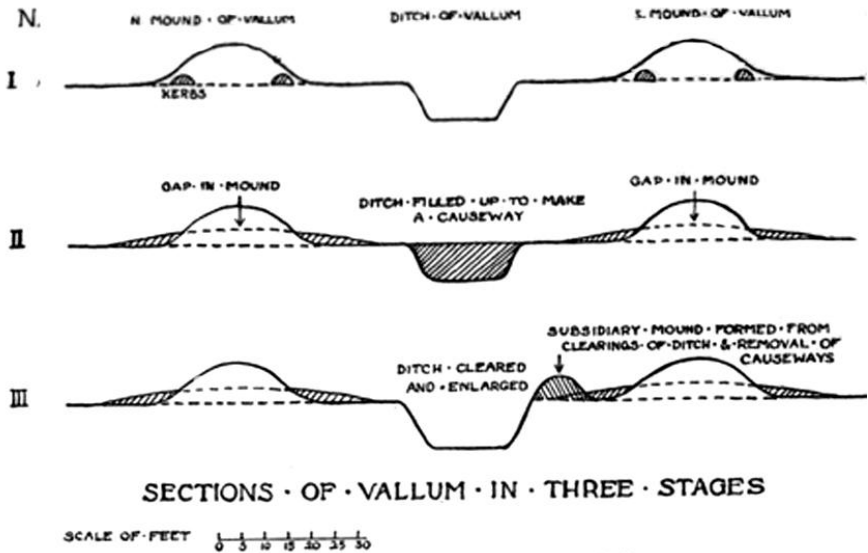


FIG. 3.—Three stages in the history of the Vallum.

³⁹³ The wall consists of three key parts: the stone wall itself (with a ditch on the north side); a series of forts, mile-castles and turrets; and a *vallum*, earthwork made of a deep central ditch and two or more earthen mounds (on the south side of the wall). See Mothersole, *Hadrian's Wall*, 18.

Plan of the Fort of Cilurnum at Chesters
 (Mothersole, *Hadrian's Wall*, 85)

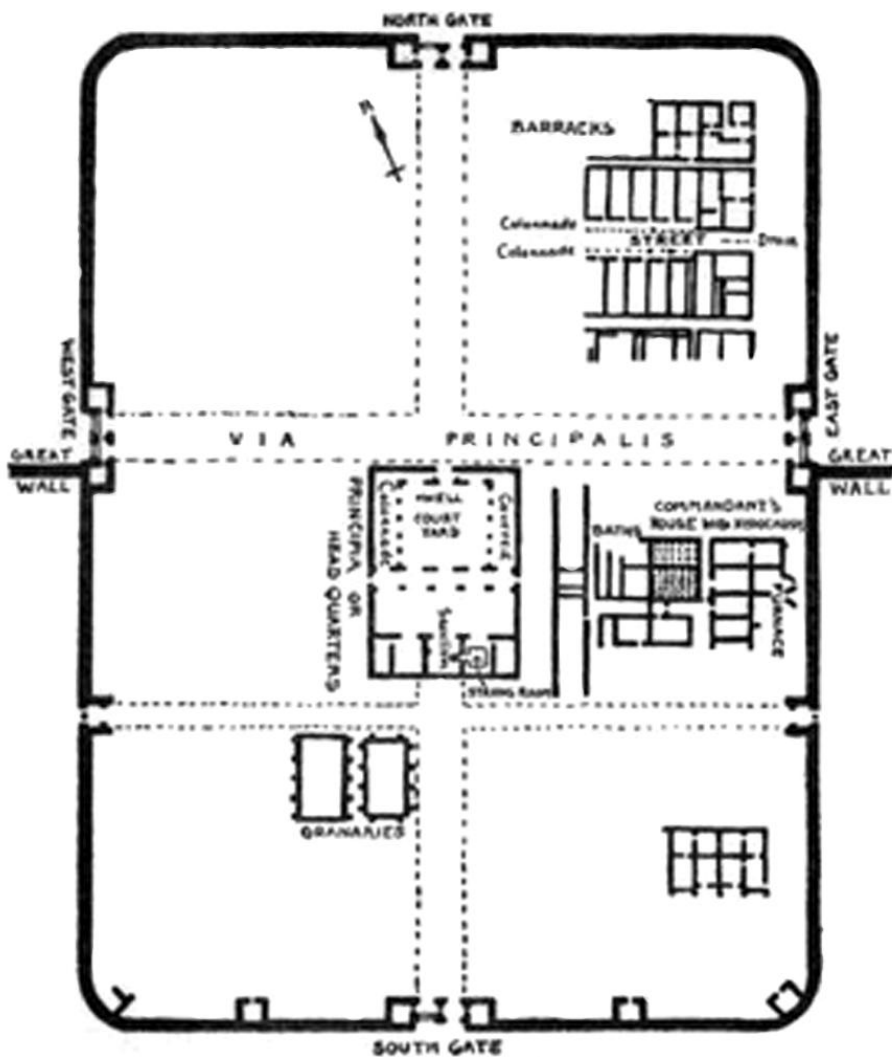


FIG. 8.—Plan of the Fort of Cilurnum at Chesters.
 (From *Archæologia Æliana*.)

Scale: 160 feet to the inch.

Plan of the Fort of Borcovicium (Housesteads Roman Fort)
(Mothersole, Hadrian's Wall, 121)

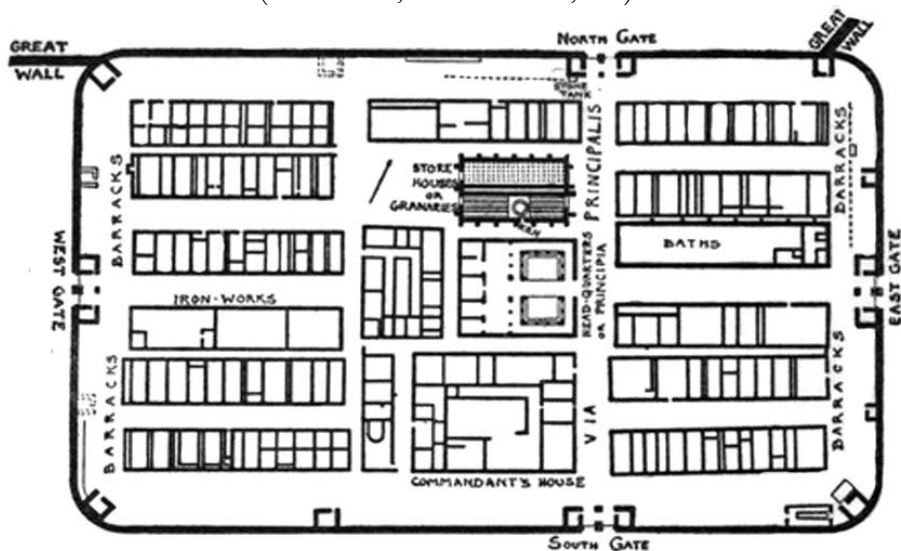


FIG. 12. Plan of the Fort of Borcovicium. (After Dickie and Bosanquet.)
Reproduced, by permission, from *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, by John Ward, F.S.A.)

Plan of the Bridge over the River Tyne
(Mothersole, Hadrian's Wall, 75)

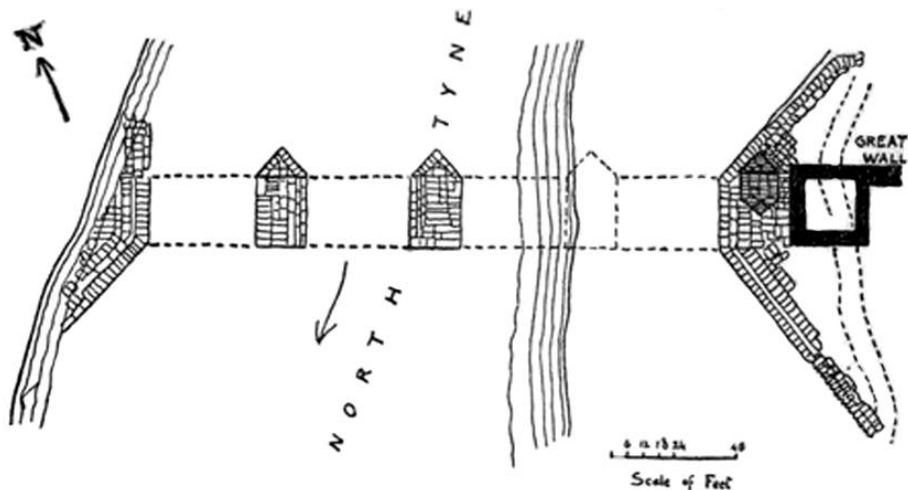
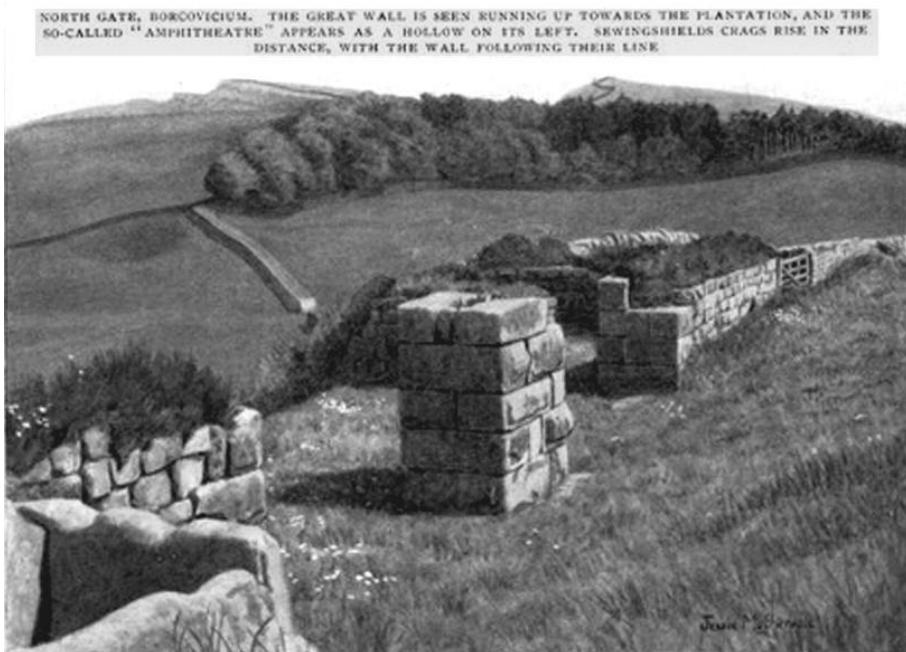


FIG. 6.—Plan of Roman Bridge over the North Tyne, near Chesters, showing how the Great Wall joined it. (After Clayton.) A pier of the earlier bridge is seen embedded in the masonry of the later one.

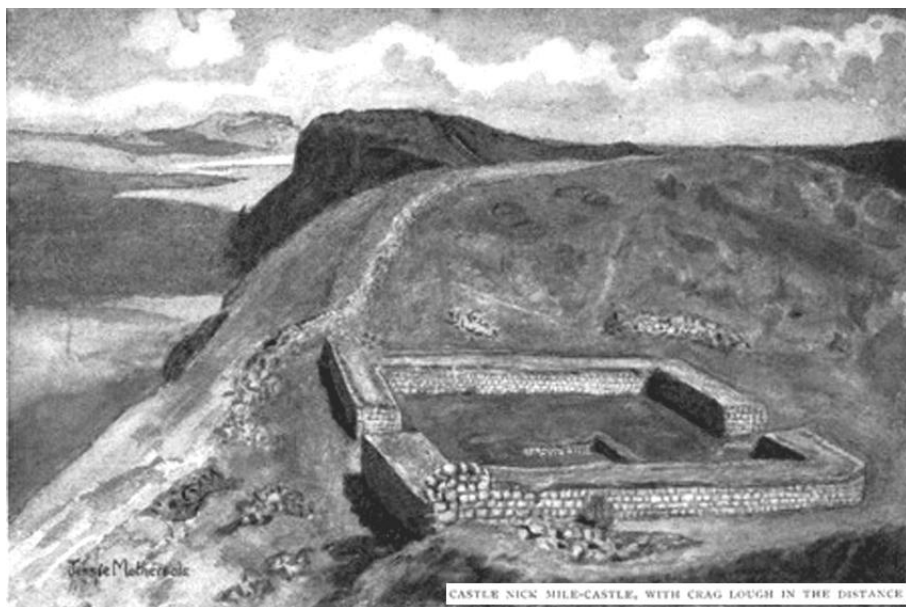
Hadrian's Wall: North Gate at Borcovicium
(Mothersole, *Hadrian's Wall*, 123)



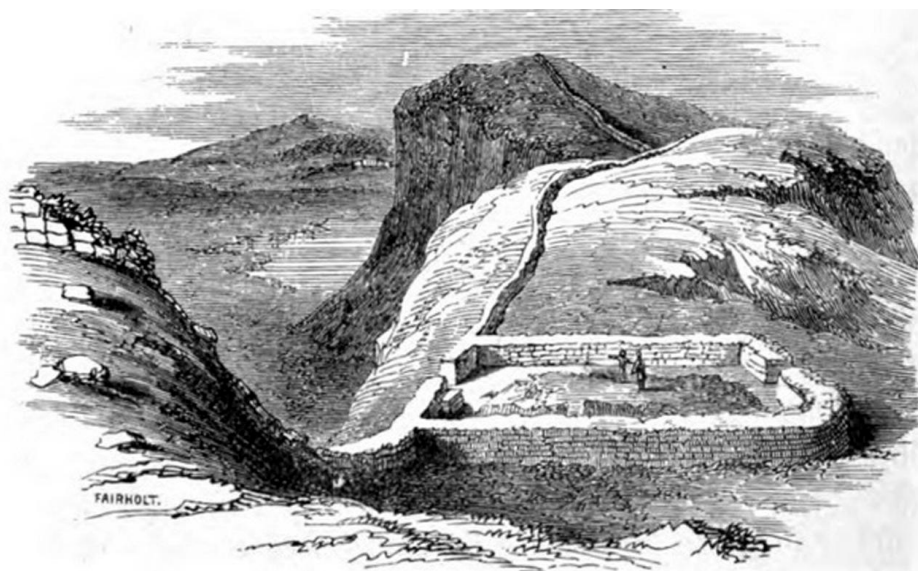
Hadrian's Wall: North Gate at Housestead's Mile-Castle
(Mothersole, *Hadrian's Wall*, 125)

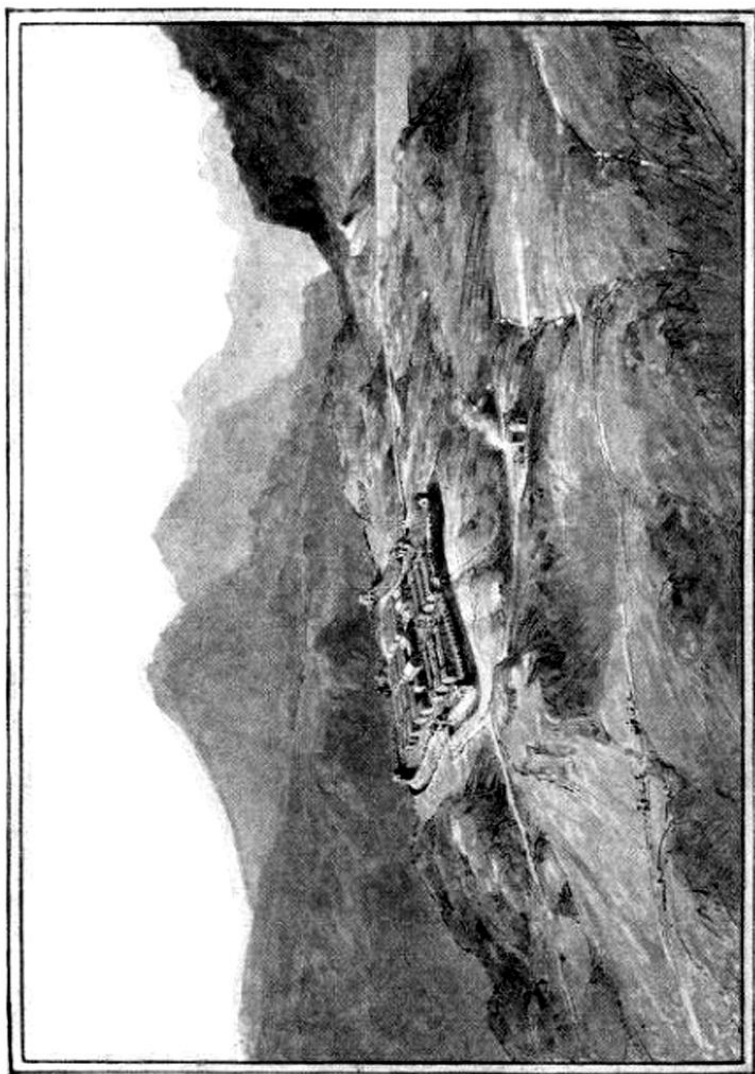


Hadrian's Wall: Castle Nick Mile-Castle, 1
(Mothersole, *Hadrian's Wall*, 129)



Hadrian's Wall: Castle Nick Mile-Castle, 2
(Collingwood Bruce, *The Hand-book to the Roman Wall*, 176)





HARDKNOT CASTLE, a Roman fort in the mountains of Cumberland
 The buildings are imagined as restored; below the fort is the bath; to right, the parade-ground.
 The road leads left to Ravenglass, right to Ambleside and Lancaster. Directly above the fort is Scafell.

³⁹⁴ Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 131, contrast the wall in Britain with the defensive lines in Germany this way: "The chief difference between this Wall and the German palisade is one of material. But there is also a very considerable difference of strength. The British work is much the more powerful, and, especially with its great ditch in front and its rampart-walk on the top, has the air of a genuine fortification intended to be used in warfare."

Hadrian's Wall (at Northumberland Lake)
(Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 266)



257 Hadrian Builds a Wall in Britain

(Inscription)

[CIL VII, 498=AE 1947.123=AE 2012.883=AE 2018.1115=RIB¹ 1051 a-b]³⁹⁵

Son of all the deified emperors, the emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, after the necessity of keeping the empire within its limits had been laid upon him by divine precept . . . thrice consul . . . : after the barbarians had been dispersed and the province of Britain had been recovered, he added a frontier-line between either shore of the Ocean for 80 miles. The army of the province built this defense-work under the charge of Aulus Platorius Nepos, emperor's proprætorian legate.

³⁹⁵ Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, 351 [#1051]. For an alternate translation see Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 182 (#141), who remarks (p.182 n. 2), "Although much is restored in this inscription, it seems to have reflected Hadrian's policy of defense in Britain." For a different rendering, see Ireland, *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*, 90 [#123]. The Latin text can be found online at *EDCS* (EDCS-07801342). (Recall that numbers are used by *EDCS* to indicate either a blank within a line—[3]—or, a blank line—[6].) Graafstal, "Hadrian's Wall," argues that the building of the wall precedes Hadrian's visit (which he puts in 122 C.E.). He contends Hadrian's visit resulted in a revision of the Wall project, such as implanting a dozen forts and narrowing the Wall's width. He thinks the ongoing project was still incomplete at Hadrian's death in 138 C.E. On RIB 1051a–b (the Jarrow inscription), see Graafstal, "What Happened in the Summer of A.D. 122?" 14–17 (with images of the panels). Graafstal, 17, writes, "The emphasis on 'necessity' and 'divine precept' is also best understood in the context of Hadrian's first years in power." Thus, the wall was 'necessary' to preserve the empire's present limits, and justified by a (secret) 'divine injunction' by his predecessor, the deified Trajan.

258 Roman Troops with Service in Britain, 1 [118/119 C.E.]

(Roman Military Diploma³⁹⁶ on a Bronze Tablet)

[*AE* 1899.63=*CIL* XVI, 66]³⁹⁷

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the third time, consul for the third time, by proxy, to the military personnel serving in the Misene fleet *praetoria* under Julius Fronto, who having served 25 or more years and have been honorably discharged, whose names are written below: to them, their children, and their posterity is given citizenship and the right of marriage with the wives (whom they had when citizenship was granted).

259 Roman Troops with Service in Britain, 2 [122 C.E.]

(Roman Military Diploma)

[*CIL* XVI, 69=*AE* 1930.37=*AE* 1931.79]³⁹⁸

Emperor Caesar . . . Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 6th time, 3 times consul, proconsul: to the men of the cavalry and infantry who served in 13 *alae* and 37 cohorts . . . which are in Britain under Aulus Platorius Nepos, and having served 25 years, have received honorable discharge from Pompeius Falco³⁹⁹, whose names have been written below are themselves and their children and descendants granted citizenship, and they are granted (legal) marriage with their wives. . . .

³⁹⁶ Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, 356, 358, offers an outline of the customary elements of such documents: [1] the name of the emperor and his titles; [2] the military group(s) receiving privileges, with the name of their commander (i.e., provincial governor); [3] the number of years of service completed; [4] the formula *quorum nomina subscripta sunt* ("whose names are written below"), followed by to whom such privileges are extended; [5] the privileges conferred; [6] the date; [7] the name of a particular soldier, and his country, possessing the diploma, and [8] a formula for where the diploma is recorded. This material is summarized in Aulbach and Crook, "Two Previously Undocumented Roman Military Diplomas," 87–88. Note: given the state of preservation for different records some of these elements may be absent.

³⁹⁷ For the Latin text, see Holder, *Military Diplomas*, V, 701 (#9), and Holder, "Hadrianic Diplomas for the Italian Fleets." The Latin text of *CIL* XVI, 66 also can be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-12300270).

³⁹⁸ Latin text and English translation from Phang, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers*, 97. For an alternate translation of the diploma, see Ireland, *Roman Britain*, 231 [#469]. Cf. Jones and Milns, *The Use of Documentary Evidence*, 63–65, for a somewhat different selection of text, a translation, and commentary. The Latin can be seen online at *EDCS* (EDCS-12300273).

³⁹⁹ Quintus Roscius Coelius Murena Silius Decianus Vibullius Pius Julius Eurycles Herculanus Pompeius Falco—more simply Pompeius Falco—had a long distinguished career alongside Hadrian, a near exact contemporary. He distinguished himself in the First Dacian War (101–102 C.E.) while in command of Legio V Macedonica, winning honors. He then became governor of Lycia et Pamphylia, followed by the same post in Judea (107 C.E.). He was suffect consul in 108 C.E., when Hadrian held his first consulship. He was governor of Moesia Inferior (116–117 C.E.). He was tasked with crushing the revolt in Britain (c. 119 C.E.) and later relinquished to Nepo. See *CIL* III, 12470 and 7537; also *CIL* III, 12117 (detailing his career) and *CIL* X, 6321 (which notes his service under both Trajan and Hadrian). For Latin texts and remarks, see Stout, "The Governors of Moesia," 45–46 [#66]; also see Hicks, "Inscriptions of Eastern Cilicia," 253 [#28].

260 Roman Troops with Service in Britain, 3 [124 C.E.]

(Military Diploma at Stannington in Sheffield, England)

[RIB² 2401.6]⁴⁰⁰

The Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, son of the deified Traianus conqueror of Parthia, grandson of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, in his eighth year of tribunician power, three times consul, proconsul, has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who served in six *alae* and twenty-one cohorts called: (1) I Hispanorum Asturum and (2) I Tungrorum(?) and (3) I Thracum and (4) Picentiana and (5). . . and (6) Petriana, a thousand strong, Roman citizens; and (1) I Celtiberorum (?) and (2) I Hispanorum and (3) I Frisiavonum and (4) I Hamiorum, archers, and (5) I Sunucorum and (6) I Vangionum, a thousand strong, and (7) I Baetasiorum and (8) I Delmatarum and (9) I Aquitanorum and (10) I Menapiorum and (11) I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum, Roman citizens, and (12) I fida Vardullorum, a thousand strong, Roman citizens, and (13) I Batavorum and (14) I Tungrorum and (15) II Lingonum and (16) II Asturum and (17) II Pannoniorum and (18) II Nerviorum and (19) III Bracaraugustanorum and (20) III Nerviorum and (21) VI Nerviorum which are in Britain under Platorius Nepos, who have served twenty-five or more years and have been honourably discharged, whose names are written below, citizenship for themselves, their children and descendants, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had when citizenship [*p. 17*] was granted to them, or, if any were unmarried, with those they later marry, but only a single one each.

16(?) September in the consulships of Gaius Julius Gallus and Gaius Valerius Severus. (A.D. 124).

To . . . , son of Albanus of the Sunuci, ex infantryman of cohors Sunucorum commanded by Marcus Iunius Claudianus.

Copied and checked from the bronze tablet set up at Rome on the wall behind the temple of the deified Augustus near (the statue of) Minerva.

Witnessed by: . . . ; . . . ; . . . Atinius?. . . ; . . . ; Tiberius Julius Urbanus; . . . Severus; Gaius Julius Paratus.

261 The British Fleet at Work [c. 122–126 C.E.]

(Inscription on Stone at Benwell Fort in Western Newcastle)

[RIB¹ 1340]⁴⁰¹

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, (by command of) Aulus Platorius Nepos, imperial legate with propraetorian power, a detachment (*rexillatio*) of the British fleet (*classis Britannicae*) (built this).

⁴⁰⁰ Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, II, 16–17 (with Latin text, p. 16).

⁴⁰¹ For an alternative translation—and the Latin text—see Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, 443 [#1340]. Also see Ireland, *Roman Britain*, 90 [#124].

262 Hadrian's Dismissal of Suetonius and Septicius Clarus [122 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴⁰²

11.3 He removed from office Septicius Clarus, the prefect of the guard, and Suetonius Tranquillus, the imperial secretary, and many others besides, because without his consent they had been conducting themselves toward his wife, Sabina, in a more informal fashion than the etiquette of the court demanded. And, as he was himself wont to say, he would have sent away his wife too, on the ground of ill-temper and irritability, had he been merely a private citizen.

263 Suetonius Tranquillus, 1

(Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, V—*Letter 10: To Suetonius Tranquillus*)⁴⁰³

I am myself a good deal backward in publishing, but your slowness and hesitancy are more than a match for even mine. You must hasten your hand, however, otherwise the severity of my satiric verses may perhaps extort from you those self-same writings which the blandishments of my softer Muse could not obtain. Your work is already arrived to that degree of perfection, that the file can only weaken, not polish it. Allow me then the pleasure of seeing your title-page, and hearing that books of my dear Tranquillus are being copied out, sold, and read. It is but fair, and agreeable to our mutual friendship, that I should reap from you the same pleasure you enjoy from me. Farewell.

264 Suetonius Tranquillus, 2

(Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, X—*Letter 94: To Emperor Trajan*)⁴⁰⁴

SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS, Sir, is a person of great merit and learning, as well as of noble birth. I was so much pleased with his turn and manners, that I long since made him one of my intimates; and my affection for him still increased the more I discovered of his character. Two reasons concur to make the privilege which the law grants to those who have three children extremely necessary to him; he is legatee to several of his friends, and has had ill success in his marriage. Those advantages therefore which nature has denied to him, he hopes to obtain from your goodness, by means of my intercession. I am thoroughly sensible, Sir, of the value of the favour I am asking; but I know I am making this request to one whose gracious compliance with all my desires I have amply experienced. How passionately I wish to obtain this favour, you will judge by my thus requesting it in my absence, which I should not have done, had it been a point wherein I am only commonly solicitous.

⁴⁰² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 35. On Suetonius and this passage of the *Vita*, see Benario, *A Commentary*, 88–89. On Suetonius as Hadrian's *ab epistulis* (Secretary of Correspondence), see Lindsay, "Suetonius as 'ab epistulis.'" Also note Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, 50. Also see Gough, "Appendices and Notes," I, 44. Syme, "Guard Prefects of Trajan and Hadrian," 69, speculates the actual dismissal of Clarus came in 128.

⁴⁰³ Pliny the Younger, *Pliny. Letters* (Loeb ed., Melmouh trans.), I, 409 (with Latin text, p. 408). Cf. translation from Pliny the Younger, *The Letters of the Younger Pliny* (Radice trans.), 148.

⁴⁰⁴ Pliny the Younger, *Pliny. Letters* (Loeb ed., Melmouh trans.), II, 399 (with Latin text, p. 398). Cf. translation from Pliny the Younger, *The Letters of the Younger Pliny*, 292 (Radice trans.).

265 A Gift from Suetonius to Hadrian

(Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*: Augustus)⁴⁰⁵

7 In his infancy he was given the surname *Thurinus* in memory of the home of his ancestors, or else because it was near *Thurii* that his father Octavius, shortly before the birth of his son, had gained his victory over the runaway slaves. That he was surnamed *Thurinus* I may assert on very trustworthy evidence, since I once owned a little bronze bust, representing him as a boy and inscribed with that name in letters of iron almost illegible from age. This I presented to the emperor, who cherishes it among the *Lares* of his bed-chamber.



Roman Mile Marker

(Clement, *The Eternal City*, II, 480)

266 Mile Marker, 1 [120 C.E.]

(Near Leicester)

[CIL VII, 1169= RIB¹ 2244]⁴⁰⁶

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, holding tribunician power for the fourth time, three times Consul. To Ratis (Leicester), 2 miles.

267 Mile Marker, 2

(Cylindrical Milestone found near Caton, Lancashire)

[CIL VII, 1175= RIB¹ 2272]⁴⁰⁷

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland. To L. . . , 4 miles.

268 Mile Marker, 2

(Cylindrical Milestone found west of Caerhun Fort (Canovium) in North Wales)

[RIB¹ 2265]⁴⁰⁸

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, three times Consul. From Kanovium, 8 miles.

⁴⁰⁵ Suetonius, *Suetonius* (Rolfé trans., Loeb ed.), I, 129, 131 (with Latin text, pp. 128, 130). On Suetonius and Hadrian, see Syme, “The Travels of Suetonius Tranquillus,” 1344–45.

⁴⁰⁶ The Latin text can be found at EDCS (EDCS-07901053). See the discussion in McCaul, *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, 86–87. The Latin text also can be found in McCaul, *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, 87 (with brief comment). More than 100 milestones have been recorded in Britain. For more on Roman roads in Britain, see the evolving interactive online *The Roads of Roman Britain* (<https://roadsofromanbritain.org/index.html>).

⁴⁰⁷ The Latin text and another translation can be found in Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, 711 [#2272] or online at *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (<https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/2272>), or at EDCS (EDCS-07901078). Given where the inscription was found, the word beginning ‘L’ likely can be completed as ‘Lancaster.’

⁴⁰⁸ The Latin text and another translation can be found in Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, 709 [#2265].

269 Friend of Caesar; Distinguished British Service

(Inscription #82 in Burn, *The Romans in Britain*)⁴⁰⁹

To Marcus Maenius Agrippa, son of Gaius, of the tribe Cornelia, [also named] Lucius Tusidius [*p. 96*] Campester, personal friend of the Emperor Hadrian, father of the Senator [of his name], Commandant of Vespasian's own Second British Mixed Battalion, picked by the Emperor Hadrian for active service in Britain, Tribune in command of the First Spanish Mixed Battalion, Commandant of the Gallic and Pannonian Cuirassiers, Imperial Commissioner in command of the British Fleet, Commission of the Province of Britain, Knight on the Establishment, Patron of this Township, the Villagers of Censorglacium, having through the favour of his mediation obtained by the kindness of His Imperial and Gracious Majesty Antoninus Augustus Pius the privileges in whose enjoyment they are permanently confirmed, gladly give, present, and dedicate this memorial.

270 Dedication to Hadrian [c. 130–133 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Slab (now lost) at Bowes in Yorkshire)

[*RIB*¹ 739=*CIL* VII, 275]⁴¹⁰

To Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus—son of the deified Trajan, Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Pontifex Maximus, with tribunician power, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland; the Fourth Cohort of . . . set this up under Julius Severus, imperial legate with *propraetorian* power.

271 Building Continues, 1 [c. 128–138 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Sandstone Tablet near Moresby Fort in Cumbria)

[*RIB*¹ 801=*CIL* VII, 362]⁴¹¹

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, Legio XX Valeria Victrix (built this).

272 Building Continues, 2 [c. 126–130? C.E.]

(Inscription on a Dedication Slab (now lost), at Bewcastle in Cumbria)

[*RIB*¹ 995=*CIL* VII, 978]⁴¹²

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Legio II Augusta and Legio XX Valeria Victrix, (by command of) . . . , legate of Augustus with *propraetorian* command (built this).

⁴⁰⁹ Burn, *The Romans in Britain*, 95–96 (with Latin text). This is reproduced in Ireland, *Roman Britain*, 233 [#473]. A different translation can be found in Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 60.

⁴¹⁰ For an alternative translation, see Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, 249 [#279]. Julius Severus governed Britain in the early 130s before being called to Judea to command in the Bar Kokhba War.

⁴¹¹ For an alternative translation and Latin text, see Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, 269 [#801]. Legio XX Valeria Victrix, was one of the four legions (the others being II Augusta, IX Hispania, and XIV Gemina) that took part in the expedition to Britain (43 C.E.) in the reign of Claudius (reigned 41–54 C.E.).

⁴¹² For an alternative translation and Latin text, see Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, 332 [#995]. Legio II Augusta took part in Claudius' invasion of Britain in 43 C.E.

273 Building Continues, 3 [c. 126–130 C.E.]

(Inscription on an Oak Plank at High House Turf-Wall Milecastle 50)

[RIB¹ 1935]⁴¹³

. . . of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, legio . . . , under (the command of) Aulus Platorius Nepos, legate of Augustus with propraetorian authority.

274 Building Continues, 4

(Inscription on a Slab near Milecastle 47 near Gilsland,
border between Cumbria and Northumberland)

[RIB¹ 1852=CIL VII, 835]⁴¹⁴

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Legio XX Valeria Victrix (built this).

275 Building Dedication at Viroconium Cornoviorum (Wroxeter), in Shropshire [130 C.E.]

(Inscription on Sandstone)

[RIB¹ 288]⁴¹⁵

To Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 14th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, by the *civitas* of Cornoviorum.

Inscription for Building Dedication (above)
(Atkinson, “Civitas Cornoviorum,” 146)



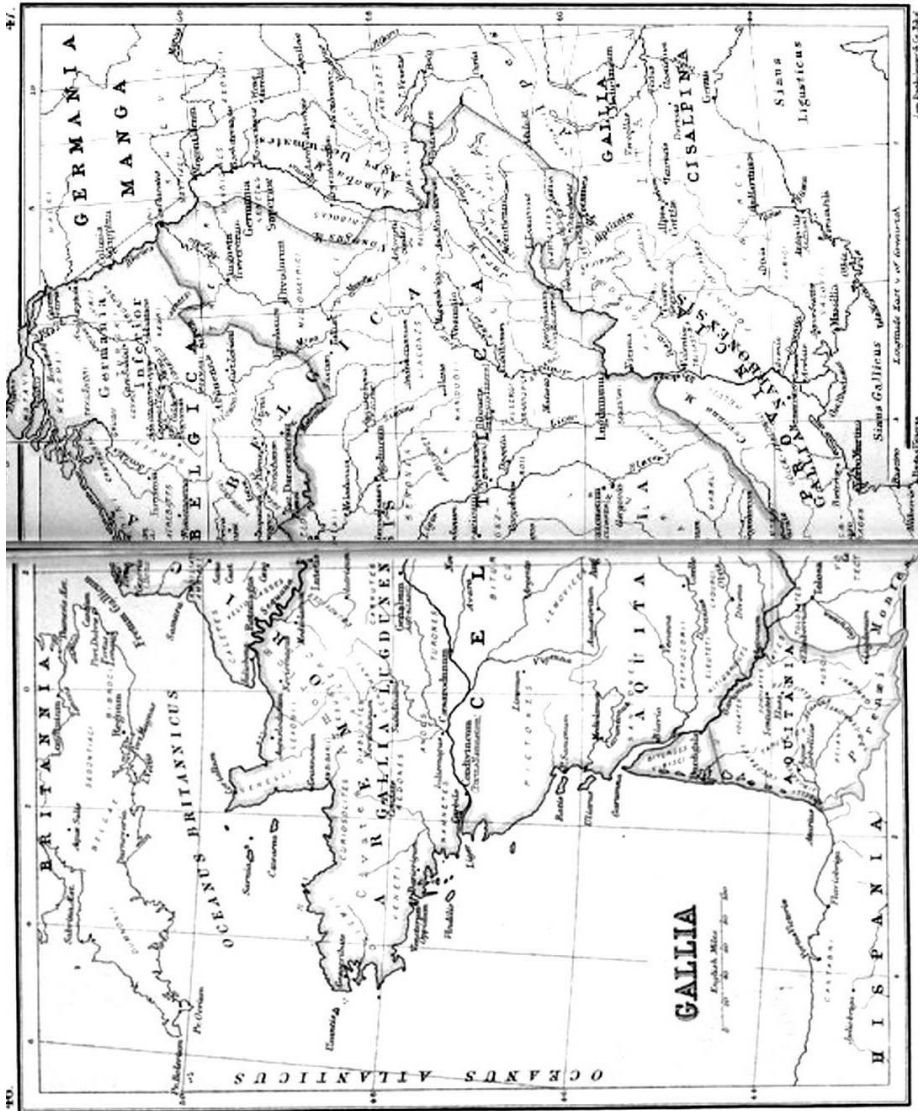
⁴¹³ For an alternative translation and Latin text, see Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, 332 [#995].

⁴¹⁴ For an alternative translation, see Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, 249 [#279]. Julius Severus governed Britain in the early 130s before being called to Judea to command in the Bar Kokhba War (see entries in chapter 9).

⁴¹⁵ The Latin text and an alternative English translation can be found in Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, 97 [#288], and online at *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (<https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/288>). Also see Ireland, *Roman Britain*, 228 [#458]. The *civitates* were the ‘citizens’ of the Cornovii, a tribe of Celts. For more, see Atkinson, “Civitas Cornoviorum,” 146–48, who notes (p. 146) that the sandstone block is 12x4 Roman feet (11 ft. 6 in. x3 ft. 10 in.), with the height of the letters in the first line nine-and-a-half inches. Dating it to the period from Dec. 10, 129 to Dec. 9, 130, Atkinson remarks, “[I]n this year the tribe of the Cornovii acting in a corporate capacity decided to build, or perhaps, as various indications suggest, completed the building of the largest edifice which has yet been found at Wroxeter, in honour of the Emperor Hadrian.” Also see Collingwood and Wright, “Roman Britain in 1924.”

GAUL

Map of Gaul, 2
(*Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography*, 46–47)



276 Milestone near Andemantanno (Montormentier) in Belgic Gaul
[CIL XVII², 531=CIL XIII, 9045=AE 1963.61]⁴¹⁶

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, 3 times Consul, Father of the Fatherland; from

⁴¹⁶ The Latin text can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-12400271); cf. *CIL* XVII², 529.

From Andemantanno, 13 miles.

277 A Reason for Hadrian's Sudden Return to Gaul

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴¹⁷

12.1a After arranging matters in Britain he crossed over to Gaul for he was rendered anxious by the news of a riot in Alexandria, which arose on account of Apis; for Apis had been discovered again after an interval of many years, and was causing great dissension among the communities, each one earnestly asserting its claim as the place best fitted to be the seat of his worship.

278 Hadrian Dedicates a Statue of Apis

(Inscription on Granite Base of Statue of the Bull God Apis)⁴¹⁸

... to the Great God Serapis⁴¹⁹ and the gods in the same temple, for the safety of the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus. . . .

279 Plotina Honored at Nemausus (Nîmes), Gaul [c. 122 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴²⁰

12.2 During this same time he reared a basilica of marvelous workmanship at Nîmes⁴²¹ in honor of Plotina.

280 A Late Inscription [132/133 C.E.]

(Partial Inscription at Villa Peciliani (Pézilla-la-Rivière), Gallia Narbonensis)

[*CIL* XII, 6024]⁴²²

. . . son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, holding tribunician power for the 16th time, twice *Imperator*, three times Consul . . .

⁴¹⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 37. On Hadrian's return to Gaul, see Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 112–15, and Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 142–46. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, points out it seems likely Hadrian made his way to Massilia, where he could set sail to Egypt if the situation required it.

⁴¹⁸ Rowe and Rees, "A Contribution," 496. They note: "There may be some reason for believing that the Serapeum of the Roman period was made by Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) for, as Professor Wace has remarked, the Nemesion was destroyed in the great Jewish revolt under Trajan [A.D. 116], and since that sanctuary [was] not far from the Serapeum, it is not unlikely that the Serapeum also was wrecked at the same time and subsequently rebuilt under Hadrian" This belief seems to be supported by the fact that a magnificent life-sized black granite statue of the bull-god of the Memphite Serapeum, Osiris-Apis, was dedicated to the Emperor and placed in the Roman temple." Omran and Zouair, "The Depiction of Apis," n. 96, claim of Hadrian, "He visited the Apis bull at Memphis during his visit to Alexandria." Also note the earlier entry on Hadrian's restoration of Alexandria, said to have taken place in 121 C.E.

⁴¹⁹ Serapis, god of the sun, was especially important to Alexandria. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* (Davies trans.), I.20.13 (p. 139), writes, "In the city on the borders of Egypt which boasts Alexander of Macedon as its founder, Serapis and Isis are worshipped with a reverence that is almost fanatical."

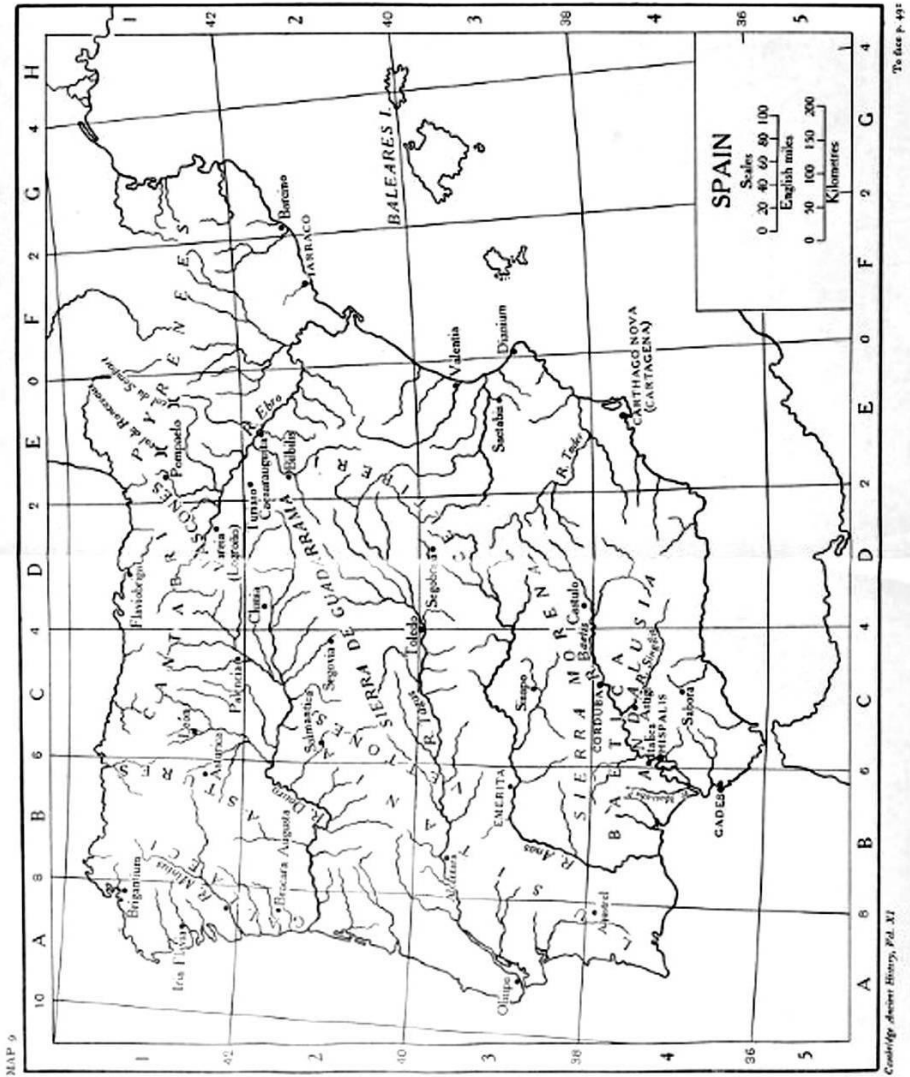
⁴²⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 37.

⁴²¹ McDermott, "Plotina Augusta and Nichomachus of Gerasa," 195, comments, "The dedication of a basilica to her after her death at Nemausus in *Gallia Narbonensis* (SHA, *Hadr.* 12.2) has been taken to indicate Narbonese origin for her family. This may be correct."

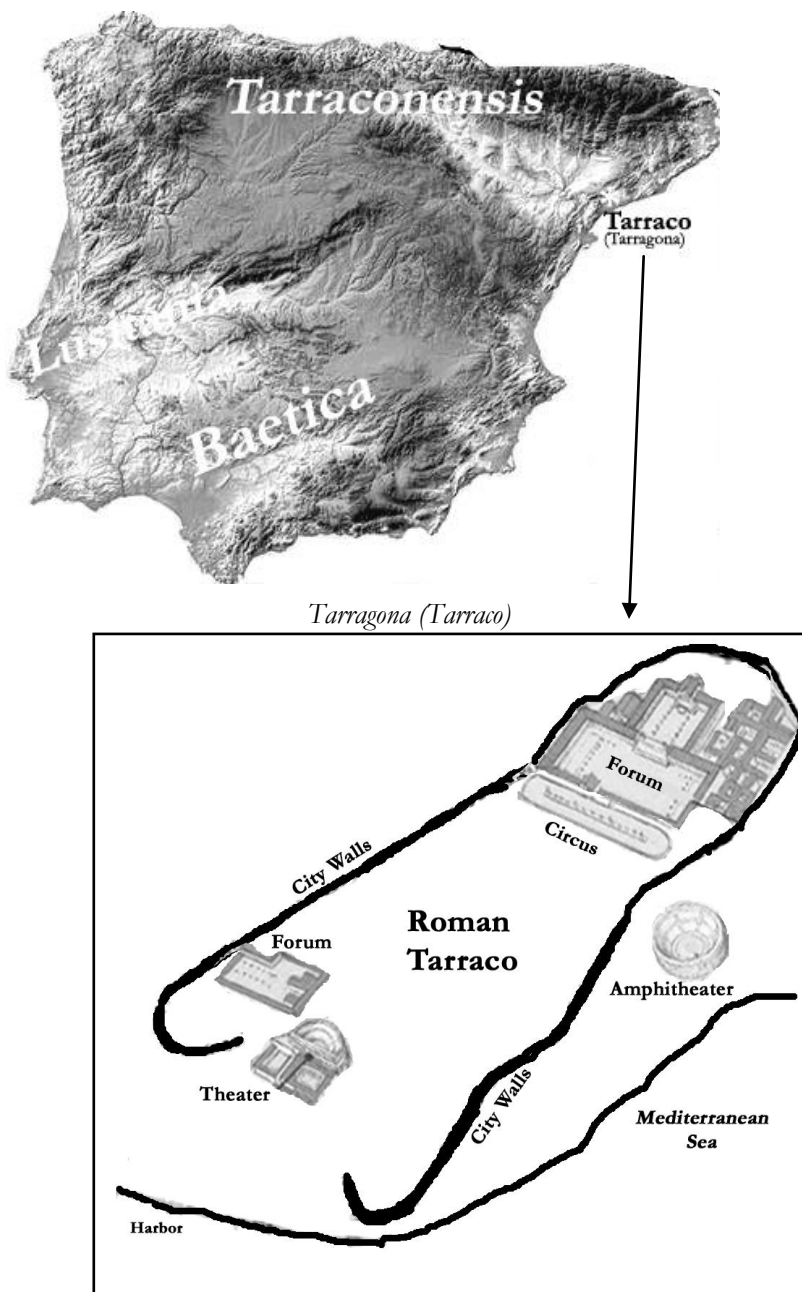
⁴²² The Latin text can be seen online at *EDCS* (EDCS-09303037).

HISPANIA (SPAIN)⁴²³

Spain, 3
(*The Cambridge Ancient History*, XI, 491)



⁴²³ On Hadrian's visit to Spain, see Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 115–17, who begins “*Von Nemausus aus besucht er Spanien*” (“From Nemausus he visited Spain”); Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 83–84; and Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 146–50. For the influence of Roman Spain on Hadrian, see Rodríguez, “The Impact of Roman Spain’s Transformation on Hadrian’s Life and Policies.” Although Italica in Baetica could claim Hadrian as a native, and he accepted the honor of the city’s highest magistracy (Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 58), he had a complicated relationship with the city (see n. 432).



⁴²⁴ Burke, *History of Spain*, I, 36, writes, "In the time of Hadrian, who spent some time in Spain in 122 and 123, the immense area of Tarraconensis was divided into three districts: Galicia, Tarragona and Carthagera, while the boundaries of Lusitania remained as before."



c35 Spain Coin 1 (left, showing coin reverse)
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 348)

Legend reads: *Restitutor Hispaniae SC* ⁴²⁵



c36 Spain Coin 2 (right)
(Hobler, *Records of Roman History*, 335 [#671])

Legend reads: *Exerc. Hispan.*

(His arm raised and holding a short spear, Hadrian, a lictor (ax and *fascēs* on shoulder) before him, addresses soldiers, who bear military standards.)

c37 Spain Coin 3 (right)
(Gusman, *La villa imperialle*, 6 [Fig. 19]; see Spain Coin 4, below)



c38 Spain Coin 4 (left)
[130–133 C.E.]
(ANS; Aureus) ⁴²⁶

OBVERSE: HADRIANVS
AVG(ustus) CO(n)S(ul) III

P(ater) P(atriae): Head of Hadrian, right | Head of Hadrian, left | Bust of Hadrian, draped, right, viewed from rear or side | Bust of Hadrian, draped, left, viewed from rear or side.

REVERSE: HISPANIA: Hispania reclining left on rocks, holding branch; to left, rabbit.

⁴²⁵ Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 241, comments, “The legend on coins of Hadrian ‘restitutor Hispaniae’ is probably not merely a piece of flattery.” Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 117, wrote in the early 20th century how uncertain our knowledge of Hadrian’s ‘restitutor Hispaniae’ was; although we have learned more, there remains uncertainty.

⁴²⁶ Public domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (ANS); it, with text, can be seen at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian>). Image has been transformed to grayscale and abbreviations expanded. *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.) Hadrian 1529–1532.

281 Hadrian Travels to Spain and Winters There [122/123 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴²⁷

12.3 After this he travelled to Spain and spent the winter at Tarragona, and here he restored at his own expense the temple of Augustus.

282 Worship of Augustus at Tarragona in Hadrian's Time

(Honorary Inscription on a Pedestal at Tarraco)

[*AE* 2016.642=*CIL* II, 4202]⁴²⁸

For Caius Calpurnius Flaccus, son of Publius, of the tribe Quirina, priest in the province of Hispania, caretaker of the temple, prefect in charge of the city walls, by decree of the decurions of the colony of Tarraconensis; Caius Calpurnius Flaccus having received this honor remitted the expense.

283 Hadrian Calls an Assembly at Tarragona [122/123 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴²⁹

12.4 To this place, too, he called all the inhabitants of Spain for a general meeting, and when [*p.* 39] they refused to submit to a levy, the Italian settlers jestingly, to use the very words of Marius Maximus, and the others very vigorously, he took measures characterized by skill and discretion.

284 Hadrian Thwarts an Assassin [122/123 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴³⁰

12.5 At this same time he incurred grave danger and won great glory; for while he was walking about in a garden at Tarragona one of the slaves of the household rushed at him madly with a sword. But he merely laid hold on the man, and when the servants ran to the rescue handed him over to them. Afterwards, when it was found that the man was mad, he turned him over to the physicians for treatment, and all this time showed not the slightest sign of alarm.

⁴²⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 37.

⁴²⁸ The Latin text can be found online at *EDCS* (EDCS-05503233). On this subject, see Fishwick, "The 'Temple of Augustus' at Tarraco" (pp. 132–33 for a discussion of this inscription). On the general subject, see Joyce, "In the Footsteps of Augustus: Hadrian and the Imperial Cult."

⁴²⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 37, 39. This was a 'Council of the Province' meeting at which Hadrian reversed a policy of Trajan with respect to Italian settlers. Joyce, "In the Footsteps of Augustus," 82, observes, "The likely meeting spot was close to the site of the temple." (See preceding two entries.) Bouchier, *Spain under the Roman Empire*, 39–40, provocatively remarks, "From the proceedings of this assembly, to which Hadrian proposed to fill up the militia by conscription instead of voluntary service, we can see to what an extent the most warlike province was being drained of the flower of its inhabitants to fill the legions in place of the luxurious and effeminate Italians." Wiseman, *Roman Spain*, 68, adds, "The recruitment of new Emperors from the provinces had not been a mere accident, but rather the final acknowledgment of declining standards all through Italy. In a conference at Tarragona in A.D. 120 Hadrian himself discussed the problem with prominent men from the three Spanish provinces and took the occasion to reproach his fellow countrymen with their reluctance to undertake military service, which, since the time of the Flavians, no longer involved leaving the Peninsula."

⁴³⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 39. See Church, *Roman Spain*, 178, for context.

285 A Man Raised to Equestrian Status

(Honorary Inscription on Statue in the Provincial Forum at Tarraco)

[CIL II, 4269]⁴³¹

For Marcus Fabius Paulinus, son of Marcus, of the tribe Galeria, granted equestrian status by Emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus; by his most grateful fellow citizens of Ilerda, for his many acts of generosity to his community, having been granted permission to place this in the provincial forum by decree of the decurions.

286 A Speech by Hadrian ‘In Behalf of the People of Italica’

(Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*)⁴³²

XVI.13.4 With regard to the errors in this opinion which is so general the deified Hadrian, in the speech which he delivered in the senate *In Behalf of the Italicenses*, from whom he himself came, discoursed most learnedly, showing his surprise that the Italicenses themselves and also some other ancient *municipia*, among whom he names the citizens of Utica, when they might enjoy their own customs and laws, desired instead to have the rights of colonies.

XVI.13.5 Moreover, he asserts that the citizens of Praeneste earnestly begged and prayed the emperor Tiberius that they might be changed from a colony into the condition of a municipium, and that Tiberius granted their request by way of conferring a favour, because in their territory, and near their town itself, he had recovered from a dangerous illness.

⁴³¹ Both the Latin text and an alternative translation can be found online at *Mapping Migration in Roman Iberia* (<https://mappingromanmigration.exeter.ac.uk/text.html?id=mrmm09979>). The Latin text also can be found online at *EDCS* (EDCS-05503299). This is one of three honorary inscriptions for Paulinus; the other two are by a freedman (Marcus Fabius Asiaticus) and a friend (Lucius Minicius Pudens). The placing of the statue shows he held an elevated social status.

⁴³² Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* (Rolfe trans.), III, 179 (with Latin text). See 13.3, which immediately precedes: “So general is the ignorance of what *municipia* are and what rights they have, and how far they differ from a ‘colony,’ as well as the belief that *coloniae* are better off than *municipia*.” For comment, see Reid, *Municipalities*, 136. Bouchier, *Spain under the Roman Empire*, 145, comments, “In its earlier years Italica had no definite political organization, and was only a *Vicus civium Romanorum*. By the age of Caesar, in which period more veterans were settled, it was a municipium, and became the occasional residence of the governor of Baetica. Gellius refers to a petition from the citizens to the senate that colonial rights might be conferred on Italica. This was opposed by Hadrian, who, as a student of antiquity, considered a municipality the more honourable community. Inscriptions, however, refer to a *Colonia Italicensis in provincia Baetica*, and the town is sometimes called Aelia Augusta, which suggests that Hadrian, who greatly honoured and enriched his birthplace, eventually granted the request.” Churchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, 75, observes that “the motive of the *Italicenses* may have been the hope of tax exemptions.” This would have been the exemption from land tax known as the *ius Italicum* (see Churchin, *Roman Spain*, 66). The granting of colonial status—and probably financial aid—meant, writes Churchin, *Roman Spain*, 63, “the city was nearly doubled in size and endowed with magnificent public buildings.” Fear, “Italica,” 132, though, argues, “Hadrian could find no material advantage for the Italicenses in granting their request. This again suggests that Italica already had Roman citizen status, as promotion to colonial status and the subsequent receipt of Roman citizenship would have brought a major benefit to the inhabitants of a municipium with the *ius Latii*.”

287 A Spurious Inscription Inspired by an Athens Inscription

(Inscription found at Puerto de la Palomera de Avila, Spain)

[CIL II, 279]⁴³³

Here is (the province of) Tarraco and not (that of) Lusitania.

Here is (the province of) Lusitania and not (that of) Tarraco.

288 Road Building [121/122 C.E.]

(Milestone near Colippo (modern Leiria, Portugal) in Lusitania)

[AE 1987.480]⁴³⁴

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, three times Consul, made this (road).

Baetica



⁴³³ Knapp, "Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain," 307 (with Latin text and brief comments).

⁴³⁴ The Latin text can be viewed online at *Hispania Epigraphica* (http://eda-bea.es/pub/record_card_2.php?refpage=%2Fpub%2Fsearch_select.php&quicksearch=%22Trajan+Hadrian+Augustus%22&page=1&rec=20537).

289 Baetica⁴³⁵ Inscription, 1: Boundary Marking

(Inscription at Solia, Baetica, Spain)

[CIL II, 2349=AE 1913.3]⁴³⁶

Trifinium between the *Sacilienses*, *Eporenses* and *Solienses* according to the verdict of Iulius Proculus, *iudex*. (The *trifinium* was) confirmed by the emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus.

290 Baetica Inscription, 2 [117/118 C.E.]

(Partial Inscription at Mirobriga Turdulorum, Baetica, Spain)

[CIL II, 2365]⁴³⁷

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus . . . (by) the municipality of Flavia Mirobriga.

291 Baetica Inscription, 3 [c. 121/122 C.E.]

(Inscription on Limestone at Singilia Barba, Baetica, Spain)

[CIL II, 2014=CIL II⁵, 775]⁴³⁸

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 6th time, hailed as Imperator six times, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, by Marcus Acilius Ruga, son of Caius, of the tribe Quirina, of Singilia (Barba), given as a gift at his own expense.

292 Baetica Inscription, 4 [122/123 C.E.]

(Honorary Inscription at Saepo in Baetica, Spain)

[AE 1998.724=CIL II, 1339]⁴³⁹

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 7th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, holding proconsular imperium, by the community of Victrix Saepo.

⁴³⁵ Churchin, *Roman Spain*, 62–63, writes, “He may also have toured Baetica, since coins commemorating his visit display an olive or olive branch, symbolic of the prosperity of this oil-rich province, and an inscription records his *liberalitates* to Baetica.” He suggests Hadrian may have visited Legio (León), home base for the legion VII Gemina.

⁴³⁶ Elliott, “Epigraphic Evidence for Boundary Disputes in the Roman Empire,” 131. Elliott explains that the *trifinium* was a point where the boundaries of three properties meet. The Latin text may be viewed online at *Hispania Epigraphica* (http://eda-bea.es/pub/list.php?Refpage=%2Fpub%2F_search_select.php&quicksearch=Hadrian). The *Sacilienses*, *Eporenses* and *Solienses* names peoples in three towns: Sacili (Municipium Sacili Martiale), Epora, and Solia. The first two were situated near the Guadalquivir River. C. Iulius Proculus had been Suffect consul in 109 C.E.

⁴³⁷ The Latin text may be viewed online at *Hispania Epigraphica* (http://eda-bea.es/pub/list.php?refpage=%2Fpub%2F_search_select.php&quicksearch=Hadrian).

⁴³⁸ The Latin text may be viewed online at *Hispania Epigraphica* (http://eda-bea.es/pub/list.php?refpage=%2Fpub%2F_search_select.php&quicksearch=Hadrian), or at EDCS (EDCS-08700839). The ‘VI’ is clearly an error; Hadrian was declared *Imperator* just twice.

⁴³⁹ The Latin text may be viewed online at *Hispania Epigraphica* (http://eda-bea.es/pub/list.php?refpage=%2Fpub%2Fsearch_select.php&quicksearch=Hadrian), or at EDCS (EDCS-05501345). On the town, see Fear, *Rome and Baetica*, 124–25.

293 Baetica Inscription, 5 [c. 121–124 C.E.]

(Inscription at Anticaria (Antiquaria), Baetica, Spain)

[CIL II, 4694]⁴⁴⁰

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the (6th?-9th?) time. . . .

294 Baetica Inscription, 6 [122/23 C.E.]

(Milestone near Italica in Baetica, Spain)

[*ERItalica* 34=*CIL A* 02-02, 367; cf. *HEp* 1995, 708=*HEp* 2003/4, 615]⁴⁴¹

XXV. Hadrian Augustus made this.

295 Baetica Inscription, 7:

Cursus Honorum of Marcus Aemilius Papus [127/128 C.E.]

(Inscription at República Callense (modern El Coronil), Baetica, Spain)

[CIL II, 1371]⁴⁴²

For Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, pontifex maximus, twelve times invested with tribunician power, father of his country, three times consul; son of the divine Traianus Augustus, six times consul; grandson of the divine Nerva, three times consul, twice invested with tribunician power; Marcus Messius Rusticus Aemilius Papus Arrius Proculus Iulius Celsus, priest in the cult of the Emperor, IIIIvir with responsibility for the City streets, tribune of the Eighth Legion Augusta, quaestor for the province of Africa, tribune of the

⁴⁴⁰ The Latin text also may be viewed online at *Hispania Epigraphica* (see above reference), or at EDCS (EDCS-05600065).

⁴⁴¹ The Latin text can be viewed online at EDCS (EDCS-10100021). On Hadrian's relationship with Italica, see Syme, "Hadrian and Italica." Morwood, *Hadrian*, 12–13, suggests, "The fact that he never went to Italica when he was in Spain as emperor may suggest that he took against the place. On the other hand, he was extraordinarily generous to it, proving the driving force behind a walled extension of the town comprising a temple, baths, and amphitheatre and other public buildings. . . . Thus the message we receive about Hadrian's attitude to Italica is a mixed one." Hildago and Keay, "Recent Work at Italica," 404 (see Fig. 4's map), note that under Hadrian—when it was granted status as a colony despite his misgivings—the city enlarged some 38 hectares (about 94 acres) across hilly terrain to the west of the earlier town. They write (pp. 407–09) there were at least three public buildings in the new city area: the *Traianeum*, overlooking the amphitheater to the northwest and situated at the highest point in town; a baths-gymnasium complex (*Termas Mayores* and *palaestra*); and smaller baths (*Macellum*). Fear, "Italica," argues it was already a *municipium* with Roman citizen status before Hadrian granted it status as a colony.

⁴⁴² The Latin text may be viewed online at *Hispania Epigraphica* (see above). English translation by Malone, "Legio XX Valeria Victrix," 46. 'Priest in the cult of the Emperor' renders *sodalis Augustalis*, a Roman priestly order established in the 1st century by emperor Tiberius to maintain the cultus associated with Augustus and the Julii. The 'board of four' was the *IIIIvir viarum curandarum*. On *quaestor pro praetore*, see Greenidge, "The Title 'Quaestor Pro Praetore.'" The quaestor was the province's chief financial officer. The *praetor peregrinus* was in the Republic the magistrate who administered justice in cases involving foreigners. On this office, see Daube, "The Peregrine Praetor." The 'caretaker of the Aurelian Way' (*curator via Aurelia*) was an official in charge of this major Roman highway. On Papus also see CIL II, 1283.

plebs, praetor with authority over peregrines (non-citizens), commissioner for the via Aurelia, legate of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, (set this up) to a most worthy ruler.

296 Baetica Inscription, 8 [c. 129/130 C.E.]

(Inscription at Urgavo Alba (modern Arjano), Baetica, Spain)

[CIL II, 2111]⁴⁴³

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 14th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, by order of the *decurions* of the municipality of Urgavo Alba.

297 Baetica Inscription, 8 [c. 131/132 C.E.]

(Inscription at Aratispi, Baetica, Spain)

[CIL II, 2055]⁴⁴⁴

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 16th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, by order of the *decurions* of the community of Aratispi.

298 Baetica Inscription, 9 [c. 132/133 C.E.]

(Inscription at Flavium Muniguense, Baetica)

[AE 1966.182a (cf. 1966.182b)=AE 1972.261]⁴⁴⁵

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 16th time, three times consul, hailed as *imperator* 16 times; to the best and greatest *Princeps*, by the community of Muniguense.

299 Baetica Inscription, 10

(Stone Inscription at Potencia (modern Villaneuva de la Reina), Baetica, Spain)

[CIL II²/7, 31]⁴⁴⁶

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Father of the Fatherland, holding tribunician power for the ___ time, by the decree of the decurions of the community that is the colony of Forum Julius Iliturgi.

⁴⁴³ The Latin text may be viewed online at *Hispania Epigraphica* (see above reference), or at EDCS (EDCS-09000081).

⁴⁴⁴ The Latin text may be seen online at *Hispania Epigraphica* (see 1st reference above), or at EDCS (EDCS-08700795). I have rendered *res publica* as “community.” On this label, which has many different uses and possible renderings, see Moatti, “The Notion of *Res Publica*.”

⁴⁴⁵ The Latin text may be viewed online at *Hispania Epigraphica* (http://eda-bea.es/pub/list.php?refpage=%2Fpub%2Fsearch_select.php&quicksearch=Hadrian). *Princeps* is another title for “Emperor,” but emphasizes his role as the “First Man in Rome,” that is, the leading citizen. It refers to the Emperor without emphasizing a military role. The *imperator XVI* is obscure at best.

⁴⁴⁶ The Latin text may be viewed online at *Hispania Epigraphica* (http://eda-bea.es/pub/list.php?refpage=%2Fpub%2Fsearch_select.php&quicksearch=Hadrian). On the status of Iliturgi as a colony there is some debate; see the brief remarks in Fear, *Rome and Baetica*, 64.

**c39 Honoring Hercules
of Gades
(Mother's Birthplace)
[121–123 C.E.]**⁴⁴⁷

(Mattingly, “Some
Historical Coins of
Hadrian,” 222 [Plate
XXXII, 6])⁴⁴⁸



OBVERSE: IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG: ‘Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus.’

Bust of Hadrian, laureate and cuirassed, facing right.

REVERSE: P M TR P COS III: “Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, three times Consul.”

Hercules is standing at front in a temple, facing right, resting on his club while holding what likely is an apple; on either side of him in the temple are two female figures (perhaps Hesperides (nymphs)); below the temple, a river god (Baetis?) is reclining facing right.

300 Other Spanish Provinces: Lusitania [121/122 C.E.]

(Stone Inscription at Cáparra (modern Banos de Montemayor), Lusitania, Spain)
[CIL II, 6202a; cf. CIL II, 6202b–d]⁴⁴⁹

Emperor Caesar—son of Trajan, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, restored this.

⁴⁴⁷ See chapter 11 on Hadrian’s identification with Hercules.

⁴⁴⁸ On Gades as his mother’s birthplace, see *HLA: Vita Hadriani* 1.2 (entry #2, above). Mattingly, “Some Historical Coins of Hadrian,” 214, writes of this coin (but with a series of coins of the time featuring Hercules Gaditanus (“Hercules of Gades”)), “The Hercules who is celebrated here is certainly the Hercules of Gades, but we know too little of his worship to interpret details here with certainty. The apple must suggest the garden of the Hespíredes, and the women on the reverse . . . may be two of the nymphs. The head of Jupiter (?) may really be a head of Cronos, who also had a temple at Gades: the river-god, fish and boat suggest the island position of the town. What really concerns us here is the reason for the choice of type. The facts that Hadrian was a native of Spain and that Hercules was a natural type of the great civilizer that Hadrian aspired to be no doubt help to explain it. But some special reason is needed for the ‘traveller’ type as early as A.D. 119. Can we associate these types with the ‘Britannia’? The Romans thought that Ireland lay between Britain and Spain, and evidently minimized the distance between the two. Hadrian, then, thoughts drawn towards the task awaiting him in the western islands beyond Spain, thinks of the mythical adventures of Hercules in the far west.” Barry, “The Mouth of Truth,” 22, sees the figure at the bottom as the Titan Oceanus and writes, “just one emperor—Hadrian—minted coins combining both Hercules and Ocean, and then an aureus (the coin of highest denomination in this era, of almost pure gold) in no fewer than five versions.” Also see Hekster, “Propagating Power,” 207. This is *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.) Hadrian 575–76 (reference *RIC* II, Hadrian 59) in *OCRE* (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian+%2B+Hercules>).

⁴⁴⁹ The Latin text can be viewed at *EDCS* (EDCS-05600029)

301 Other Spanish Provinces: Hispania Citerior [137/137 C.E.]

(Milestone Inscription in Hispania Citerior)

[CIL II, 4783]⁴⁵⁰

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 20th time, repaired the road; to Aquae Flaviae, 43 miles.

[245 repeated] Summary of Activities for the Travel of 121–122 C.E.

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴⁵¹

12.6 During this period and on many other occasions also, in many regions where the barbarians are held back not by rivers but by artificial barriers, Hadrian shut them off by means of high stakes planted deep in the ground and fastened together in the manner of a palisade.

12.7 He appointed a king for the Germans, suppressed revolts among the Moors, and won from the senate the usual ceremonies of thanksgiving.

c40 Peace in Our Times? [121–123 C.E.]

(Münzkabinett Wien; Aureus)⁴⁵²



OBVERSE: IMP(erator) CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG(ustus): 'Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus': Bust of Hadrian, laureate, cuirassed, cropped of *pteryges*, right, viewed from front | Bust of Hadrian, laureate, draped and cuirassed, right, viewed from rear or side.

REVERSE: P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunicia) P(otestate) CO(n)S(ul) III: 'Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, three times Consul': Janus standing front, faces left and right, holding sceptre.

⁴⁵⁰ The Latin can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-05600149). Hispania Certior (Nearer Spain) was supplanted in the early imperial period by the province Hispania Certior Tarraconensis, or more simply, Tarraconensis.

⁴⁵¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic's trans.), I, 39.

⁴⁵² The image (© Münzkabinett Wien) is made available by Creative Commons (CC by 3.0) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/legalcode>); the image has been transformed to grayscale. The image, with the text, can be viewed at *OCRE* (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian>). Abbreviations have been expanded. *RIC* II|3 (2nd ed.) Hadrian 509–510. A *pteryges* (derived from Greek πτέρυγες, 'feathers') refers to the 'feathers' (strips of leather or other fabric) worn both as a protective skirt and on the shoulders by soldiers.

Chapter 6

The Circuit of 123–125 C.E.,

THE SECOND JOURNEY (123–125 C.E.)⁴⁵³

302 An Overview

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)⁴⁵⁴

LXIX.10.1 He also constructed theatres and held games⁴⁵⁵ as he travelled about from city to city, dispensing, however, with the imperial trappings; for he never used these outside Rome. And yet he did not see his native land,⁴⁵⁶ though he showed it great honor and bestowed many splendid gifts upon it.

How Did the Journey Begin?



⁴⁵³ Hadrian may have travelled by sea to Antioch in Syria. But it is possible that the “revolts among the Moors” mentioned in *HA: Vita Hadriani* 12.7, prompted him to cross from Spain to Africa, then by land and/or sea to Antioch.

⁴⁵⁴ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 443.

⁴⁵⁵ Hervás, “Competing for the Emperor,” 184, notes, “Among the games that commemorated the visit of the emperor are the Hadrianeia Olympia in 124 AD in Thyateira, and the Hadrianeia in Coela. During Hadrian's second journey to the eastern empire the Olympia of Tralles were organized in 129 AD, and the panegiris of Gaza in 130 AD. The Hadrianeia of the city of Attuda in Caria, the founding date of which remains unknown, were likely connected to the visit of Emperor Hadrian, as well as the Hadrianeia Antiochia of Bithynia-Claudiopolis, the Hadrianeia of Magnesia ad Sipylum and possibly the agones of the city of Sardis.”

⁴⁵⁶ “Native land,” i.e., Spain (which he had visited in his previous circuit of travel).

303 Before Hadrian's Possible Visit: Aqueduct Construction [120 C.E.]

(Inscription on Brown Limestone Base at Lepcis Magna, Africa)

[IRT (1952) 358b=IRT (2021) 0358b]⁴⁵⁸

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 4th time, three times Consul, advised a permanent water supply, which Quintus Servilius Candidus brought at his own expense.

[excerpt from #245] A Reason to Journey to Africa? [c. 122/123 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴⁵⁹

12.7b He . . . suppressed revolts among the Moors, and won from the senate the usual ceremonies of thanksgiving.

304 Dedication to C. Fulcinus Optatus

(Honorary Inscription at Cartenna in Mauretania Caesariensis)

[CIL VIII, 9663=AE 1941.114=AE 2012.1931]⁴⁶⁰

To Gaius Fulcinus Optatus—son of Marcus, of the Quirina tribe—*flamen* of Augustus, duumvir for a five year term (*quinquennial duumvir*), pontifex, duumvir, augur, aedile, quaestor, who protected the colony during the invasion of Baquates; in witness it is the resolve of the ordinary people and citizens of Cartenna to confer to him, as not to any man previously, this bronze statue.

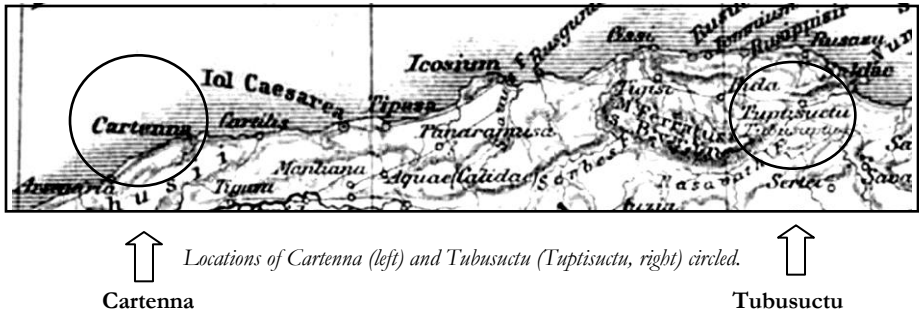
⁴⁵⁷ It is uncertain whether Hadrian in late summer or autumn of 122, or spring of 123, travelled from Spain to North Africa. If he did, it is most plausible it was in response to unrest there (see *HA: Vita Hadriani* 12.7). In any event, the possibility provides adequate excuse for gathering here various materials related to Hadrian and Africa during this general time.

⁴⁵⁸ For an alternate translation (and Latin text), see Reynolds' at *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* 2021 (<https://irt2021.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/IRT0358b.html>). Also see there entries 357, 358a, and 359. For Latin texts, also see online at *EDCS* entries for Lepcis Magna (120 C.E.): *CIL* VIII, 11; *IRT* 359; *IRT* 360. I have rendered *consuluit* as 'advised,' though it might be construed as 'decided upon' or 'asked for information about.' Context favors an imperial hint that was readily acted upon. Lepcis Magna was one of the three principal cities of Tripolitania, on the Western side of the Gulf of Sidra, a region that was part of Africa Pronconsularis.

⁴⁵⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 39.

⁴⁶⁰ Key portion: "who protected the colony from the invasion of the Baquates (*qui inruptione Baquatium coloniam tuitus*).” The Latin text also can be seen online at *EDCS* (EDCS-25500480), or *SIRAR*—*Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Africae Romanae* (<https://humanidadesdigitales.uc3m.es/s/sirar/item/10979>); it can also be found in Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, 219 [#50]. Leveau, *Caesarea de Maurétania*, 495, observes that the Baquates raid is the only military action in the region during Hadrian's reign that one can be confident about. Sigman, "The Romans and the Indigenous Tribes," 431, writes, "The evidence shows that the Baquates repeatedly raided Roman settlements, and remained in an almost constant state of unrest. Between 117 A. D. and 122 A. D., they were involved in an attack upon the town of Cartenna in Mauretania Caesariensis." Vanacker, "Ties of Resistance and Cooperation," 13–14, following Jérôme Carcopino, accepts a Hadrianic date and further argues that Lucius Quietus was a chieftain of the Baquates, whose dismissal incited the tribe to revolt. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 117, thinks it unlikely that Hadrian came to Mauretania to quell the uprising.

Locations in Mauretania Caesariensis
(Excerpted from Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*, Map X)



305 Dedication to Hadrian, 1 [122/123 C.E.]

(Honorary Inscription on Stone at Tubusuctu in Mauretania Caesariensis)

[AE 1967.641]⁴⁶¹

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 6th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland; by the garrison at the colony Tubusuctu—Colonia Iulia Augusta Legionis VII—at public expense, by order of the Decurions.

306 Dedication to Hadrian, 2 [123 C.E.]

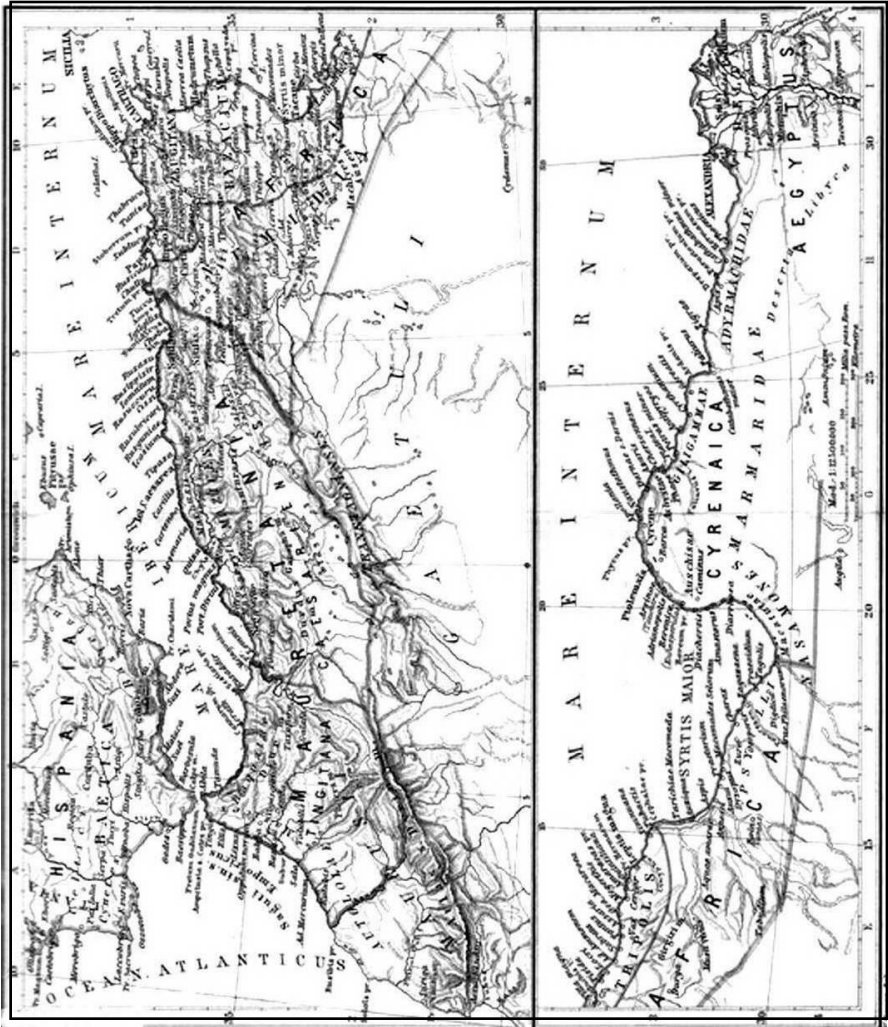
(Inscription on Statue Base, Numidia)

[ILAlg-02-03, 07778]⁴⁶²

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 6th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland. (The statue) having been ordered by the decurion of public funds.

⁴⁶¹ The Latin text can be viewed online at EDCS (EDCS-09800462). Founded by Augustus as *Colonia Iulia Augusta Legionis VII* for veterans of the Seventh Legion, the town became known as Tubusuctu. It is about 18.6 miles (30 kilometers) south of the port of Saldæ. Other towns in the province also benefited from Hadrian; Sufarsa to the west (and south of nearby Aqua Calidae) appears to have been elevated to the status of municipality by Hadrian (Leveau, *Caesarea de Maurétania*, 490). Cf. the inscription (CIL III, 7539)—in both Latin and Greek—in Tomis, a city on the Euxine Sea in 120 C.E., which similarly shows the familiar pattern of the emperor's titulature, the local official involved (Ummidius Quadratus Severus Sertorius at Tomis), and the city itself. Such inscriptions were common around the empire and many examples are found in this volume.

⁴⁶² The Latin text is available at Arachnae (<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/inschrift/9006285>). Hadrian's holding tribunician *potestas* for the 6th time dates this inscription to 122/123 C.E. Benario, *A Commentary*, 92, observes, "Most lists of Hadrian's journeys include a visit to Mauretania in this year (123) in order to crush the uprising there in person." Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 307, writes, "There can be little doubt that the visit of Hadrian was followed by a strengthening of the military protection, especially in the valleys of the Sahel and the Isser. At Quiza, near the mouth of the Cheliff, a 'municipium' in the first century and a colony in the second, an arch commemorated the countenance shown by Hadrian to the land."



307 Gifts in North Africa [122/123 C.E.]

(Inscription on Sandstone Block in Taucheira, Cyrenaica)

[IRCyr T.706]⁴⁶³

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 7th time, three times Consul, bestowed to the city. . . .

⁴⁶³ For an alternate translation and Latin text, see *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/C.246.html>). Taucheir (or Teucheira, etc. is the modern Toca in NE Libya). Founded by Cyrene, it is a coastal town noted for the worship of Cybele.

308 Dedication to Hadrian, 3 [122/123 C.E.]

(Inscription on Sandstone Block at Apollonia, Port of Cyrene)

[*IRCyr* A.37=Reynolds (1976), 46]⁴⁶⁴

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 7th time, three times consul . . .

309 Road

Construction, 1:

Carthage-Theveste Road [123 C.E.]

(Inscription on Stone near Carthage)

[*CIL* VIII, 22173=*ILS* 5835=*ILAlg* I, 3951; cf. *CIL* VIII, 22063; cf.



CIL VIII, 10081=*CIL* VIII, 22071=*AE* 2015.1819=*CIL* VIII, 22040]⁴⁶⁵

Emperor Caesar—grandson of the deified Nerva, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 7th time, three times Consul; the road extending between Carthage and Theveste paved for a distance of 191 miles, 740 (paces), by the Legio III Augusta under Publius Metelius Secundus, legate with Propraetorian authority.

310 Road Construction, 2: Thanaradi-Auzia Road [123/124 C.E.]

(Inscription on Stone near Rapidum in Mauretania Caesariensis)

[*AE* 1909.10]⁴⁶⁶

Emperor Caesar—grandson of the deified Nerva, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 7th time, three times Consul, Proconsul; from Thanaradi, 31 miles 910 steps; from Auzia, 17 miles 200 steps.

⁴⁶⁴ For an alternate translation with both Latin and Greek texts, see *The Inscriptions of Apollonia* (<https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/T.706.html>).

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. Kolb, “Communications and Mobility in the Roman Empire,” 652. The Latin text can be found at *EDCS* (EDCS-25700389); cf. Graham, *Roman Africa*, 108. Haywood, “Roman Africa,” 67 n. 5: “It is possible that the paving of this road was intended as a gift to the province as much as a military measure, for the legion at Lambaesis could communicate with the sea more easily by Cirta and Rusicade, and the road from Theveste to Hippo Regius built under Vespasian . . . assured military communication for Theveste, while this road ran through a peaceful and prosperous country. The capital and greatest port, however, was Carthage, and the road doubtless was not without military significance.” See Raaijmakers, “Twin Roads.”

⁴⁶⁶ The Latin text can be found in “Monuments Historiques de L’Algérie,” 69, which notes the inscription indicates distances between Rapidum, Auzia, and Thanaradi (“*Les distances entre Rapidum, Auzia et Thanaradi y sont indiquées d’une manière précise.*”). The Latin text also can be found online at *EDCS* (EDCS-16500141). The towns are south of Icosium (modern Algiers); Rapidum was about 62 miles (100 km) SE of Icosium, and Auzia about 93 miles (150 km) SE of Icosium.

311 Bridge Building [123/124 C.E.]

(Inscription on Stone near Rapidum in Mauretania Caesariensis)

[*AE* 1995.1652]⁴⁶⁷

Emperor Caesar—grandson of the deified Nerva, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 7th time, three times Consul, built this bridge by (means of) Legio III Augusta, under Sextus Julius Major, Legate with Propraetorian authority.

312 Invoking Hadrian in Egypt [122 C.E.]

(Excerpt from a Petition)

[*P.Oxy.* IV.714. Column II. Lines 27–31a]⁴⁶⁸

“I swear by the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus that I have made no false statement.”

Travel in the East

(Based on Birley, *Hadrian*, 151–161)



c41 Coin of the East

(Gusman, *La villa imperiale*,
p. 9 [Fig. 36])



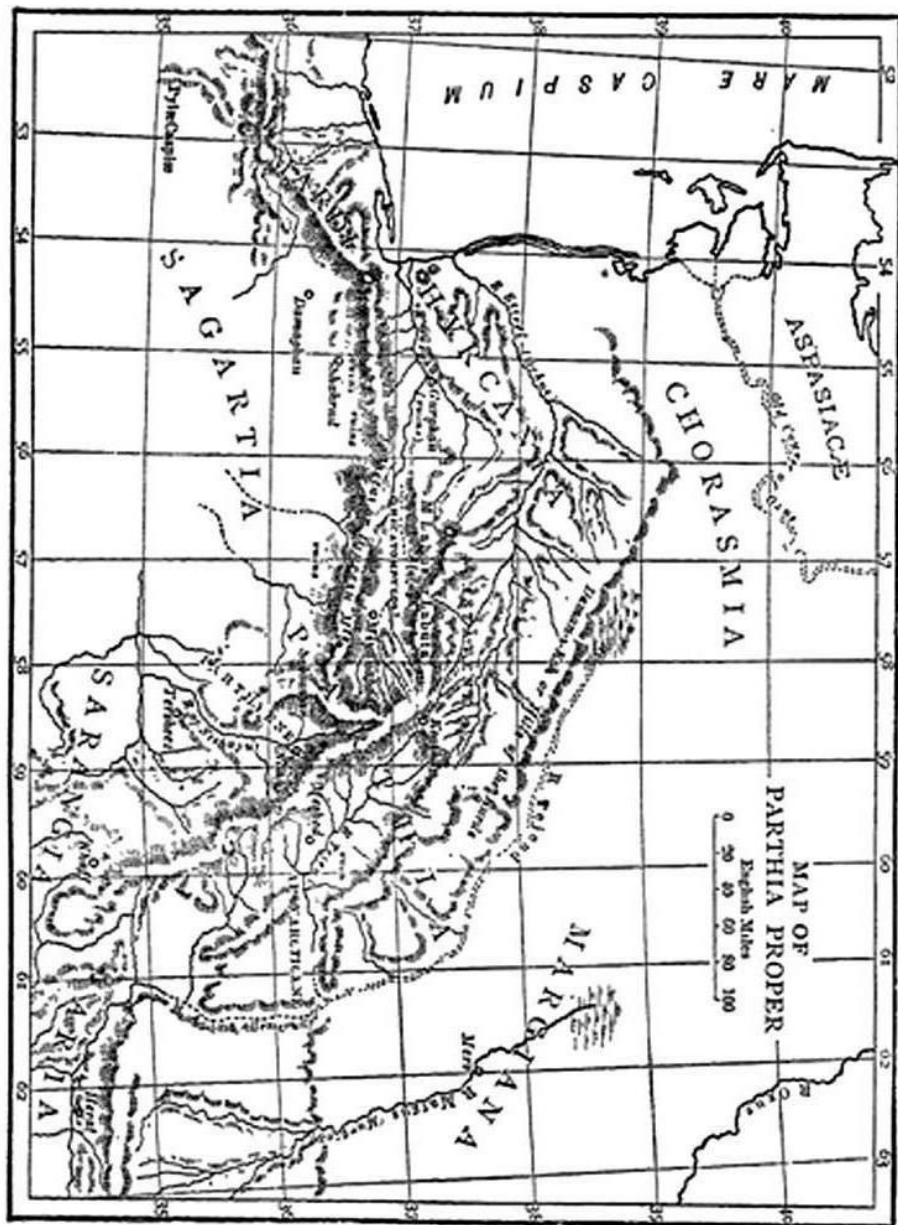
⁴⁶⁷ The Latin text can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-03300889). Sextus Julius Major commanded the legion, stationed at Lambaesis in Numidia before becoming suffect Consul (c. 126 C.E.).

⁴⁶⁸ Greek text (p. 183–84) and English translation (p. 184) from *Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part IV*.

SYRIA

Parthia

(Rawlinson, *Parthia*, 371)



313 Hadrian and the Parthians

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴⁶⁹

21.10 The Parthians always regarded him as a friend because he took away the king whom Trajan had set over them.

c42 *Coin of Parthian Ruler Osroes, 1 [c. 108–110 C.E.]*

(Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, 205 and Plate XXXI.9)



314 A Conference with Osroes (Chosroēs) [123 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴⁷⁰

12.8 The war with the Parthians had not at that time advanced beyond the preparatory stage, and Hadrian checked it by a personal conference.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 67. See Benario, *A Commentary*, 125.

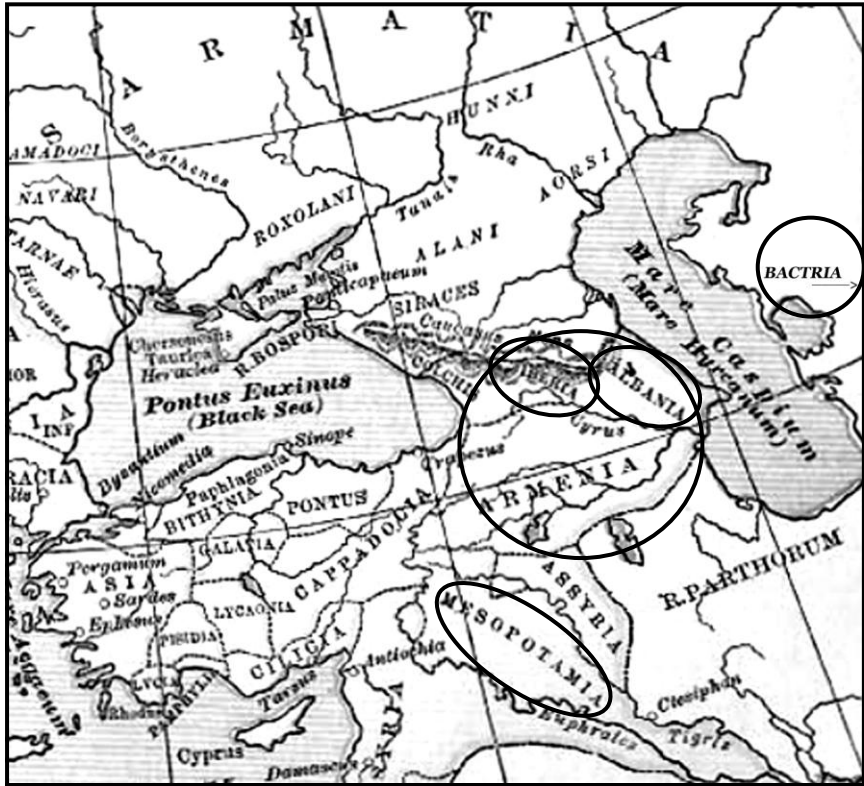
⁴⁷⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 39. Benario, *A Commentary*, 93, noting the practice of 1st century emperors, characterizes Hadrian's personally appearing as "an innovation."

⁴⁷¹ Birley, "Hadrian to the Antonines," 139–40, notes that Hadrian, in Spain when notified of the unrest, ordered Tiberius Claudius Quartinus to lead the legions II Traiana and III Cyrenaica to the eastern border, with himself then meeting the Parthian leadership at the Euphrates border. Rawlinson, *Parthia*, 315–16, remarks of Chosroēs (or Osroes), "He seems to have continued on friendly terms with Hadrian during the remainder of his life. Once only, in A.D. 122, was the good understanding threatened. The exact causes of complaint have not come down to us; but it appears that in that year rumours of an intended Parthian invasion reached the Emperor, and induced him to make a journey to the far East, in order, by his personal influence and assurances, to avert the danger. An interview was held between the two monarchs upon the frontier, and explanations were given and received, which both parties regarded as satisfactory. The Parthian prince gave up his intention of troubling the peace of Rome, and the two empires continued, not only during the rest of the reign of Chosroēs, but till some time after the death of Hadrian, on terms of friendship and amity. Hadrian went so far as to restore to Chosroēs (about A.D. 130) a daughter who had been taken prisoner at Susa by the generals of Trajan fourteen years before, and had remained at Rome in captivity; and he is even said to have promised the restoration of the golden throne, captured at the same time, on which the Parthians set a special value." Debevoise, *Political History of Parthia*, 242, comments, "Perhaps these were connected with the struggle for power between Osroes and Vologases II, which was almost continuous from the time of the Roman withdrawal under Trajan. Vologases was gradually able to overcome his opponent, who struck no more coins after 128/29." However, on this whole matter, also see Doležal, "Did Hadrian Ever Meet a Parthian King?"

ARMENIA, MESOPOTAMIA, ALBANIA, HIBERIA, BACTRIA

The Roman East (note circled areas)

(Excerpted and Adapted from *The Century Atlas of the World*, Map IX)



315 Dealing with Foreign Nations

*(HA: Vita Hadriani)*⁴⁷²

21.11 The Armenians were permitted to have their own king, whereas under Trajan they had had a governor,

21.12 and the Mesopotamians were relieved of the tribute which Trajan had imposed.

21.13 The Albanians and Hiberians he made his friends by lavishing gifts upon their kings, even though they had scorned to come to him.

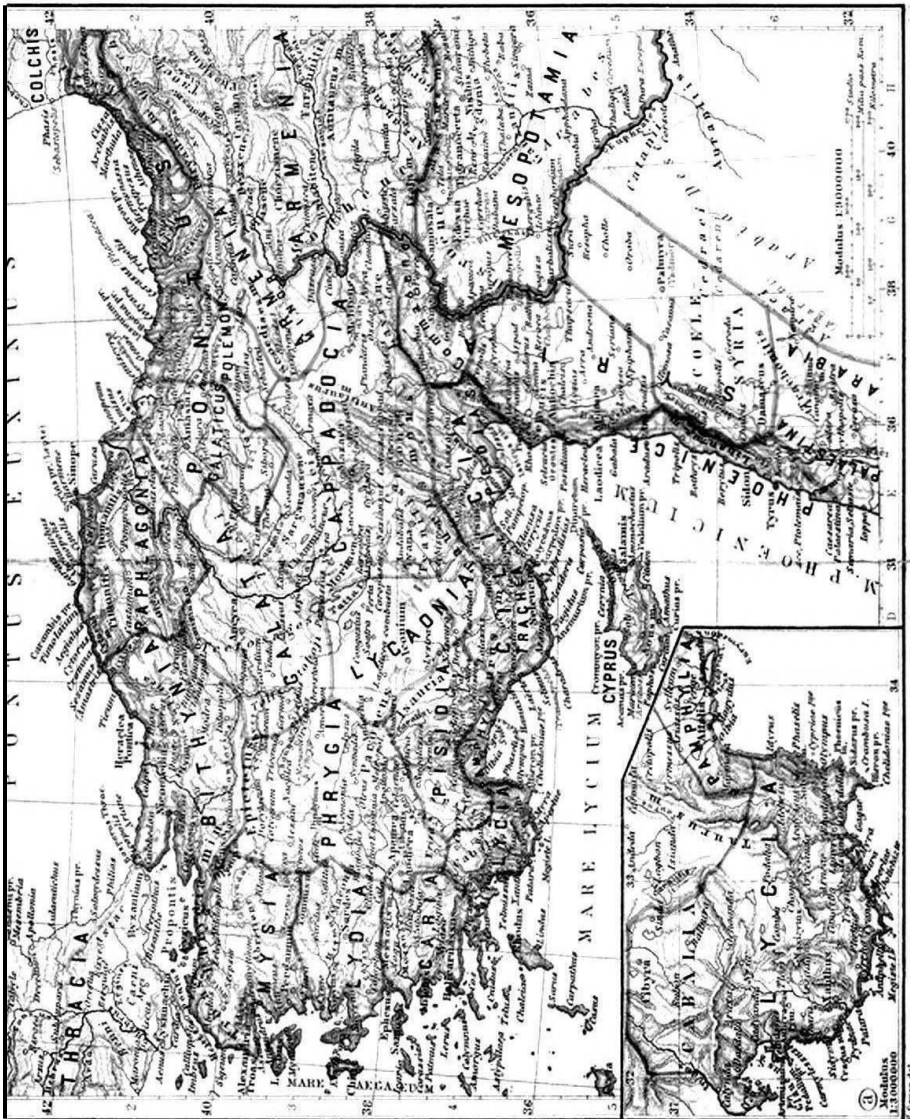
21.14 The kings of the Bactrians sent envoys to him to beg humbly for his friendship.

⁴⁷² If Hadrian wintered in Syria, then travelled through Asia to Greece, the sequence of a conference with the Parthians followed by a string of envoys from nearby powers makes sense. See Birley, *Hadrian*, 153–54. Bactria, not shown in the map, was northeast of Parthia.

ASIA

Asia, 1

(Van Kampen et al., *Justus Perthes' Atlas Antiquus*, #7)



CAPPADOCIA⁴⁷³



c43 Cappadocia
(Gusman, *La villa impériale de Tibur*, 7 [#25]) |

c44 Coin of Cappadocia
(ANS)⁴⁷⁴



FIG. 25. — CAPPADOCE.

OBVERSE: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙC ΤΡΑΙΑΝ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CEB: Bust of Hadrian, laureate, drapery on left shoulder.

REVERSE: ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΕ ΥΠΙΑΤ Γ: Mt. Argaeus surmounted by Helios standing left, globe in right hand, scepter in left hand.

316 Bruttius Praesens, Governor 121–124 C.E.]

(Inscription at Maktaris in Numidia)

[*AE* 1950.66= *AE* 1951.44= *AE* 1951.227= *AE* 1952.53= *AE* 1952.94]⁴⁷⁵

For Gaius Bruttius Praesens Lucius Fulvius Rusticus, son of Lucius, Consul; proconsul of the province of Africa; one of the 15 with sacred duties (*Quindecimviri sacri faciundis*); caretaker of sacred places (*curator aedium sacrarum*) and overseer of public works (*curator operum publicorum*); legate with propraetorian power of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus for the province of Cappadocia; likewise legate with propraetorian power of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus for the province of Moesia Inferior; legate with propraetorian power of Emperor Caesar the deified Trajan Augustus for the province of Cilicia; curator of the *Via Latina*; legate of Legio VI Ferrata, given military decorations by Emperor Trajan Augustus for the Parthian war; praetor; plebian aedile (*aedili plebis*); quaestor in the Farther Spanish province of Baetica; military tribune of Legio I Minervia; given military decorations by Emperor [Domitian] Augustus for the war against the Marcomanni; one of the magistrates' assistants (*tresveri capitales*); patron. By decree of the decurions.

⁴⁷³ Aristodemou, "Aspects of Romanization in Cappadocia," 55, succinctly notes, "As can be detected from the official letters of the Hadrianic period onwards, garrisons established there were involved more in peaceful engagements than conflicts and the Governor's duties had more to do with administration and judicial issues."

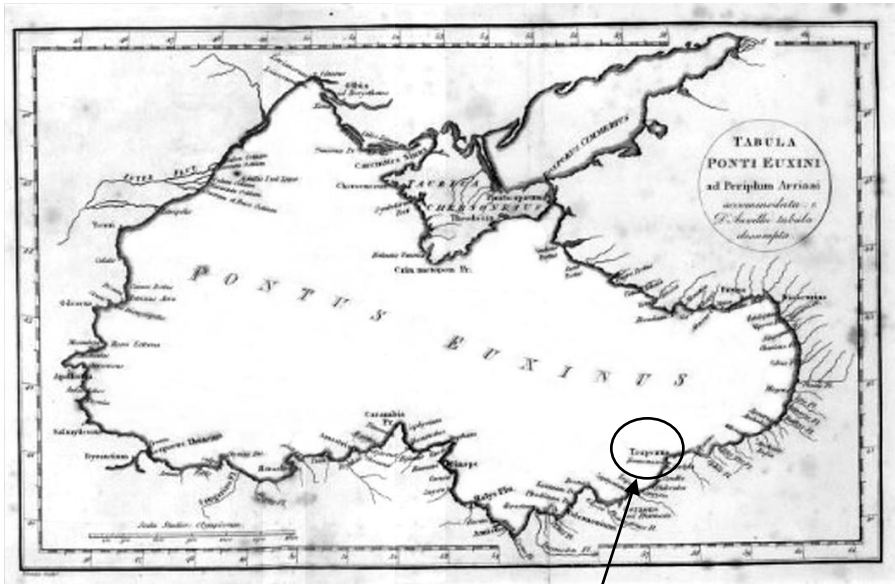
⁴⁷⁴ Public domain, courtesy of the ANS; cf. Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, Plate 284 [#7803].

⁴⁷⁵ The Latin text can be seen at *EDCS* (*EDCS*-15000100). Gaius Bruttius Praesens Lucius Fulvius Rusticus (68–140 C.E.), was a friend of Hadrian's. See Syme, "Praesens the Friend of Hadrian." The *Quindecimviri sacri faciundis* was a distinguished priestly college. On the curator offices, see Kolb, *Die kaiserliche Bauverwaltung in der Stadt Rom*. In the campaign under Domitian, Praesens led a detachment of I Minervia to Pannonia.

REGION OF THE EUXINE (BLACK) SEA

Euxine Sea (Black Sea)

(Falconer, *Arrian's Voyage Round the Euxine Sea* (Frontispiece))



Trapezus (modern Trabzon)

317 Hadrian Sees the Euxine Sea and Improves a Harbor

(Arrian, *Circumnavigation of the Black Sea*)⁴⁷⁶

To the emperor, Caesar Hadrian Augustus, Arrian wishes health.

1.1 We came in the course of our voyage to Trapezus, a Greek city in a maritime station, a colony from Sinope, as we are informed by Xenophon, the celebrated historian. We surveyed the Euxine Sea with the greater pleasure, as we viewed it from the same spot whence both Xenophon and yourself had formerly observed it.

16.6 Here there is a port for ships. . . . Here you are contributing a harbor, as there was formerly only a road or station, where ships might ride in safety during the summer season.

⁴⁷⁶ Arrian, *Arrian's Voyage Round the Euxine Sea* (Falconer trans.), 1, 14; I have modernized the English. Also see Madsen and Rees, "Introduction: A Roman Greek." I am again following the lead of Birley, *Hadrian*, 155. The Greek text can be found in Arrian, *Arriani Nicomediensis Scripta Minora* (Hercher and Eberhard ed.), 86. Mitford, "Thalatta, Thalatta," provides information on the route that Hadrian and the earlier Xenophon probably followed. Mitford, 128 (Fig. 2) and 131 (Appendix) shows there was a Roman frontier road that led from Satala through stations (according to the Peutinger table) at Domana, Salonica, Medocia, Patara, Frigidarium, Bylae, Giz-enenica, and Magnana. The middle three—Patara, Frigidarium, Bylae—he writes, were high altitude refuges. The road was the highest in the Empire. At a high plateau, nearly 8,250 feet high, the distant sea can be seen.

318 Foreign Kings Who Owed Their Thrones to Hadrian

(Excerpts from Arrian, *Circumnavigation of the Black Sea*)⁴⁷⁷

11 . . . adjoining to the Sydretae are the Lazi, a people subject to King Malaslas, who holds his kingdom from you. . . . The Abasci border on the Apsilae, whose King, Rhesmagus, received his crown from you. Sebastopolis is a city of the Sanigae, who are subject to [p. 10] King Spadagas, who received his kingdom from you.

Kingdom of Bosphorus
(Adapted from Map of Euxine Sea)



319 Dealing with the Ruler of Bosphorus, 1 (see #2 in Travels of 128–132)

(Phlegon of Tralles, cited by Constantine Porphyrogenitus,
Themes (De Thematis) II.12)⁴⁷⁸

II.12 The testimony of Phlegon in Book XV of the *Olympiads* is that the kingdom of Bosphorus was ruled by King Kotys, and Caesar (Hadrian) commanded that the diadem of his office should be worn by him and the cities subject to him, and included among them Cherson.

⁴⁷⁷ Arrian. *Arrian's Voyage Round the Euxine Sea*, 9–10 (Falconer trans.); I have modernized the English. The Greek text can be found in Arrian, *Arriani Nicomediensis Scripta Minora* (Hercher and Eberhard ed.), 93.

⁴⁷⁸ An alternative English translation can be found in Sherk, *The Roman Empire*, 155 [#154a]. The Greek text can be found in Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Constantine VII), *De Thematis*, 63 (Bekker ed.); also in *Rerum naturalium scriptores Graeci minores*, I, 102. The Greek text (and Latin) may also be viewed online at *Digital Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (<http://www.dfhg-project.org/DFHG/index.php?volume=Volu+men%20tertium#>). Phlegon, a Greek freedman of Hadrian, is noted several places in this volume (see, for example, entries #807 and #1116). King Tiberius Julius Cotys II Philocaesar Philoromaos Eusebes, aka Kotys II (or Cotys II) reigned 123–131 C.E. The city of Cherson (Chersonesos), on the coast of the Euxine Sea (see map on this page), was founded by Greeks in the 5th century B.C.E. It had established itself as an important port for trade between the peoples outside the Empire and those inside it. Cherson later reverted to the control of Rome.

c45 *Coin of King Kotys [c. 126 C.E.]*
(Public Domain image)



c46 *Coin of King Rhoemetacles*
(Hill, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, Plate XIII [#3])⁴⁷⁹



⁴⁷⁹ Tiberius Julius Rhoemetacles, son of Tiberius Julius Cotys II, succeeded his father in 131 and ruled into Antoninus Pious' reign, dying in 153 C.E. Marshak, *The Many Faces of Herod the Great*, 16, notes, "The rulers of the Bosphorus, from Cotys I (46–63 CE) until the third century CE, regularly describe themselves as high priests of the Augustii."

BITHYNIA

Bithynia and Thracia

(Excerpted and adapted from *Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography*, 56)



320 Description of Bithynia

(Strabo, *Geography*)⁴⁸⁰

XII.4.1 Bithynia is bounded on the east by the Paphlagonians and Mariandyni and some of the Epicteti; on the north by the Pontic Sea, from the outlets of the Sangarius River to the mouth of the sea at Byzantium and Chalcedon; on the west by the Propontis; and towards the south by Mysia and by Phrygia “Epictetus,” as it is called, though the same is also called “Hellespontiac” Phrygia.



c47 *Hadrian Comes to Bithynia*

[130–133 C.E.]

(ANS; Bronze Sestertius)⁴⁸¹

OBVERSE: HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P

REVERSE: ADVENTVI AVG BITHYNIAE || S C (in exergue): figure of Bithynia facing Hadrian, altar between them.

⁴⁸⁰ Strabo, *Geography* (Jones trans.), V, 455 (with Greek text, p. 454).

⁴⁸¹ Public domain, courtesy of American Numismatic Society (ANS); it, with text, can be seen at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian>). The image has been changed from color to grayscale. *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 1740–1742

NICOMEDIA & CYZICUS IN BITHYNIA



Region of Nicomedia and Cyzicus (Kyzikos)
(Excerpted and adapted from *The Cambridge Ancient History*, XI, 571)

← Nicomedia and Cyzicus circled in map.

321 Nicomedia and Cyzicus: Examples of Imperial Aid

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)⁴⁸²

21.5 During his reign there were famines, pestilence, and earthquakes. The distress caused by all these calamities he relieved to the best of his ability, and also he aided many communities which had been devastated by them.

322 Earthquake at Cyzicus (Kyzikos) and Restoration of the City, 1 [121/122 C.E.]

(John Malalas, *Chronicle*)⁴⁸³

XI.16 During the reign of the most sacred Hadrian, Kyzikos, which is the great metropolis of the province of Hellespont, suffered an earthquake from the wrath of God on the night of 10th November. He gave generously to the city and restored it.

323 Earthquake at Cyzicus (Kyzikos) and Restoration of the City, 2 [121/122 C.E.]

(*Paschal Chronicle (Chronicon Paschale)*)⁴⁸⁴

[225th Olympiad] He also built a temple in Cyzicus and paved its town square (πλατεῖαν) with marble.

324 The Great Temple at Kyzikos (Cyzicus) [121/122 C.E.]

(Excerpt from an Anonymous Epigram)⁴⁸⁵

IX.656 . . . Cyzicus, no longer sing of your noble temple of Hadrian standing fast on the long cliff.

⁴⁸² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 65. See Gülbay, "Emperor Hadrian's Reconstruction Projects in Mysia and Bithynia" for a larger context.

⁴⁸³ Malalas, *Chronicle*, 147. The date of this earthquake is placed at 121/122 C.E. by the National Centers for Environmental Information (part of the National Oceans and Atmospheric Association (NOAA); see <https://www.ngdc.noaa.gov/hazel/view/hazards/earthquake/event-more-info/9969>). It notes, "It is quite possible that a funerary inscription from Nicomedeia is connected with this event, since it commemorates the death of two children and a slave in an earthquake and dates from about this time." The Greek can be seen in Malalas, *Chronographia*, 279.

⁴⁸⁴ The Greek text can be found in *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed.), I, 475: ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ ἐν Κυζίκῳ ναὸν ἔχτισεν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ πλατεῖαν ἔστρωσε μαρμάρῳ.

⁴⁸⁵ *The Greek Anthology*, III (Paton trans.), III, 363 (with Greek text, p. 362); I changed his "thy" to "your." Considered by the ancients one of the wonders of the world for its immense size, Burrell observes "Aristides dredged up hyperbole after hyperbole for it."

325 Earthquake at Nicomedia and Aoria [c. 121 C.E.]

(*Paschal Chronicle (Chronicon Paschale)*)⁴⁸⁶

[225th Olympiad] During these times the great earthquake that happened at Nicomedia and Aoria in Bithynia destroyed much (of these cities).

326 Nicomedia Praised

(Excerpts from Libanius, “Monody on Nicomedia”)⁴⁸⁷

What city was more beautiful? . . . : for stretching forth its promontories, with its arms [p. 234] it embraced the sea. It then ascended the hill by four colonnades extending the whole length. Its public buildings were splendid, its private contiguous, rising from the lowest parts to the citadel, like the branches of a cypress, one house above another, watered by rivulets and surrounded by gardens. . . . [p. 235] A city so great, so renowned, ought not the whole choir of the Gods have surrounded and protected, exhorting each other to decree that it should never be subjected to any calamity?

327 Restoration Work at Nicomedia Begun [c. 123/124 C.E.]

(Jerome, *Chronicle (Hadrian)*)⁴⁸⁸

IVe After an earthquake had happened, Nicomedia lay in ruins, and many things were overturned in the city of Nicaea: for the reconstruction of which, Hadrian generously gave funds from the public treasury.

c48 Coin of Bithynia

(Wroth, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Plate XXIV; description, p. 106)

OBVERSE: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙΣ ΤΡΑΙ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CEB:
‘Emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus.’ Head of Hadrian r., laureate.

REVERSE: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΒΕΙΘΥΝΙΑC: ‘*Koinon* of Bithynia.’ Octastyle temple.



⁴⁸⁶ The Greek text can be found in *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed.), I, 475: Ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάρτων σεισμοῦ γενομένου Νικομηδείας καὶ Ἀορίας τῆς Βιθυνίας τὰ πολλὰ κατεστράφη.

⁴⁸⁷ Libanius, “Monody on Nicomedia” (Duncombe trans.), 233–35. He is referring to a 4th century quake. The phrase “private contiguous” refers to grouped together private habitations.

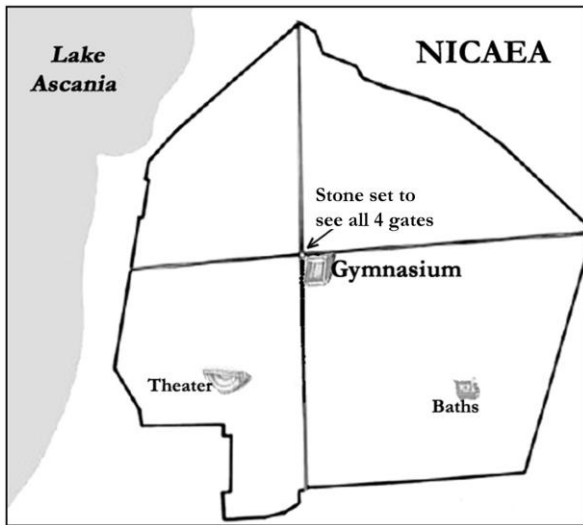
⁴⁸⁸ Roger Pearse et al. at the Tertullian Project (http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm). The Latin text can be found at Jerome. *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canonēs*, 280. Hadrian likely spent the Winter of 123/124 at Nicomedia.

NICAEA IN BITHYNIA

328 Description of Nicaea

(Strabo, *Geography*)⁴⁸⁹

XII.4.7 In the interior of Bithynia are, not only Bithynium . . . but also Nicaea, the metropolis of Bithynia, situated on the Ascanian Lake, which is surrounded by a plain that is large and very fertile but not at all healthful in summer. . . . The city is sixteen stadia in [p. 465] circuit and is quadrangular in shape; it is situated in a plain, and has four gates; and its streets are cut at right angles, so that the four gates can be seen from one stone which is set up in the middle of the gymnasium.



South Gate of Nicaea
(Constructed 1st cent. C.E.)
(Photo courtesy of Carole Raddato, *Following Hadrian*⁴⁹⁰)



⁴⁸⁹ Strabo, *Geography* (Jones trans.), V, 463, 465 (with Greek text). Ellipses represent material I have omitted, not material absent in the original text or the translation.

⁴⁹⁰ Photo by Carole Raddato, at *Following Hadrian* ([https:// followinghadrian.com/2017/11/26/late-november-117-ad-hadrian-arrives-in-nicaea-hadrian1900/](https://followinghadrian.com/2017/11/26/late-november-117-ad-hadrian-arrives-in-nicaea-hadrian1900/)) made available under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>). This work has been modified by transforming from color to grayscale.

329 Hadrian and Nicaea, 1 [123/124 C.E.]

(Inscription fragment)

[IGR III, 37; cf. SEG XXVII.820=CIG 3745a; SEG XXVII.821=CIG 3745d]⁴⁹¹
Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, holding tribunician power for the 8th time of Dionysus s . . the first city of the province by the judgment of emperors.

330 Hadrian and Nicaea, 2 [123/124 C.E.]

(Inscription)

[IK Iznik 29]⁴⁹²

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, holding tribunician power for the 8th time. By the most pious *neōkoros* of Augustus, of Dionysus and Heracles, the first (city) of Bithynia and Pontus, and metropolis by the judgment of emperors and the sacred Senate (τῆς ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου).

331 An Assessment of Buildings at Nicaea

(Pliny the Younger, *Letters* [To Trajan])⁴⁹³

X.39 The citizens of Nicaea, Sir, have built the greater part of a theatre which, though it is not yet finished, has already exhausted, as I hear said (for the account has not yet been audited) above ten millions of sesterces; and, I fear, to no purpose. For either from the damp and yielding nature of the ground, or that the stones themselves were thin and friable, the building is sinking and displaying enormous cracks. The question certainly deserves consideration, whether it should be completed, or abandoned, or even pulled down. For the buttresses and bases upon which it is here and there supported, appear to me more expensive than solid. . . .

[p. 327] The citizens are also rebuilding, upon a larger scale, the Gymnasium, which was burnt down before my arrival in the province. They have already voted funds for the purpose, which are likely to be wasted, for the structure is ill-planned and rambling. Besides, the present architect (who, it must be owned, is a rival to the one first employed) asserts that the walls, though they are twenty-two feet thick, are not strong enough to support the superstructure, as their core is merely rubble, nor are they faced with brickwork.

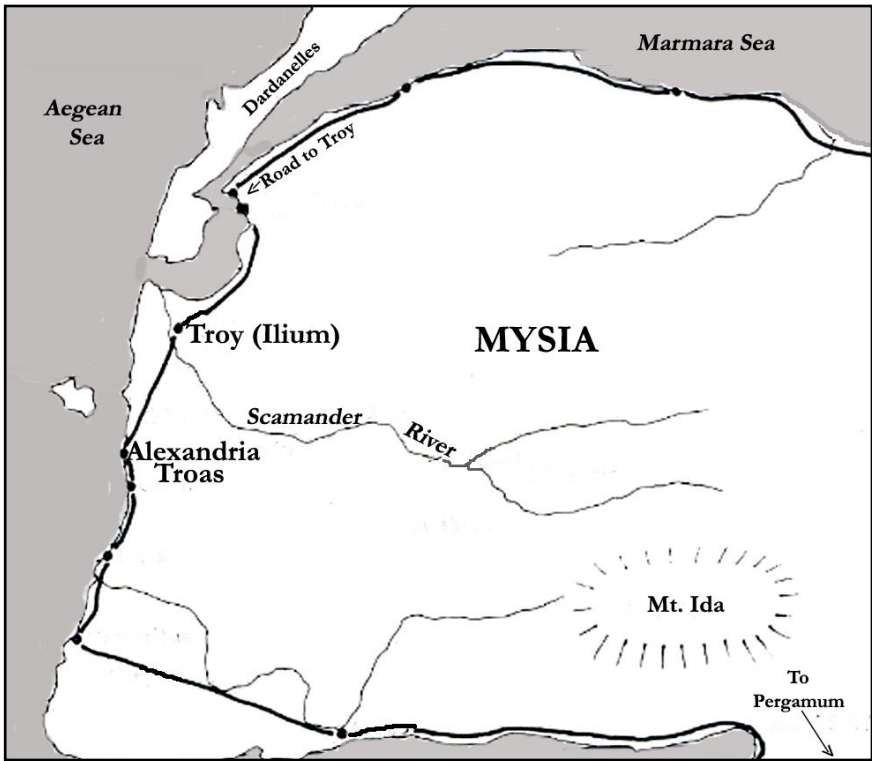
⁴⁹¹ The Greek text can be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, III (Cagnat and Lafaye ed.), 13 [#37]. Key phrase: ἡ πρώτη τῆς ἐπαρχίας πόλις κατὰ τὰ κτίματα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων. The SEG inscriptions (vol. XXVII, p. 207–08) are dedications to Hadrian on the architrave of the city gate and are more fleshed out than the IGR inscription.

⁴⁹² IK Iznik=Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia), edited by Sencir Şahin (1979, 1981–1982). The Greek text can be seen at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/277814?hs=109-132>). Key Greek: ἡ μητρόπολις δὲ κατὰ τὰ κτίματα τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου. Dio Chrysostom calls Dionysus the progenitor of Nicaea and Heracles its founder.

⁴⁹³ Pliny the Younger, *Letters* (Melmoth trans.), II, 325, 327 (with Greek). Friable=easily crumbled.

TROY

Troy and Alexandria Troas



Statue of Hadrian at Troy (left)
(Photo courtesy of Jona Lendering
at *Livius.org* ⁴⁹⁴)

⁴⁹⁴ Photo by Jona Lendering, at *Livius.org* (<https://www.livius.org/pictures/turkey/hisarlik-troy/troy-ix-hadrian/>), made available under the Creative Commons (CC0 1.0 Universal) license (<https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/legalcode>). This work has been modified by transforming from color to grayscale.

332 Hadrian Visits Troy [Spring, 124 C.E.]

(Philostratus of Athens, *On Heroes*)⁴⁹⁵

§8.1 He also said that upon his arrival at Troy the emperor Hadrian embraced and kissed some of the bones, wrapped them up, and restored the present tomb of Ajax.

333 Epigram Sometimes Attributed to Hadrian

(*Greek Anthology* IX.387=AP IX.387)⁴⁹⁶

IX.387 Hector of the race of Ares, if you hear wher'er you are under the ground, hail! and stay a little your sighs for your country. Ilion is inhabited, and is a famous city containing men inferior to you, but still lovers of war, while the Myrmidons have perished. Stand by his side and tell Achilles that all Thessaly is subject to the sons of Aeneas.

334 Herodes Atticus Petitions Hadrian to Help 'Troy' (Alexandria Troas)

(Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*)⁴⁹⁷

II.B' [2.3] [§548] This same Atticus was also distinguished for his lordly spirit. As an instance, at a time when Herodes was governor of the free cities in Asia, he observed that Troy was ill-supplied with baths, and that the inhabitants drew muddy water from their wells, and had to dig cisterns to catch rain water. Accordingly he wrote to the Emperor Hadrian to ask him not to allow an ancient city, conveniently near the sea, to perish from drought, but to give them three million drachmae to procure a water-supply, since he had already bestowed on mere villages many times that sum. The Emperor approved of the advice in the letter as in accordance with his own disposition, and appointed Herodes himself to take charge of the water-supply. But when the outlay had reached the sum of seven million drachmae, and the officials who governed Asia kept writing to the Emperor that it was a scandal that the tribute received from five hundred cities should be spent on the fountain of one city, the Emperor expressed his disapproval of this to Atticus, whereupon Atticus replied in the most lordly fashion in the world: "Do not, O Emperor, allow yourself to be irritated on account of so trifling a sum. For the amount spent in excess of the three millions I hereby present to my son, and my son will present it to the town."

⁴⁹⁵ Philostratus. *Flavius Philostratus, On Heroes* (Bradshaw Aitken and Berenson trans.), 11. The Greek text can be found in Philostratus. *Flavii Philostrati Opera* (Kayser ed.), II, 137. On the context of this text, see Borgeaud, "Trojan Excursions," 346–47.

⁴⁹⁶ *Greek Anthology* (Paton trans.), III, 217 (with facing Greek text); I have modernized the English (e.g., "you hear" for "thou hearest," "you are" for "thou art," "your" for "thy"). For an alternative translation, see Borgeaud, "Trojan Excursions," 347, where, with the Philostratus text in mind, he comments, "We may suspect that Hadrian, when he ordered the restoration of Ajax's tomb (an enemy of the Trojans and therefore potentially of Rome) was alert to this storehouse of memory, even as he managed to give it new meaning."

⁴⁹⁷ Greek text from Philostratus, *Flavii Philostrati Opera*, II, 57; English translation from Philostratus and Eunapius. *The Lives of the Sophists*, 143 (Wright's trans.).

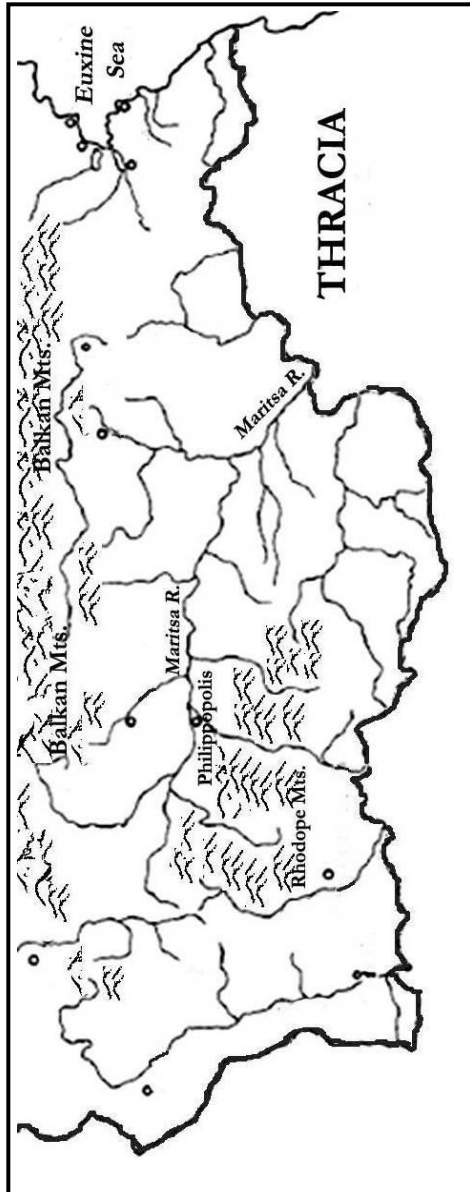
THRACE

335 Through Asia to Greece

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁴⁹⁸

13.1a After this Hadrian travelled by way of Asia and the islands to Greece. . . .

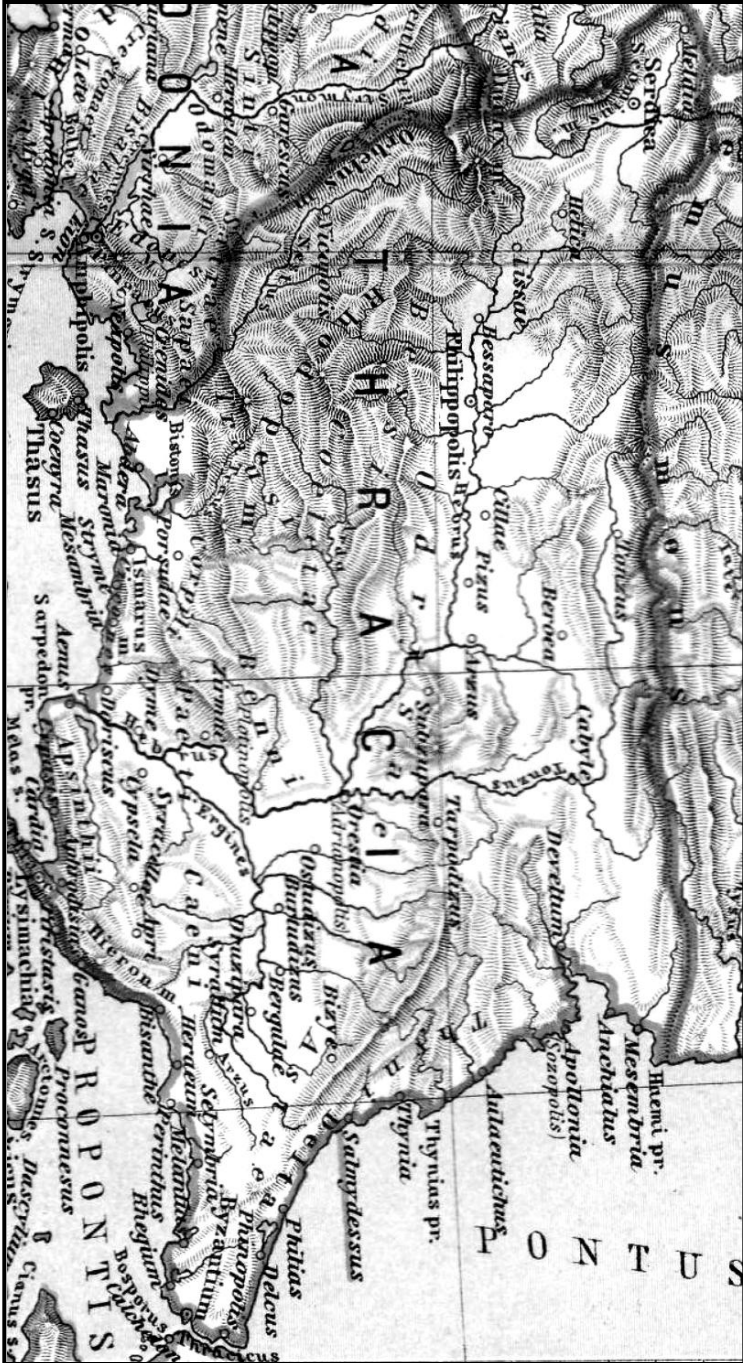
Thrace, Showing Philippopolis



⁴⁹⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic's trans.), I, 39. He crossed into Thrace.

Thrace

(Excerpted from Van Kampen et al., *Justus Perthes' Atlas Antiquus*, #10)



336 Quintus Tineius Rufus, [124 C.E.]

(Inscription in Thrace)

[CIL III, 14205-35]⁴⁹⁹

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 8th time, three times consul, for Quintus Tineius Rufus, propraetorian legate of the emperor.

337 Quintus Tineius Rufus, 2 [127 C.E.]

(Extract from an Inscription at Ostia, List of Consuls)

[*Fasti Ostiensis*, XXVI]⁵⁰⁰

[*ordinarius*] Titus Atilius Titianus, Marcus Glavius Squilla Gallicanus
[*suffectus*] On the Kalends of April, Publius Tullius Varro, _ Junius Paetus;
On the Kalends of May, Quintus Tineius Rufus, Marcus Licinius Nepos;
On the Kalends of October, Lucius Aemilius Juncus, Sextus Julius Severus.

338 Honoring the Memory of One of Hadrian's Cavalrymen

(Inscription on Funeral *Stele* at Philippopolis, Thrace)

[AE 2001.1751]⁵⁰¹

In memory of Marcus Ulpius Statius, a remarkable cavalryman of Augustus, Marcus Ulpius Silvanus, (his) brother and heir, undertook to have this constructed.

c49 Coin of Thrace (Copper, Hadrianopolis)

(Poole, *Catalogue of Greek Coins: The Tauric Chersonese*, 116;
cf. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, 1022)



OBVERSE: Bust of Herakles
(Hercules)

REVERSE: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΤΩΝ
(club, quiver, bow)

⁴⁹⁹ The Latin text can be found in Stein, *Römische Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia*, 14. Tineius (or Tinneius) Rufus, governor in Thrace in 124 C.E., later suffect consul (127 C.E.), is mostly remembered as the governor of Judea in the Bar Kokhba revolt (see later in this volume).

⁵⁰⁰ The Latin text can be found in Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses*, 21 [#XXVI]. The *Fasti Ostiensis* for the year list the consuls—both *ordinarius* and *suffectus*.

⁵⁰¹ For Latin text with brief discussion of this inscription, see Topalilov, “The Emperor and the City,” 24, who argues the inscription indicates a stay by Hadrian at Philippopolis. It seems both brothers were ‘cavalrymen’ (*equites singulares*; sing. *eques singularis*); attestation for Marcus Ulpius Silvanus is listed in a military diploma (CIL VI, 31141c.5), indicating a service period of 106–133 C.E. The ‘Marcus Ulpius’ for the brothers indicates it likely they received citizenship under (Marcus Ulpius) Trajan. The ‘cavalrymen of Augustus’ (*equites singulares Augusti*) were part of the Praetorian Guard always accompanying the emperor.

339 Honoring Hadrian at Philippopolis, Thracia

(Inscription on a Statue at Philippopolis, Thrace)⁵⁰²

[*IGBulg.* III, 1, 1046=*AE* 2005.1390=*SEG* LV.756]⁵⁰³

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, . . . *Gerousia*(?) . . .

Stadium at Philippopolis

(Courtesy of Ivelin Vraykov)⁵⁰⁴



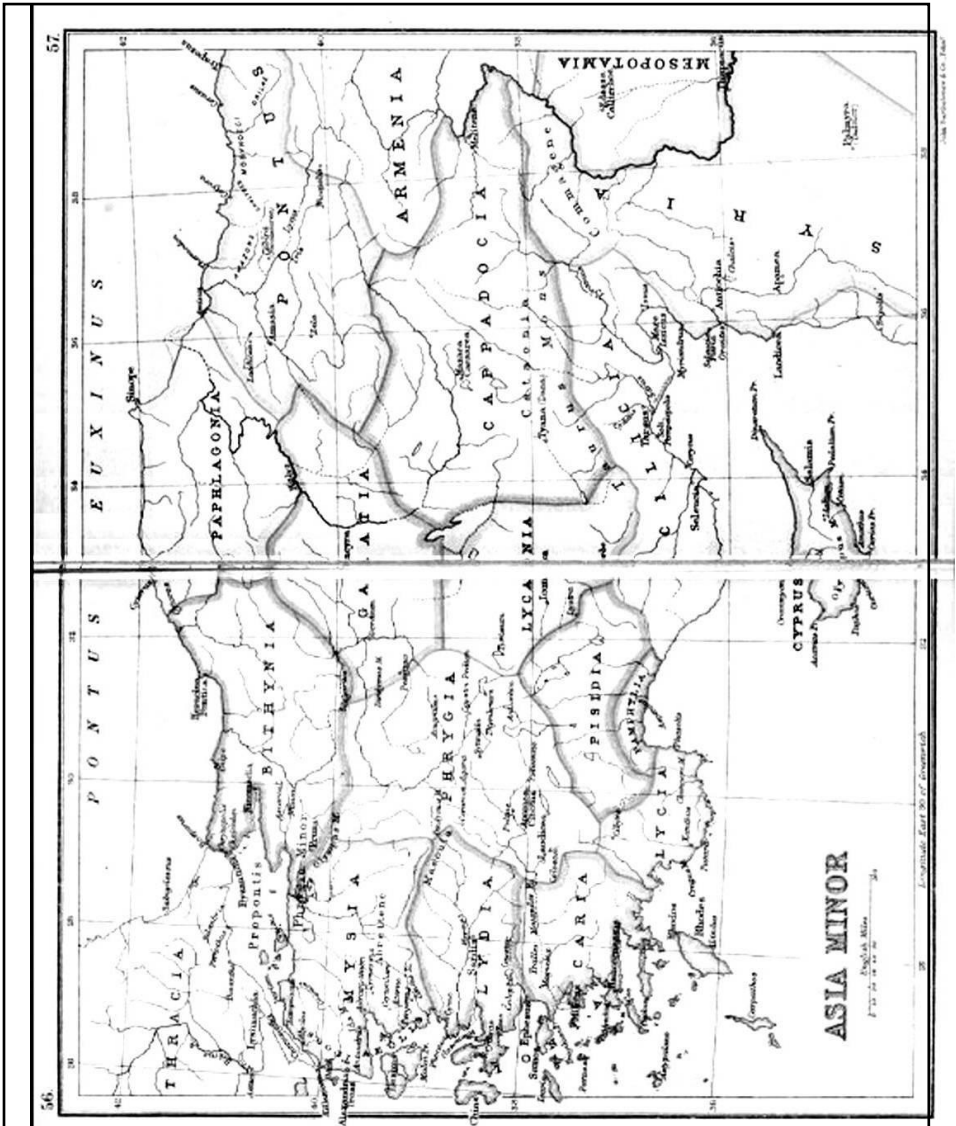
⁵⁰² For a review of the evidence linking Hadrian to Philippopolis, see Topalilov, “The Emperor and the City.” Topalilov, 25, calls attention to a major building campaign initiated early in Hadrian’s reign in the northern part of the agora, which was then serving as the administrative center of the city. A building housed the council, and another was apparently a library. Among buildings either constructed or renovated during this period were the agora, an aqueduct, a bath complex, and a stadium. Additionally, attention was paid to streets and an honorary arch was built. Topalilov, 26, notes that the aqueduct brought water from the Rhodopa mountains 13.6 miles (22 km) away. He is of the opinion the arch was dedicated to Hadrian. On the general topic, see Sharankov, “Statue-Bases with Honorific Inscriptions from Philippopolis.”

⁵⁰³ For Greek text with brief discussion of this inscription, see Topalilov, “The Emperor and the City,” 25. The Greek text can be found online at *EDCS* (*EDCS*-67300120). Sharankov, “Notes on Greek Inscriptions from Bulgaria,” 318, proposes that *IGBulg.* III, 1, 1046 be joined with 1047 to form one inscription.

⁵⁰⁴ The image was made available by Ivelin Vraykov (May 4, 2012) through Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported License (CC BY-SA-3.0) (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/legalcode>). The original picture has been transformed to grayscale and cropped. The stadium was built in Hadrian’s reign. It measures 820’ long (250m) by 160’ wide (50m). It could seat up to 30,000 people.

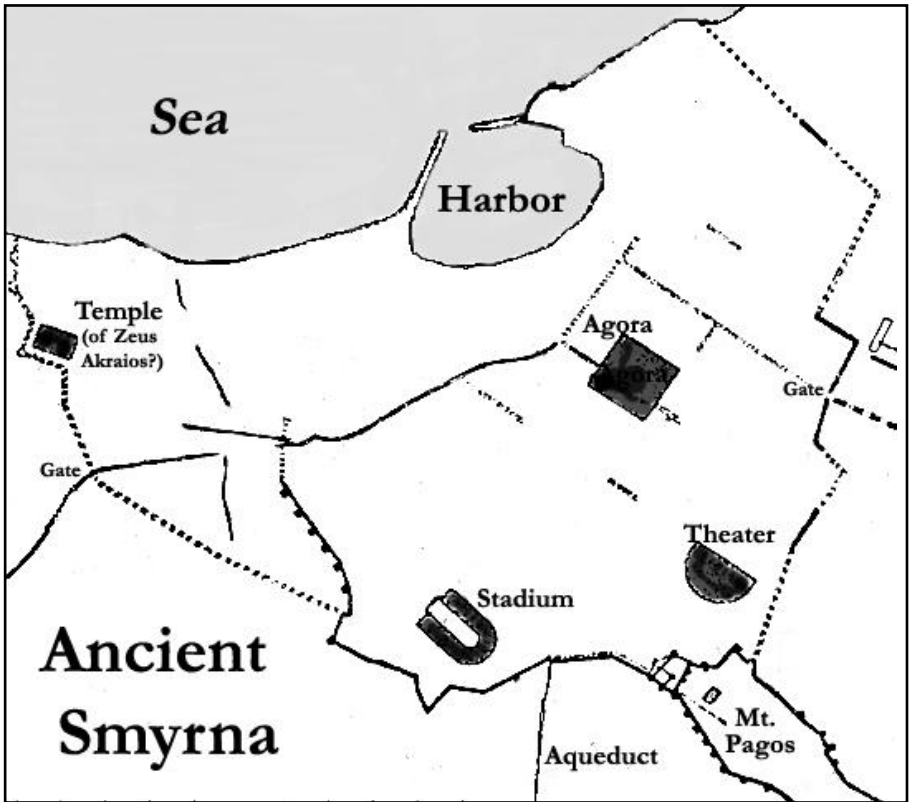
ASIA

Asia Minor, 1 (Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography)



SMYRNA

Smyrna, 1



Smyrna as Seen from the Acropolis of Mt. Pagos
(Balage Balogh | www.archaeologyillustrated.com⁵⁰⁵)



⁵⁰⁵ The site says, "License is granted for downloaded image for one time, single edition, world wide distribution for publication in print and digital media." The color image has had the color information removed (i.e., transformed to greyscale).

340 Description of Smyrna

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁰⁶

VII.5.1 Smyrna, one of the twelve Ionian cities, built on that site which even now they call the old city. . . . The modern city was founded by Alexander, the son of Philip, in accordance with a vision in a dream.

341 Sophist Polemo Travels with Hadrian [123 or 124 C.E.]

(Polemo, *Physiognomy*)⁵⁰⁷

[I.12^b] I accompanied the great king once and, while we were travelling with him from *Br'qb* to *Asyh*, and with the king were his armies and boats, that man mixed with them. We passed through many towns until we reached the sea. Then we sailed to *Bwn*, *Tsm's*, [I.13^a] and the lands of Lydia and Phrygia, and many places. Next we returned to *Asyh* through the two seas in the sea, and he went west to *Rwks*. Then he went in the ships to *'yns*, and by this route the ships of the sea began to catch up with the king. When we reached *Asyh*, and I went to see that man, there he was with his companions surrounding the king, bearing weapons. This was not on his part for the honour of the king nor out of strong attachment for him, but rather because he was seeking evil concerning him and had ill intentions that would not please the king. He had bad companions and he was their leader and teacher. While we were thus, with the king in a state of readiness and wanting to set out on the hunt, we were unable to speak with him. I and my friends sat down to converse, talking of the king and his weakness, and his remoteness from the blessed state which people say that he is in.



COIN OF SMYRNA.

*c*50 Coin of Smyrna
(Illustration from Smith,
*Dictionary of Greek and Roman
Geography*, II, 1017)

⁵⁰⁶ Pausanias, *Description of Greece* (Jones trans.), III, 193 (with Greek text, p. 192).

⁵⁰⁷ Hoyland, "A New Edition and Translation of the Leiden Polemon," 363 (and see text for Arabic). Cf. Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 186 (#147). The Greek original of Polemon's work is lost; it survives in an Arabic version. Swain, "Polemon's *Physiognomy*," 163–66, notes the Arabic names are not always certain as to their place referents, and if one follows Swain the following may plausibly be suggested: *'yns* is Athens; *Asyh* is Achaia; *Br'qb* is likely Thrāq; *Bwn* might be Ionia; *Tsm's* is uncertain (perhaps Sardis or Smyrna); *Rwks* seems to refer to Rhodes. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, 120–23, suggests the journey proceeded from 'a certain region' to Asia, and visited Ionia, another place whose name is uncertain, and parts of Lydia and Phrygia, then to Asia by way of islands (i.e., by sea), including Rhodes. Scholars variously assign this travelling of Hadrian and Polemo together to either 123 C.E. (e.g., Bowersock), or 124 C.E. (Birley, "Hadrian's Travels," 430 n. 24).

342 Polemo's Influence on Hadrian

(Philostratus of Athens, *Lives of the Sophists*)⁵⁰⁸

I.25 [531] Hadrian, at any rate, had hitherto favoured Ephesus, but Polemo⁵⁰⁹ so entirely converted him to the cause of Smyrna⁵¹⁰ that in one day he lavished a million drachmae on the city, and with this the corn-market was built, a gymnasium which was the most magnificent of all those in Asia, and a temple that can be seen from afar,⁵¹¹ the one on the promontory that seems to challenge Mimas.

343 Smyrna Acknowledges Hadrian's Benefactions through Polemo's Influence [c. 125 C.E.]

(Excerpt from a Dedicatory Inscription, or a Subscription List)

[*I.Smyrna* 697=*CIG* 3148=*SEG* XXXII.1203]⁵¹²

. . . and as much as we obtained from the Lord Caesar | Hadrian through Antonius Polemo: | a second decree of the Senate | through which we have become twice *neōkoroi*,⁵¹³ | a sacred contest, tax exemption, *theologoi*, | *hymnōdoi*, one million and five | hundred thousand, for the *aleiptērion* | 72 pillars from Synnada, 20 Numidian, 6 of porphyry.

[Also see material on Smyrna in chapter 8.]

⁵⁰⁸ Philostratus. *The Lives of the Sophists* (Wright's trans. in Loeb ed.), 109; also see pp. 107, 111. Greek text can be found in Philostratus, *Flavii Philostrati Opera*, II, 43. See *HLA* 15.10–13 on his rivalry with Favorinus.

⁵⁰⁹ For a brief introduction to him, see Boswell, "Marcus Antoninus Polemo," who notes (p. 289) that Polemo served as the city's ambassador to Hadrian in 118, 123–124, and 133 C.E.

⁵¹⁰ Smyrna—a city familiar to students of the New Testament—was not only an important center for the emerging Church, but was also a center for what is commonly called the Second Sophistic. See Dulk and Langford, "Polycarp and Polemo."

⁵¹¹ Burrell, "Temples of Hadrian, Not Zeus," 41, argues, "The temple for which Smyrna became neokoros was to Hadrian, not to Zeus. This is borne out not only by the hymnodoi 'of the god Hadrian,' where Zeus is not mentioned, but also by coins and inscriptions which henceforth call Smyrna 'twice neokoros of the Augusti,' specifically identify the temple of Hadrian among the three for which Smyrna was eventually neokoros, and show only an armored imperial figure as the cult image within the temple."

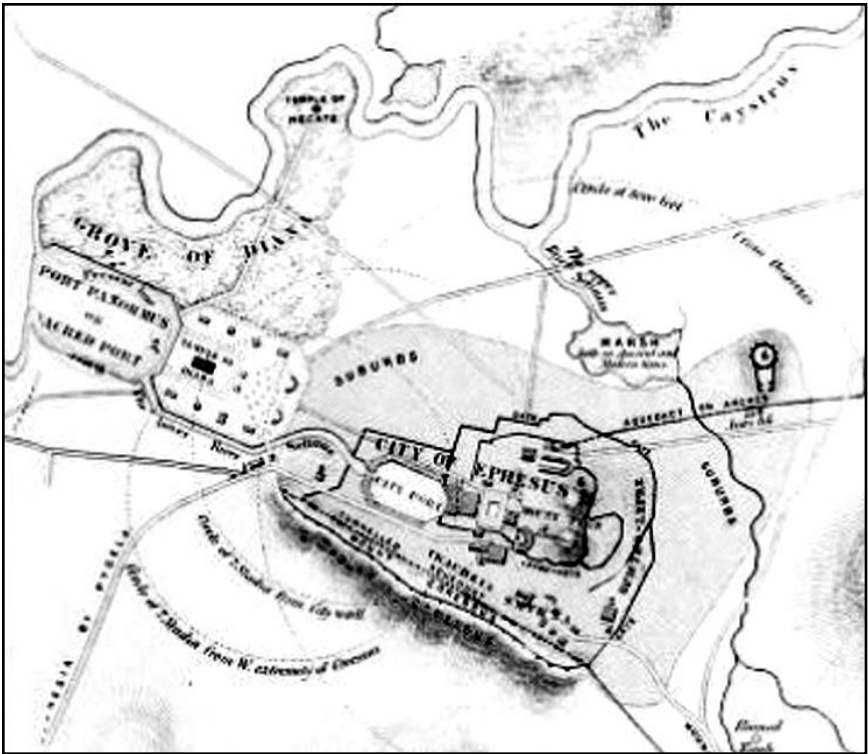
⁵¹² Hallmannsecker, "Heracles Hoplophylax, Iudaioi, and a Palm Grove," 110–11 (with Greek text); cf. the English translation in Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, 118–19 [#194] The inscription is much longer and the entire text, with translation, can be found in Hallmannsecker. He summarizes (p. 113): "Through the intervention of Antonius Polemo, Hadrian has not only given his approval to a *senatus consultum* awarding a second *neōkoria* to the city, but also granted a sacred *agōn*, exemption from taxes, *theologoi* and *hymnōdoi*, as well as a large amount of money and as many as 98 pillars of precious marbles and porphyry." The *neōkoroi* were cities accorded the coveted honor of recognition as having attained *neokorate*, i.e., the special dignity of a city that has honored the emperor with a temple and attending cultus and may henceforth refer to itself as a *neokoros*.

⁵¹³ *CIG* 3148, lines 33–39: καὶ ὅσα ἐπετύχομεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος Ἀδριανοῦ διὰ Ἀντωνίου Πολέμωνος, δεύτερον δογμα συνκλήτου, καθ' ὃ δις νεωκόροι γεγόναμεν. . . . Cf. online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/254946>).

EPHESUS

Ephesus, 1

(Extracted from Larger Map in Falkener, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana*, 1)



Ephesus

(Illustration from Falkener, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana*, 1)



SKETCH PLAN OF
EPHESUS

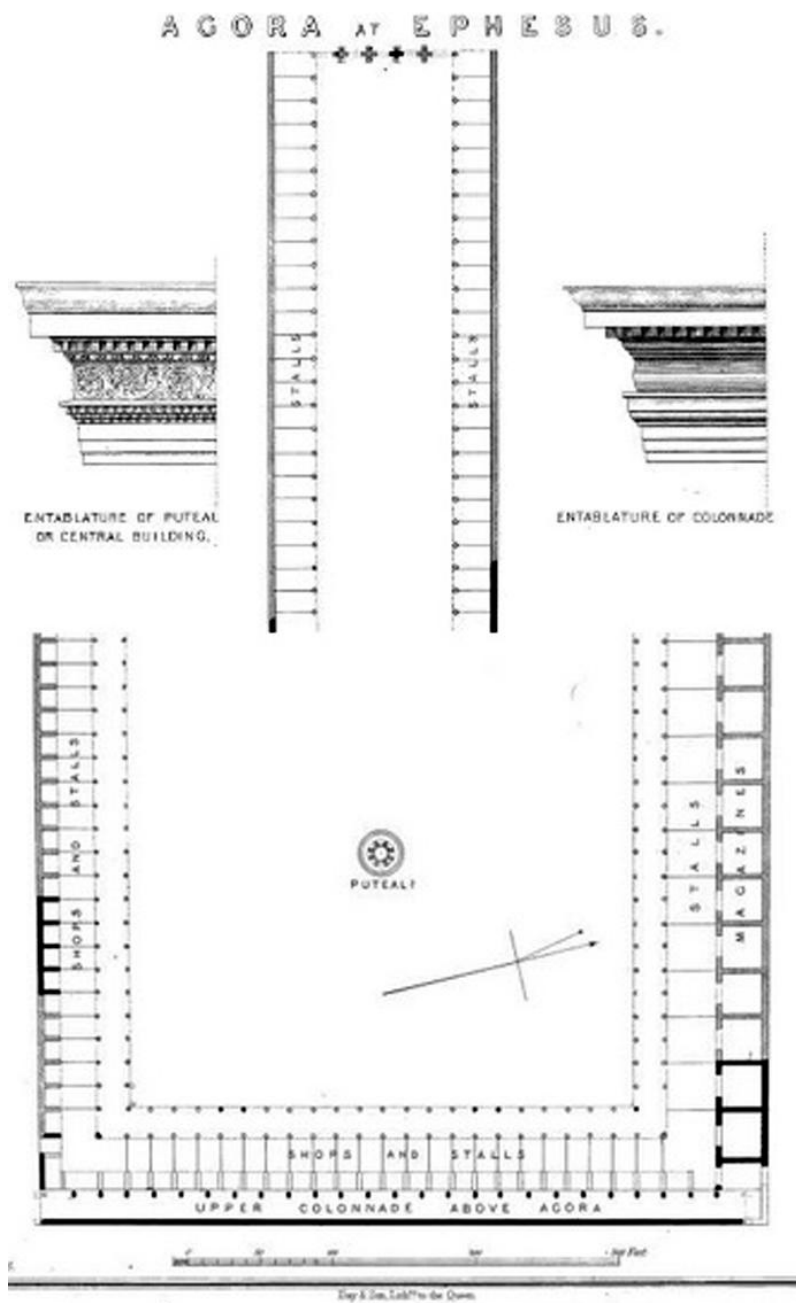
CORRECTED BY DIAGONAL BEARINGS AND MEASURED PLAN OF CENTRAL PORTION

1/4 MILE
1/2 MILE

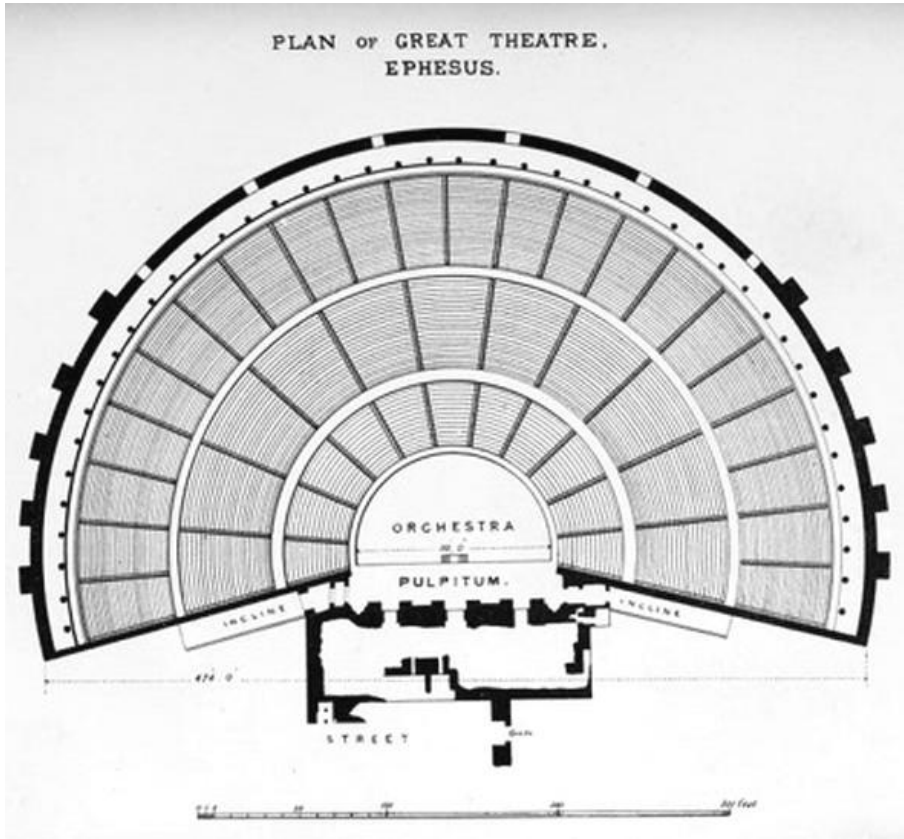
Water channel on

Sketch plan of the central portion of Ephesus, showing the city wall, major roads, and various buildings. The plan is oriented with North at the top. Key features include the 'CITY WALL' on the right, the 'ACADEMUS' and 'MUSEUM' in the center, and the 'SACRA VIA' running through the middle. The 'MOUNT OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE' is shown on the left. The plan is titled 'SKETCH PLAN OF EPHESUS' and 'CORRECTED BY DIAGONAL BEARINGS AND MEASURED PLAN OF CENTRAL PORTION'. A scale bar at the bottom right indicates '1/4 MILE' and '1/2 MILE'. A note at the bottom right says 'Water channel on'.

Plan of Agora of Ephesus
(Falkener, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana*, 68)



Plan of the Great Theater of Ephesus
(Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, 68)



344 To Hadrian

(Fragment of Honorary Inscription)

[*IEph* 271I]⁵¹⁴

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus.

⁵¹⁴ This fragment is like one of many found at Ephesus; cf. *IEph* 271C (Αὐτοκράτορα — θεοῦ Τρ]αϊαν[οῦ υἱόν,] | [— θεο]ῦ Νέρουα υἱ[γόν —]) or *IEph* 271G ([Αὐτοκράτ]ορα Καίσαρα | [Τρ]αϊαν]όν Ἀδριανόν | [—] Σεβαστὸν | [—].ος). Harland, “Honours and Worship,” 325, notes, “Setting up honorary inscriptions to the emperors was common convention in Ephesus. . . .” Harland, 329, also draws attention to the numerous inscriptions in Ephesus to Hadrian as ‘Zeus Olympios’—a designation explored elsewhere in this volume. Ephesus was especially associated with the Greek goddess Artemis (Roman Diana); see Immendörfer, *Ephesians and Artemis*, or Falkner, *Ephesus, and the Temple of Diana*. Online, see Jenott’s *Ancient Ephesus* (<https://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/cities/turkey/ephesus/ephesus.html>) for a visual introduction to the city.

345 Hadrian Visits Ephesus [124 C.E.(?)]

(Honorific Inscription on Marble, at Ephesus)

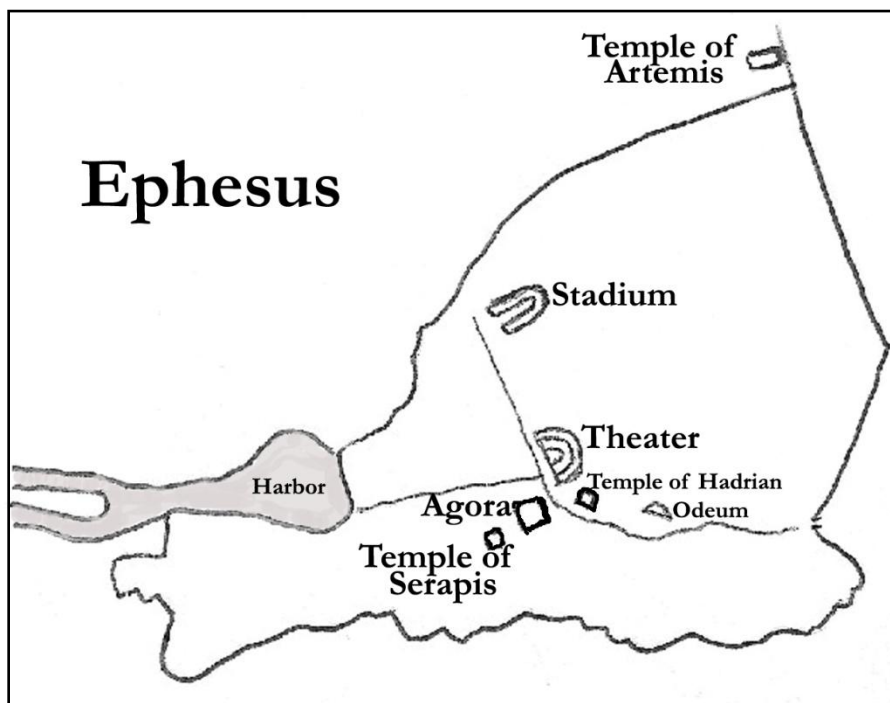
[SEG XVII.504=IEph 1145]⁵¹⁵

From *Gymnasiarch* Titus Flavius Potamon, friend to the nation and friend to the emperor. When the Lord Emperor Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus was present in the city, the *ephebes* sang hymns in the theater, which the emperor listened to, at the time of the priesthood of Julius(?) Severus, son of the senate, who also . . . and performed the sacred duties wearing gold [when] the sacrifice was made in the Temple of Artemis for the Augustus(?) in the city and (he heard) the *epheban* players. *vacat*

Nearchos Tiberius Claudius Trophimos, friend of Augustus, admirable (*paradoxos*), . . . son(?)

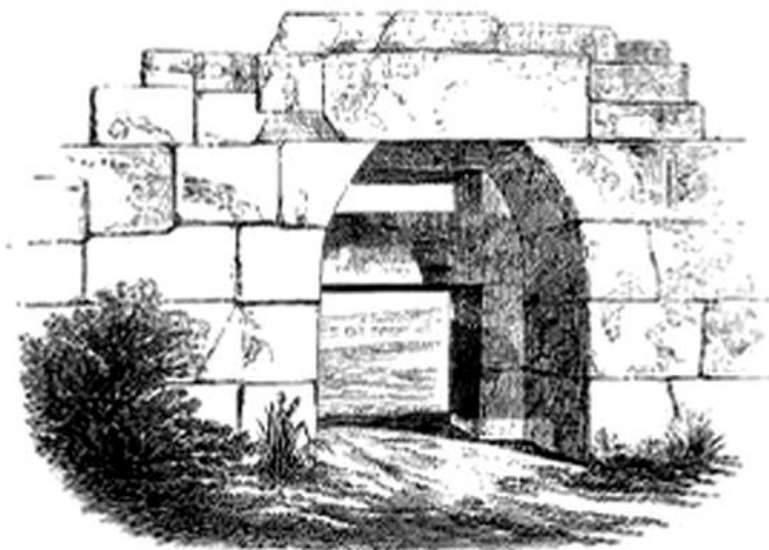
Tiberius Claudius Aristion the younger, overseer of the *ephebes* Cusonius(?) Epigonos.

Ephesus, 3



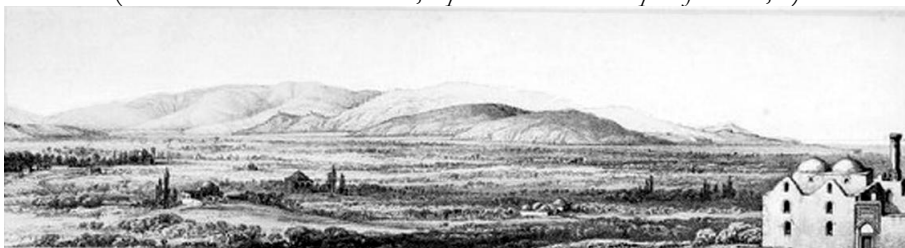
⁵¹⁵ The text of IEph 1145 (*Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, IV, #1145.) can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/248315>). The *Gymnasiarch* was the city magistrate who superintended athletic schools and public sporting events. *Ephebes* refers to male Greek youths. The Greek term *paradoxos*—"admirable" here—was applied as a title to extraordinary performers.

City Wall and Gate at Ephesus
(Falkener, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana*, 115)



From W. J. Hamilton's "Asia Minor."

Mt. Pion and Mt. Coressus, Near Ephesus
(Illustration from Falkener, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana*, 1)



View of Ephesus from Mount Coressus
(Illustration from Falkener, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana*, 1)



346 A Letter to the Gerousia of Ephesus [120 C.E.]

(Letter Inscribed on Marble at Ephesus)

[*IEph* 1486= *Syll.*³ 833]⁵¹⁶

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the fourth time, consul three times, to the *Gerousia* of the Ephesians: Greetings.

The most excellent Mettius Modestus did well when he dispensed justice to you in this decision; but since you showed that many persons appropriate your monies by acquiring the properties of persons who have borrowed from you, and by saying that they are not the heirs, but that these persons are debtors to them, I have sent the copy of your resolution to Cornelius Priscus, the most excellent proconsul, that if there should be such a situation he shall appoint someone who both shall decide the controversial matters and shall exact everything, as much as may be due to the *Gerousia*.

The ambassador was Cascellius Ponticus, to whom the travel allowance shall be given, unless he undertook to serve as envoy at his own expense.

Prosper!

September 27. Publius Rutilius Bassus, scribe.



FIG. 37. — EPHÈSE (HADRIEN).

c51 Coin of Ephesus. 1

(Gusman, *La villa impériale de Tibur*, 9

[#37])

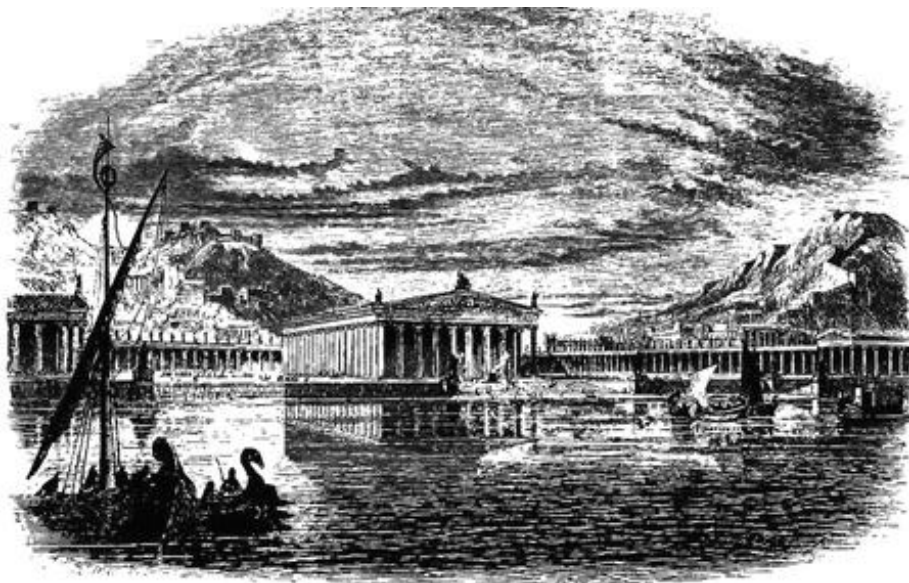
c52 Coin of Ephesus, 2

Reverse Showing the Temple of Artemis (Diana)
(Wood, *Modern Discoveries on the Site of Ancient Ephesus*, 75)

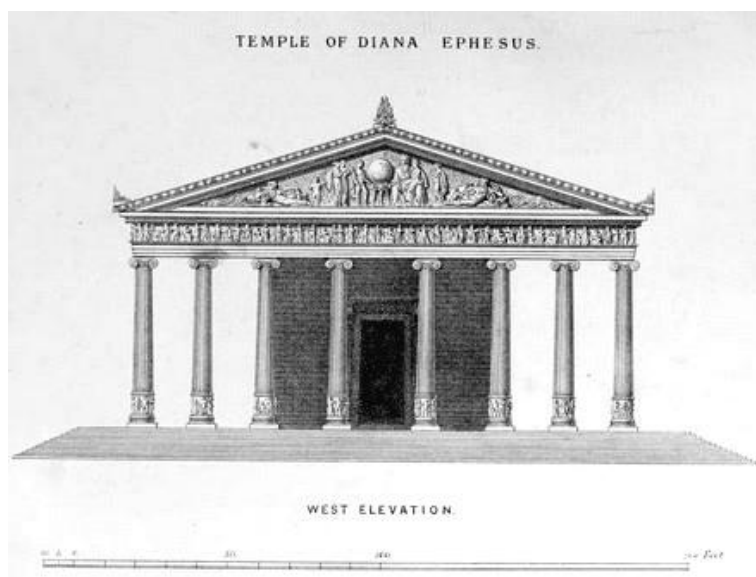


⁵¹⁶ I follow Johnson, Coleman-Norton, and Bourne, *Ancient Roman Statutes*, 180 [#237], with modifications, especially in preferring *Gerousia* to their “Senate”; see Bekker-Nielsen, *Urban Life*, 79: “Though Greek writers sometimes use *gerousia* as a gloss for *senatus*, the *gerousia* of a provincial city is in no way comparable to the senate of Rome.” See Bailey, “The *Gerousia* of Ephesus.”

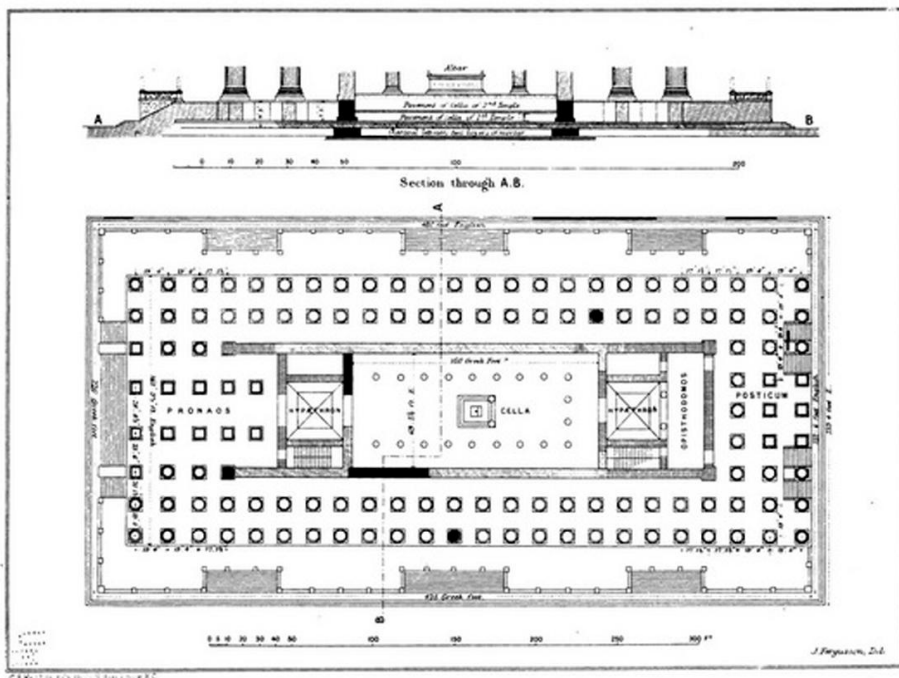
Temple of Artemis (Diana), 1
(Falkener, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana*, 189)



Temple of Artemis (Diana), 2
(Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, 268)

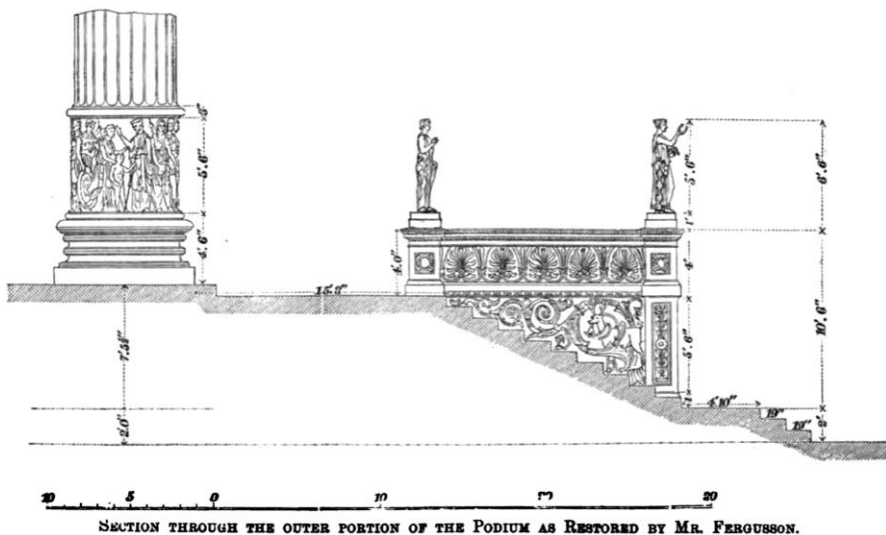


Plan of the Temple of Artemis (Diana)
(Fergusson, *The Temple of Diana at Ephesus*, endpiece)



PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF DIANA AT EPHESUS.

Temple of Artemis (Diana): Cross-section Detail
(Fergusson, *The Temple of Diana at Ephesus*, 13)



SECTION THROUGH THE OUTER PORTION OF THE PODIUM AS RESTORED BY MR. FERGUSSON.

347 Temple of Hadrian

(Inscription of Dedication at Temple of Hadrian at Ephesus)

[IEph 429]⁵¹⁷

For Artemis of the Ephesians (*Artemis Ephesia*) and for Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus and to the *demos* of Ephesus *neokoros*, by Publius Quintillius, son of Publius, of the tribe Galeria, . . .with . . . wife, and daughter Varilla, set up this temple from its foundation with all the things in it and its cult image by their own means, dedicated at the time of proconsul Servaeus Innocens, and when the *grammateus* of the Demē a second time, Marcus Claudius Publius Vedius Antoninus, was *Asiarch*; as promised when Tiberius Claudius Luceianus was *grammateus* of the Demē.

Temple of Hadrian at Ephesus

(Photo courtesy of Carole Raddato⁵¹⁸)



⁵¹⁷ The Greek text can be found in *Inscriptions of Ephesus* (*I Eph* [or *IE*]) 429; also in Bowie, “The ‘Temple of Hadrian’ at Ephesus,” 137, with discussion. Also see, for the text, a translation, and commentary, Kalinowski, “Patterns of Patronage,” 87–88. The text also can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/248000>). The Greek ἀνέθηκεν (*anetheken*), “set up” or “dedicated,” is in my rendering translated twice even though it only appears once, in order to convey the entire sense of the word in context here. Dmitriev, “The *neokorai* of Ephesus,” 529, in discussing the *Neokori* (lit. “temple wardens”), observes, “The word *neokoria* designated both specific instances of establishing such cults and, in a general sense, the practice itself.” In the Roman empire a city like Ephesus could achieve recognition as a *Neokorate* (or *neochorate*) by building temples for the imperial cultus (i.e., the worship of the emperor as divine); see Immendörfer, *Ephesians and Artemis*, 105, 108. A *grammateus* (“secretary”) was a high public official of the district (*Demē*). Quintilia Varilla was a priestess of Artemis.

⁵¹⁸ The photo, taken in April, 2015, is found at *Following Hadrian* (<https://followinghadrian.com/2015/05/04/the-temple-of-hadrian-at-ephesus-ionia-turkey/>) and made available by Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>). The photo embedded information is 17108924436_083efde0e3_h.webp. The original photo was in color. The Temple measures some 10 x 10 meters.

348 To Athena Ergane and Hadrian

(Inscription of Dedication to Athena Ergane and Hadrian)

[*IEph* 1260]⁵¹⁹

To Athena Ergane and Emperor Caesar Hadrian

349 For Hadrian, by Ephesus [c. 118 C.E.]

(Honorary Inscription by Council and People of Ephesus)

[*IEph* 4333=SEG IV.532]⁵²⁰

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the second time. The friends of Augustus, the Council of Ephesus, and the *neokorate demos* established this when Galeo Tettienus Severus Tiberius Caepio Hispo was proconsul.

A Council Meets

(Clement, *The Eternal City*, I, 413)



⁵¹⁹ *Athena Ergane* (“Ergane”=“the one who works”) was the patron goddess of artisans and crafts people.

⁵²⁰ Caepio Hispo (suffect consul c. 101 C.E.) was proconsul of Asia province 118/119 C.E.

350 To Hadrian from the Initiates of Dionysius

(Honorary Inscription on Altar of White Marble)

[IEph 275=AE 1975.800=SEG XXVI.1272]⁵²¹

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, three times consul. The initiates before the city (*hoi mystai pro poleōs*) with Hadrian enthroned with Dionysus, when Claudius Romulus was priest, Claudius Eubios was *hierophant*, and Antonius Drosus was manager. Established from their own means by Theodotus, son of Proklion, *mystagōgos*, with his children, Proklos the *hymnōdos*, and Athenodorus.

351 The Library of Celsus

(Fragmentary Inscription of a Letter(?) to the Council of Ephesus)

[IEph 5114]⁵²²

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, to the Council: Greeting . . . all . . . and . . . the most other(?) . . . the . . . library Julius Aquila . . .

The Library of Celsus

(Robinson, “Pergamum and Ephesus,”
158)



Figure 15.—Restoration of the interior of the Library of Celsus. (After Niemann.)

⁵²¹ The Greek text is available online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/248718?bookid=490&location=1688>); for both text and another English translation, see Philip Harland's *Associations in the Greco-Roman World* (<http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/168-honors-by-initiates-of-the-god-dionysos-for-emperor-hadrian/>). On the initiates (*mystai*) of Dionysus (οἱ πρὸ πόλεως μύσται), see the entry by Benedikt Eckhardt at *Inventory of Ancient Associations* (<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/1619>). About this voluntary association, Rogers, “An Ephesian Tale,” 74, writes, “The association included a priest of Dionysus (IEph 2.275, l. 8), a hierophant (IEph 2.275, ll. 9–10), an *epimeletes* (a manager [IEph 2.275, ll. 10–11]), a *mystagōgos* (a leader of initiates [IEph 2.275, ll. 8, 13]), and a *hymnōdos* (a choral singer [IEph 2.275, ll. 14]).” The *hierophant* was the interpreter of the mysteries.

⁵²² Not much can be translated here beyond the opening formulaic material one can presume. The large library, built by G. Julius Aquila in memory of his father, Tib. Julius Celsus Polemeanus, was finished in Hadrian's reign. The Greek text can be seen online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/247896?hs=201-211>). A library given by Flavia Mitilene within the precinct for the Temple of Asclepius in Pergamon was also dedicated to Hadrian; see Ross, “Galen,” 681.

THE EAST—NOTICES IN OTHER PLACES

352 Syros, an Island of the Cyclades, Aegean Sea [119 C.E.]

(Inscription)

[IG XII⁵ 674]⁵²³

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, Consul three times, by the citizens (of Syros).

353 Pergamon (Pergamum) in Mysia: Hadrian, Ruler of Land and Sea

[120/121 C.E.]

(Inscription at Pergamon)

[IvP II, 397]⁵²⁴

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 4th time, three times Consul, ruler of land and sea; the council (*boulê*) and citizens (*dêmos*) of twice *neokorate* Pergamon, under the charge of Julius Ailianus Apollonius, Ailius Theodotus, — Ailianus Laibius, Ailius . . . Glukōnos Juilianus, chief magistrates (*stratēgoi*).

354 Knidos in Caria [123/124 C.E.]

(Inscription on White Marble Statue Base on a Terrace

Overlooking the Lower Theater at Knidos)⁵²⁵

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus.

355 Organization of a Festival in Lycia [124/125 C.E.]

(Excerpt from Inscription at Oenoanda, Lycia)

[SEG XXXVIII.1462]⁵²⁶

I. The Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of the god Trajan Parthicus and grandson of the god Nerva Germanicus, pontifex maximus, with tribunician power for the eighth time, consul for the third time, greets the magistrates, council and people of the Termessians. I praise Iulus Demosthenes for the patriotic zeal (*philotimia*) he has shown to you, and I confirm the musical competition which he has promised to you.

⁵²³ The Greek text can be seen at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/77913?hs=147-158>).

⁵²⁴ IvP=*Inscriptions of Pergamon*. The Greek text also may be seen online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/302058?hs=133-146>). Also see ch. 8 for Pergamon.

⁵²⁵ The Greek text can be seen in Herschfeld, *Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Part IV*, 16. The notation accompanying it reads, “This inscription is a relic of the visit of the Emperor Hadrian to Knidos. . . . [I]t refers apparently to the Emperor’s first great journey during the years 123 and 124 A.D., when he touched at the neighboring towns of Karia.”

⁵²⁶ Mitchell, “Festivals, Games, and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor [Review],” 183. The Greek text can be found in Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, 4; also see *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 38 (1988); see Pleket and Stroud, “SEG 38-1462. Oinoanda. Documents concerning the foundation of C. Iulius Demosthenes, 124–125/126 A.D.”

356 Cos (Kos), City and Island in the South Aegean Sea

(Honorific Inscription on White Marble)

[IG XII⁴ 2:900]⁵²⁷

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the ___th time, consul for the fourth time.

357 Cyprus

(Inscription on White Marble at Salamis, Cyprus)

[#983]⁵²⁸

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian, by the city of Salamis of Cyprus, (he being) savior of the same metropolis.

358 Delos, an Island of the Cyclades, Aegean Sea

(Inscription)

[*Inscriptions of Delos*—ID 1598]⁵²⁹

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus *Olympios*, savior and benefactor...

359 Magnesia in Ionia: Warmth toward Hadrian

(Excerpt from a Decree of the Elders' Association of Magnesia)

[*Ins. Magn.* 116]⁵³⁰

[I]n the blessed time of the Emperor Hadrian it is fitting to increase more abundantly all that is serviceable to men.

360 Thera, City and Island in the South Aegean Sea

(Inscription)

[IG XII³ 476]⁵³¹

For Emperor Caesar Augustus Trajan Hadrian Augustus, the benefactor of Philemon.

⁵²⁷ The Greek text may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/350473?hs=133-145>). Cos (Greek Κῶς) was technically part of the province of Asia Minor, but enjoyed relative autonomy.

⁵²⁸ The Greek text can be found in Marshall, *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Part IV, Section 2*, 137. Salamis had enjoyed favor under Trajan and continued to do so under Hadrian, who was especially instrumental in repair efforts after the Jewish Diaspora revolt of 115–116 C.E.

⁵²⁹ The Greek text may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/64035?hs=73-88>). The island was famed as the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis. The city of Delos became an important trading port and center of the slave trade in the 1st century B.C.E. Although both city and island fell into a sad state after invading forces in 88 and 69 B.C.E., Hadrian attempted to promote the sacred status of Delos.

⁵³⁰ Magic, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, I, 623. The Greek text can be found in *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Meander*, 104 [#116, lines 6–8]. *Magnesia ad Maeandrum* was a city of Ionia on the Meander River, some 12 miles (19 km) southeast of Ephesus. It was especially noted for its temple to Artemis Leukophryene.

⁵³¹ The Greek text may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/76000?hs=96-107>). Thera is the southernmost island of the Cyclades.

GREECE

Greece

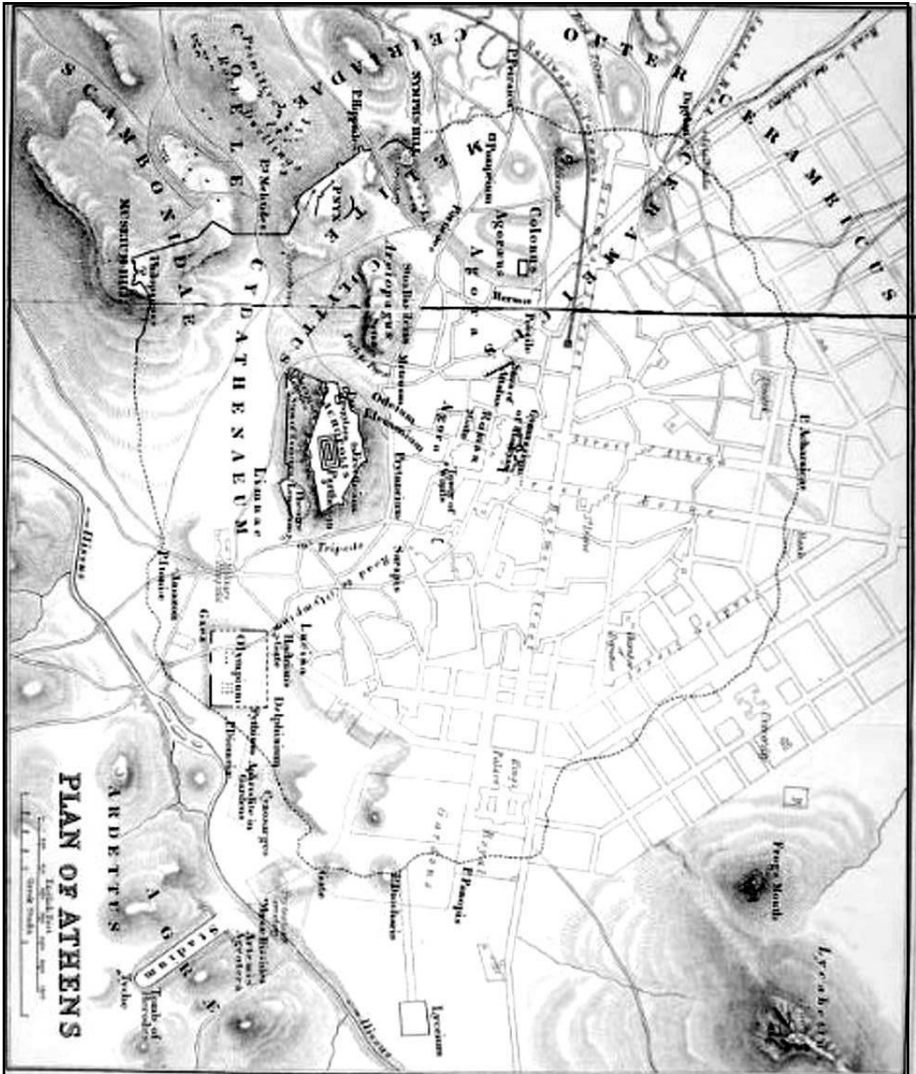
(The Cambridge Ancient History, XI, 554)



ATHENS

Athens, 1

(*Ancient Athens: Its History, Topography and Remains*, 87)⁵³²



⁵³² Syme, “Ministers of the Caesars,” 540, notes Hadrian’s ability to fulfil his personal interests without jeopardizing his political capital when he remarks, “As emperor, Hadrian went on to establish Athens as the metropolitan seat of a religion: the culture of Hellas. At the same time, he yielded to restraint at Rome: not many eastern senators.”

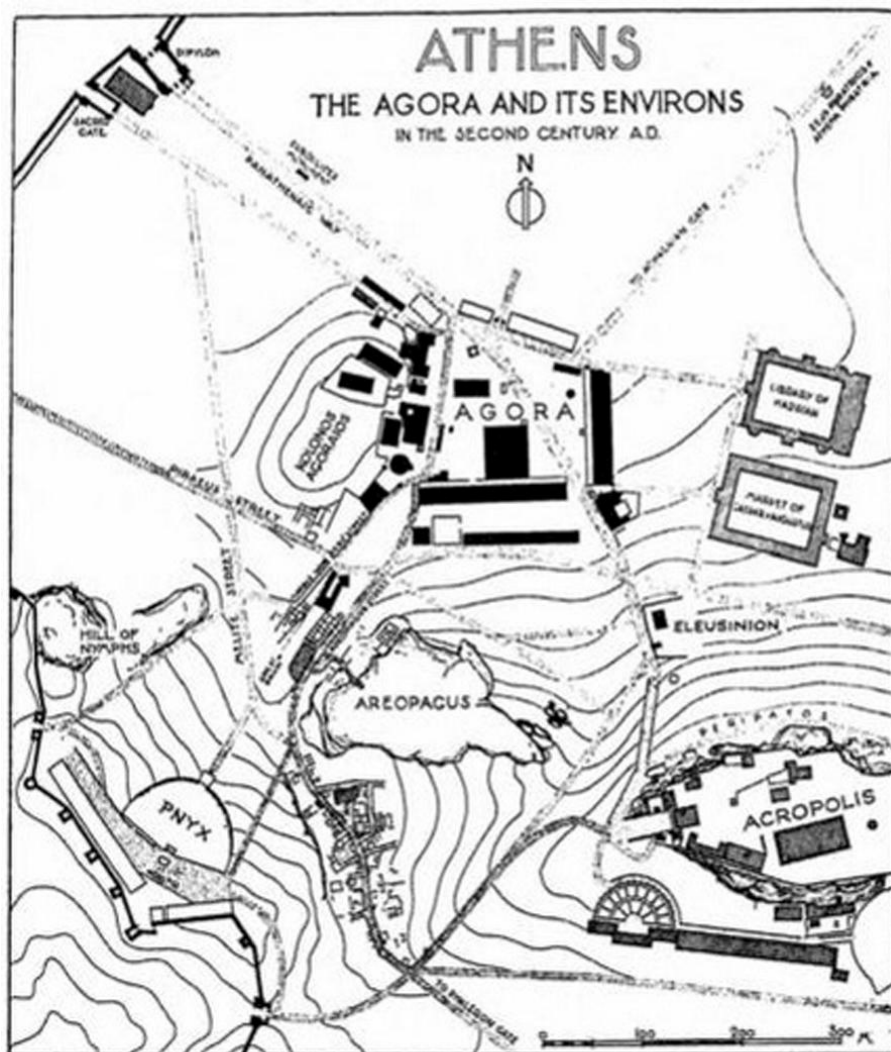
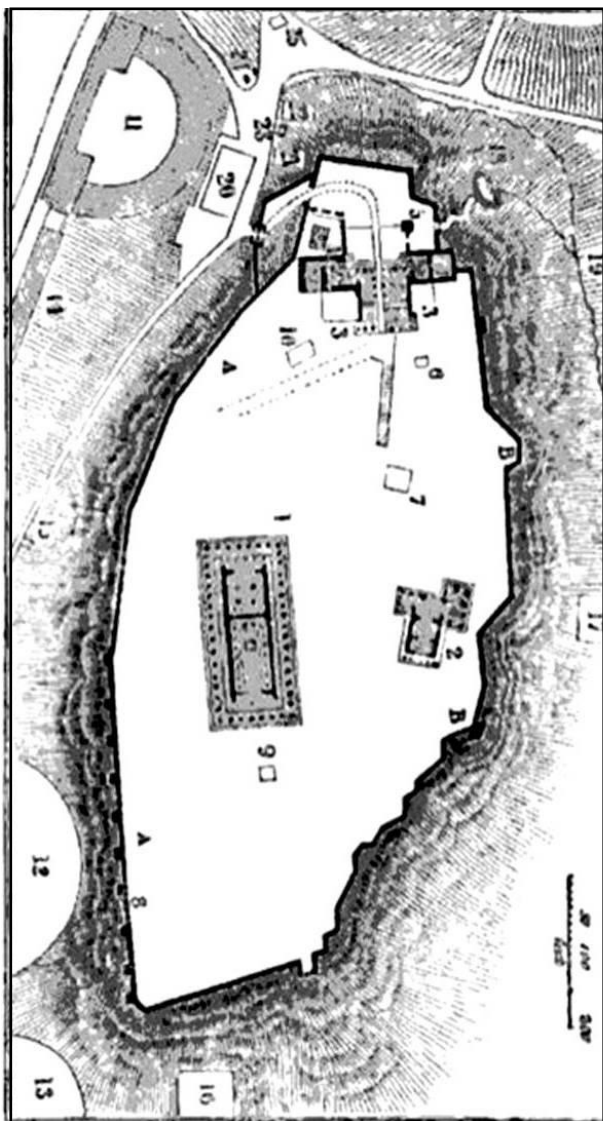


Fig. 2. The Agora and its Environs in the Second Century A.D.

GROUND PLAN OF THE ACROPOLIS AND THE IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURHOOD.			
A. Southern or Cimolian Wall. B. Northern or Pelagic Wall.	1. Parthenon.	8. Pedestal of the Statue of Agrippa.	11. Odeum of Herodes or Regilla.
	2. Erechtheum.	6. Quadriga.	12. Dionysiac Theatre.
	3. Propylaea.	7. Statue of Athena Promachus.	13. Odeum of Pericles.
	4. Temple of Nike Aptero: beneath Temple of Ge Carotrophus and Demeter Chloë.	8. Gigantomachia.	14. Stoa Eumeneia.
		9. Temple of Rome and Augustus.	15. Grave of Talus or Calus.
		10. Temple of Artemis Brauronia.	16. Eleusinion.
			17. Asclepium.
			18. Grotto of Pan.
			19. Pelasgicum.
			20. Asclepium.
			21. Temple of Aphrodite Paphlagonia.
			22. Temple of Thymis.
			23. Grave of Hippolytus.
			24. Statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton.
			25. Altar of the Twelve Gods.



Athens, 1
(Adams, *Temples, Tombs, and Monuments*, 14)



Ancient Athens (Restored).



*c53 Commemorative Coin of Hadrian's
Travels in Greece*

(Dury, *History of Rome and the Roman People*,
V, 2, 39)

(A bronze coin with Hadrian depicted as
naked Mercury (Greek Hermes), holding the
caduceus (the herald's wand).

Athens, 2
(Adams, *Temples, Tombs, and Monuments*, 18)



Inner Wall of Athens (Restored).

c54 Coin of Athens (Clement, *The Eternal City*, I, 422)



COIN OF ATHENS.

Athens, 3
(Adams, *Temples, Tombs, and Monuments*, 28)



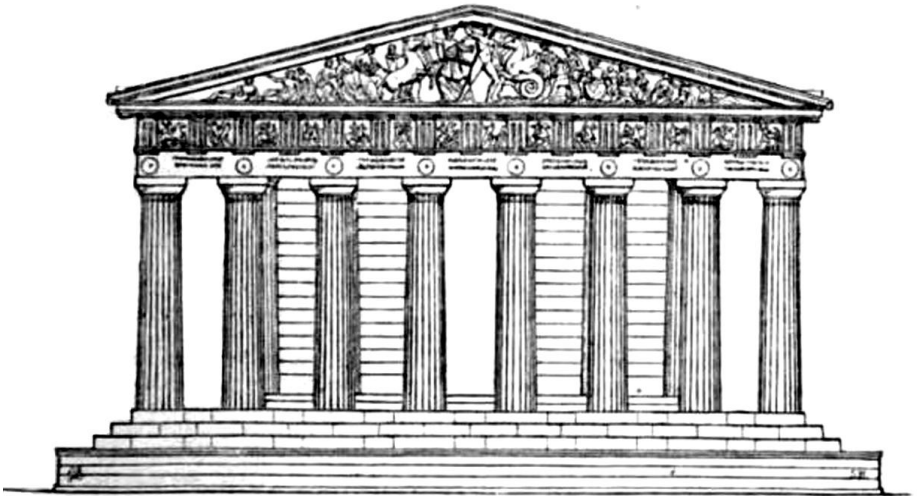
The Acropolis at Athens.

The Parthenon (Temple to Athena), 1
(Adams, *Temples, Tombs, and Monuments*, 38)

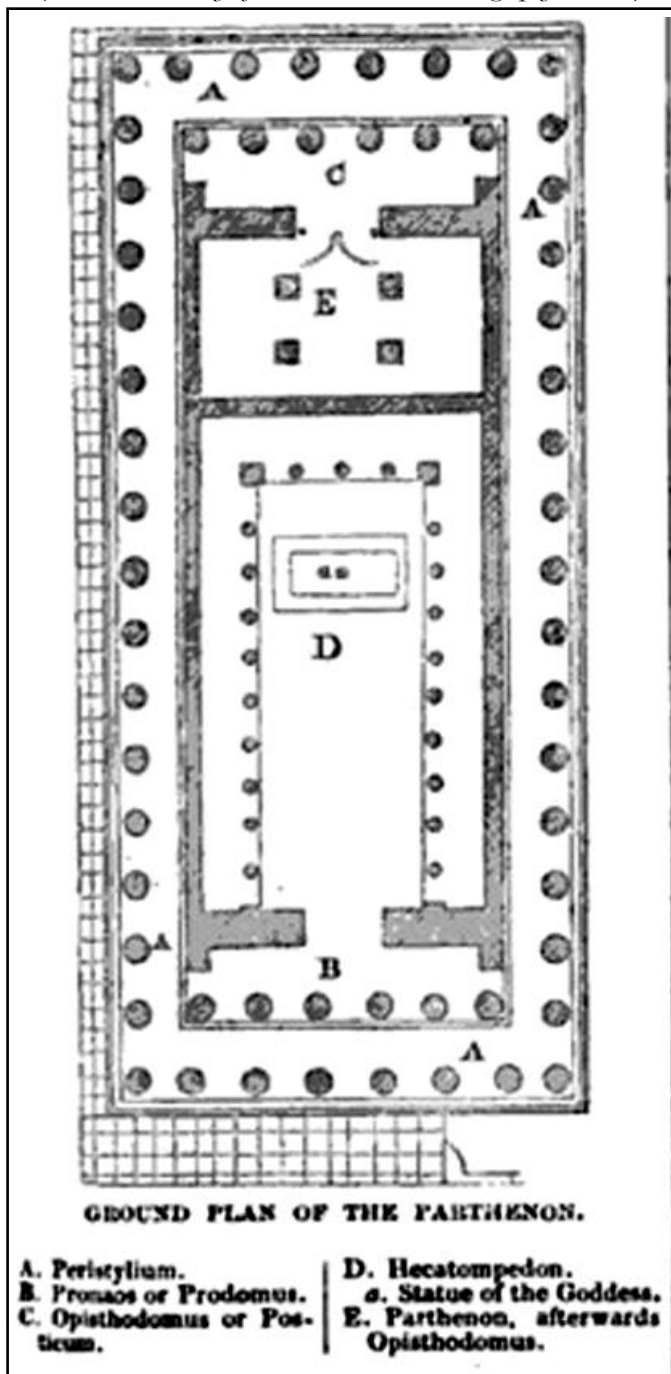


The Parthenon.

The Parthenon (Temple to Athena), 2
(Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, 271)



THE PARTHENON RESTORED.





THEATRE OF DIONYSUS, FROM A VASE.

361 Hadrian Honored in the Theater of Dionysus

(Inscription on Statue Base at Theater of Dionysus, Athens)

[IG II² 3287A]⁵³³

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, arranged by the council of the Aeropagus (*Arion pagou*) and the council of 600 and the citizens of the tribe of Erechtheus.

362 Hadrian Presides as Agonothetes

(Master of Ceremonies) at the Great Dionysus Festival [Mar., 125 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)⁵³⁴

LXIX.16.1b He also presided at the Dionysia, first assuming the highest office among the Athenians, and arrayed in the local costume, carried it through brilliantly.

⁵³³ The Greek text may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/5557?bookid=5&location=7>). N.B.: there is an overbar on the X. This is one of four such inscriptions on statue bases at the theater; see IG II² 3287B, 3287C, 3287D. Brief records of all four are in Hoyle, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases*, 429–30 [¶s 188–191], who specifies in Greek the dedicant of each, which varies only in the tribe named: Erechtheus (3287A), Acamantis (3287B), Oeneis (3287C) and [missing name] (3287D).

⁵³⁴ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 453.

363 A Story: Hadrian Meets Secundus the Silent Philosopher

(Unknown, *Life of Secundus*)⁵³⁵

Now, about this time, the Emperor Hadrian, having arrived at Athens, heard about Secundus—for nothing good ever escaped his attention—and had him sent for. When Secundus entered, Hadrian, wishing to test whether he really practiced silence, rose up first and greeted him. But, indeed—Secundus kept his customary silence.

Hadrian said to him, “Speak, philosopher, so we might learn of you, for it is not possible, should you keep silent, to know your wisdom.”

But Secundus answered him nothing.

And so Hadrian said to him, “Secundus, when you came before me you did well to stay silent, for you had no one so worthy as a listener, or able to stand before your words. But now I am here, and I expect it: Speak. Present your reason for virtue.”

But Secundus was neither shamed, nor afraid of the Emperor.

Indignant, Hadrian said to a certain tribune, “Make him speak to us.”

The tribune, telling it like it is, said, “You are more likely to persuade lions, panthers and other wild beasts to speak like people than a philosopher to do so against his will.”

[**Special note 1:** Hadrian then orders a Greek executioner to take Secundus away, but privately tells the executioner to only carry out his order if he persuades Secundus to speak after promising his life will be spared if he does so. The executioner does his best to persuade Secundus he will be spared if only he speaks, but Secundus refuses to do so. The executioner then returns Secundus to the presence of the Emperor and tells him what has transpired.]

364 Hadrian’s Response to Secundus’ Resolve

(Unknown, *Life of Secundus*)⁵³⁶

When (the Caesar) heard this he was greatly amazed at the man’s perseverance. Much astounded at him, he said: “O philosopher, if you, who have imposed this law of silence on yourself, have kept it right to the point of death, then I, who am king, with the power to kill and keep alive, to lay down law and to abrogate it, shall not achieve my will.”

⁵³⁵ For an alternate translation see Perry, *Secundus, The Silent Philosopher*, 71, 73. The Greek text can be found in *Opuscula Graecorum veterum sententiosa et moralia*, I, 209–10, or *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum* (Mullach ed.), II, xxvii–xxix. On the work as a whole, see Overwien, “Secundus the Silent Philosopher in the Ancient and Eastern Tradition.” For a brief account of this tale, see Speller, *Following Hadrian*, 85–90.

⁵³⁶ Brock, “Secundus the Silent Philosopher,” 99.

[**Special note 2:** Hadrian, while honoring Secundus' silence, asks that the philosopher converse with him 'by his hands'—and gives to him a tablet upon which to write. Secundus at once writes that he has no fear of Hadrian despite his power; Hadrian accepts this statement and then turns the discussion a different direction by saying he has twenty questions he wishes to put to Secundus (e.g., "What is the universe?" "What is God?" "What is man?" and "What is death?"). Agreeing to the task, as he begins to answer Hadrian the philosopher makes some opening remarks, and it is from those the following excerpt comes.]

365 A Story (cont.): Secundus the Silent Philosopher's Message to Hadrian

(Unknown, *Life of Secundus*)⁵³⁷

[Written in the context of Secundus answering Hadrian's first query—What is the universe?] The universe, Hadrian, is the system of the heavens and the earth and all things [p. 77] in them, and of this I shall speak a little later on, if you pay heed to what is now being said. You, too, Hadrian, are a human being like all the rest of us, subject to every kind of accident, mere dust and corruption. ... But you, Hadrian, as it happens, are full of fears and apprehensions. ... Being a short-lived creature and full of infirmities, you foresee yourself being cut and torn apart, roasted by the sun and chilled by the wintry wind. Your laughter is only the preface to grief, for it turns about and passes into tears. What about the necessity that controls our lives? Is it destiny decreed by Heaven or the whimsy of personal luck? We know not whence it comes. Today is already passing us by, and what the morrow will be we do not know. Think not lightly, therefore, O Hadrian, of what I am saying. Boast not that you alone have encircled the world in your travels, for it is only the sun and the moon and the stars that really make the journey around it. Moreover, do not think of yourself as being beautiful and great and rich and the ruler of the inhabited world. Know you not that, being a man, you were born to be Life's plaything, helpless in the hands of Fortune and Destiny, sometimes exalted, sometimes humbled lower than the grave?

Special note: Secundus then provides examples—the King of the Lydians, Agamemnon, King of the Danaans (conqueror of Troy); Alexander the Great; Heracles (Hercules); Achilles; and Odysseus—and points out that all were subject to Fortune's fickleness. So how much more is he, Hadrian—someone lacking the great distinctive qualities each example posed (e.g., the tremendous shrewdness of Odysseus or fearlessness of Heracles)—likely to be undone by Fortune? Having thus chastised the proud emperor, Secundus then answers each of the questions put to him.

⁵³⁷ Perry, *Secundus, The Silent Philosopher*, 75, 77. Speller, *Following Hadrian*, 89, calls this portion a "diatribe," and describes it as "an apt and potent revenge" to Hadrian's earlier manipulations.

ELEUSIS

Map of Eleusis

(Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, 813)



PLAN OF ELEUSIS.

1. Temple of Artemis Propylaea.
2. Outer Propylaeum.
3. Inner Propylaeum.
4. Temple of Demeter.
5. Well of Callichorum.
- a, a, a. Outer Inclosure of the Sacred Buildings.
- b, b, b. Inner Inclosure of the Sacred Buildings.
- H. Harbour.

Eleusis

(Photograph from Weddell, "The Glory that Was Greece," 604)



Photograph from Alexander Willoum Weddell

RUINS OF THE GATEWAY TO THE SACRED PRECINCTS AT ELEUSIS (SEE PAGE 618)

The fragments that we see are doubtless those of the gateway erected by Hadrian. The Goths, under Alaric, were probably the destroyers.

Eleusinian Priestesses

(Taylor, *The Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries*, 6)



Depiction of Eleusinian Ceremony
(Taylor, *The Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries*, Frontispiece)



Eleusinian Ceremony.—Denkmäler Sculptor.

366 Hadrian Initiated into Eleusinian Mysteries

(*HA: Vita Hadrianus*)⁵³⁸

13.1 After this Hadrian travelled by way of Asia and the islands to Greece, and, following the [p. 41] example of Hercules⁵³⁹ and Philip, had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. He bestowed many favours on the Athenians and sat as president of the public games.

13.2 And during this stay in Greece care was taken, they say, that when Hadrian was present, none should come to a sacrifice armed, whereas, as a rule, many carried knives.

367 Initiated into Mysteries at Eleusis, 1 [124/125 C.E.]

(*Jerome, Concerning Illustrious Men*)⁵⁴⁰

19 And when Hadrian finished the winter in Athens, he visited Eleusis. And having been initiated into almost all the sacred rites of Greece, he had given an opportunity to those who hated the Christians, for they believed they could persecute the Christians without the emperor's command.

⁵³⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 39, 41. The "Philip" referred to here is the father of Alexander the Great, Philip II of Macedon (reigned 359–336 B.C.E.). This is the only such mention of Philip being initiated into the mysteries. See Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 168–74, who accepts this as accurate, and Oliver, "Hadrian's Precedent," 297, who does not.

⁵³⁹ For more on this matter, see the material on Eleusis in chapter 8, p. 295.

⁵⁴⁰ For an alternate translation, see Galimberti, "Hadrian, Eleusis, and the Beginning of Christian Apologetics," 78–79 (with Latin text in a footnote). The Latin text can also be found in Jerome, *De viris illustribus* (Bernoulli ed.), 20. For more on this matter, see the last chapter of this book.

368 Initiated into Mysteries at Eleusis, 2 [124/125 C.E.]

(Jerome, *Chronicle* (Hadrian))⁵⁴¹

VIII^a Hadrian was initiated into the Eleusinian rites, and generously gave many gifts to the Athenians.

The Bay of Eleusis

(Illustration from Ward, *Greek Coins and Their Parent Cities*, 267)



369 Hadrian Brings Water to the Temple at Eleusis [128 C.E. or later]

(Inscription of Dedication on Marble at Eleusis)

[IG II/III³ 4, 1049=I.Eleusis 449; cf. IG II² 3196]⁵⁴²

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, to the goddesses: the spring is dedicated and the water brought into the temple.

⁵⁴¹ Roger Pearse et al. at the Tertullian Project (http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm). The Latin can be found in Jerome, *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones*, 281.

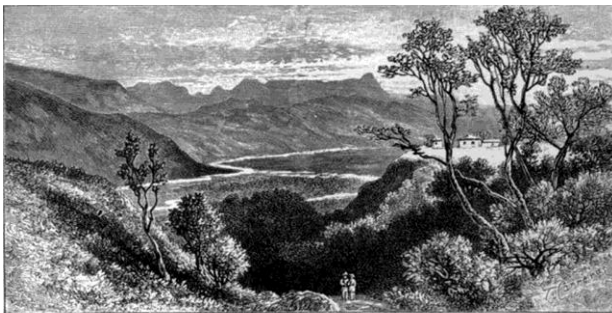
⁵⁴² The goddesses were Demeter and Kore. For more, see Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution to the Renaissance of Eleusis." The Greek text is available online at *Inscriptiones Graecae* [Digital edition] (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/digitale-edition/inschrift/IG%20II_III%C2%B3%204,%201049).

TOUR OF THE PELOPONNESUS

Peloponnese
(Weddell, "The Glory that Was Greece," 574)



Drawn by A. H. Bumstead



VIEW IN THE PELOPONNESUS.

The Peloponnese
(Ward, *Greek Coins and Their Parent Cities*, 304)

Possible Tour through Peloponnese [124 C.E.]
 (Map follows suggestions of Birley, *Hadrian*, 177–82)



370 Hadrian the Pious Benefactor of Greece

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁴³

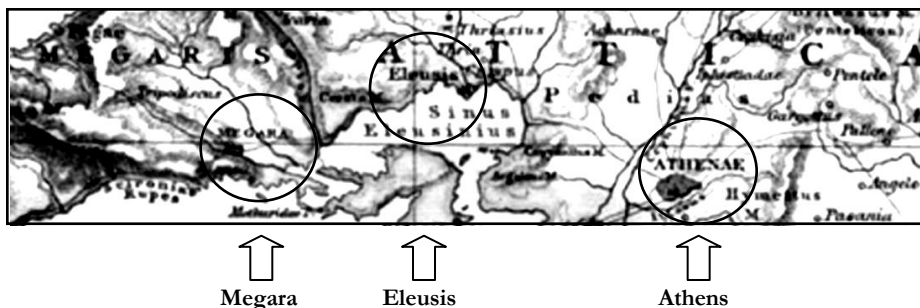
I.5.5b As for the sanctuaries of the gods that in some cases he built from the beginning, in others adorned with offerings and furniture, and the bounties he gave to Greek cities, and sometimes even to foreigners who asked him, all these acts are inscribed in his honour in the sanctuary at Athens common to all the gods.

⁵⁴³ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones trans.), I, 27 (with Greek text, p. 26). For a look at the region and various issues related to Hadrian, see Rizakis and Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese III. Society, Economy and Culture under the Roman Empire*. Also see Grandjean, *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien*. More broadly for the region, see Kouremenos, *The Province of Achaia in the Second Century CE*. The 'sanctuary at Athens common to all the gods' (The 'Altar' or 'Sanctuary' of the Twelve Gods) was in the north-east corner of the agora. An important part of Athens, it served not merely as a sanctuary for those seeking refuge (thus being especially associated with the goddess Eleos (Ἐλεος), deity of mercy and clemency), but was used as a central marker when calculating distances from Athens.

MEGARA

Athens to Megara

(Excerpted from Droysen, *Allgemeiner historischer hand-atlas*, 5)



371 Visit to Megara—and Gifts

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁴⁴

I.36.3 As you go to Eleusis from Athens⁵⁴⁵ along what the Athenians call the Sacred Way you see the tomb of Anthemocritus. The Megarians committed against him a most wicked deed, for when he had come as a herald to forbid them to encroach upon the land in [p. 195] future they put him to death. For this act the wrath of the Two Goddesses lies upon them even to this day, for they are the only Greeks that not even the emperor Hadrian could make more prosperous.

I.42.5 The ancient temple of Apollo was of brick, but the emperor Hadrian afterwards built it of white marble.⁵⁴⁶

I.44.6 On the road from Megara to Corinth are graves. . . . The road called Scironian to this day and named after Sciron, was made by him when he was war minister of the Megarians, and originally they say was constructed for the use of active men. But the emperor Hadrian broadened it, and made it suitable even for chariots to pass each either in opposite directions.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁴ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece, vol. I* (Jones' trans.), I, 207 [I.39.1], 193, 195 [I.36.3], 228 [I.42.5], and 239, 241 [I.44.6], all with Greek text on facing pages. The ellipsis shows where I have omitted text, not material lacking in the original or translation source.

⁵⁴⁵ In recounting the life of Marcus of Byzantium, a Sophist in Hadrian's reign, Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, I.24 [529], remarks on how Megara was in a prolonged quarrel with Athens, which Marcus helped settle by mollifying the Megarians.

⁵⁴⁶ The temple was on the western acropolis of Megara. Rigsby, "Megara and Tripodiscus," 96, with reference to the dispute mentioned in the footnote above, writes, "Philostratus does not tell us how the Megarians were placated in Hadrian's time; I suggest that they were satisfied by the emperor's rebuilding this temple—the city temple—from which his fellow Athenians were being excluded."

⁵⁴⁷ Hammond, "The Main Road from Boeotia to the Peloponnese," 105, describes this as one of the three routes from the Central Magrid—a "comparatively low-lying belt of fertile country between the Megarian mountains"—to the Isthmus of Corinth; Hadrian widened the road beside the Scironian cliffs.

View Near Megara
(Ward, *Greek Coins and Their Parent Cities*, 271)



BAY OF SALAMIS—NISAEA THE PORT OF MEGARA.

372 Megara Honors Hadrian [136/137 C.E.]

(Honorary Inscription on a Statue at Megara)

[IG VII 70 (cf. 71–73)]⁵⁴⁸

For the twice hailed as *Imperator* Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus Olympios Pythias Panhellēnios, who himself is founder and lawgiver and benefactor, at the commission of the most excellent proconsul Julius Canditus, when Aischronos was acting *Strategos* over the Damokratians. By the Dymanes.

373 Praise of Empress Sabina [135–137 C.E.]

(Honorary Inscription on a Statue at Megara)

[IG VII 74; cf. IG VII 73=SEG LI.335=AE 2001.1816]⁵⁴⁹

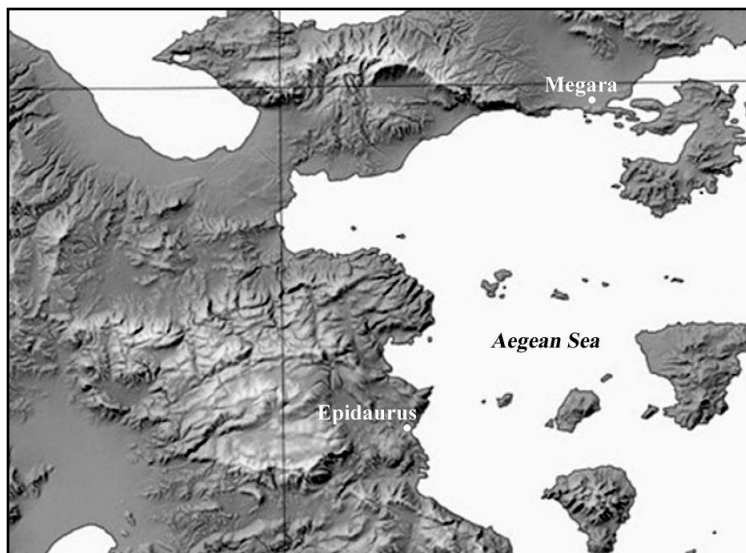
For Queen Sabina Augusta, new Demeter, wife of Emperor Hadrian, by (the *phyle*) Hadrianidis, at the commission of the most excellent proconsul Julius Canditus, when Aischronos was acting *Strategos* over the Damokratians.

⁵⁴⁸ The Greek text may be seen online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/143546?bookid=13&location=1698>). The Dymanes were one of Megara's *phylai* (i.e., divisions of the body of its citizens). Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece*, 97, remarks, "It is to be expected of course that in some sense, even if only a change of name were involved, the Emperor would be 'the founder,' perhaps even the 'lawgiver' and 'benefactor,' of the phyle that bears his name. But that the other *phylai* should repeat the claim provides conclusive evidence that in at least one major Greek state the public organization had in late Hellenistic or early Imperial times passed entirely out of existence."

⁵⁴⁹ The Greek text may be seen online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/143550?bookid=13&location=1600>). On Hadrian's visit in 124 C.E., Megara added a 4th *phyle*, named after the emperor. Julius Canditus was proconsul of Asia in 136 C.E.

EPIDAUROS

Megara to Epidaurus



c55 *Coin of Epidaurus [124 C.E., or later]*

(D1 R1 (coin not shown))⁵⁵⁰

OBVERSE: Bust of Hadrian, laureate and draped.

REVERSE: Statue of Asklepios by Thrasymedes.

374 Epidaurus, 1 [123/124 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Statue Base at Epidaurus)

[IG IV²,1 606]⁵⁵¹

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the seventh time, three times consul, the city (acknowledges him) as its savior and founder.

375 Epidaurus, 2

(Inscription at Epidaurus)

[IG IV²,1 607]⁵⁵²

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified (Trajan) Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus.

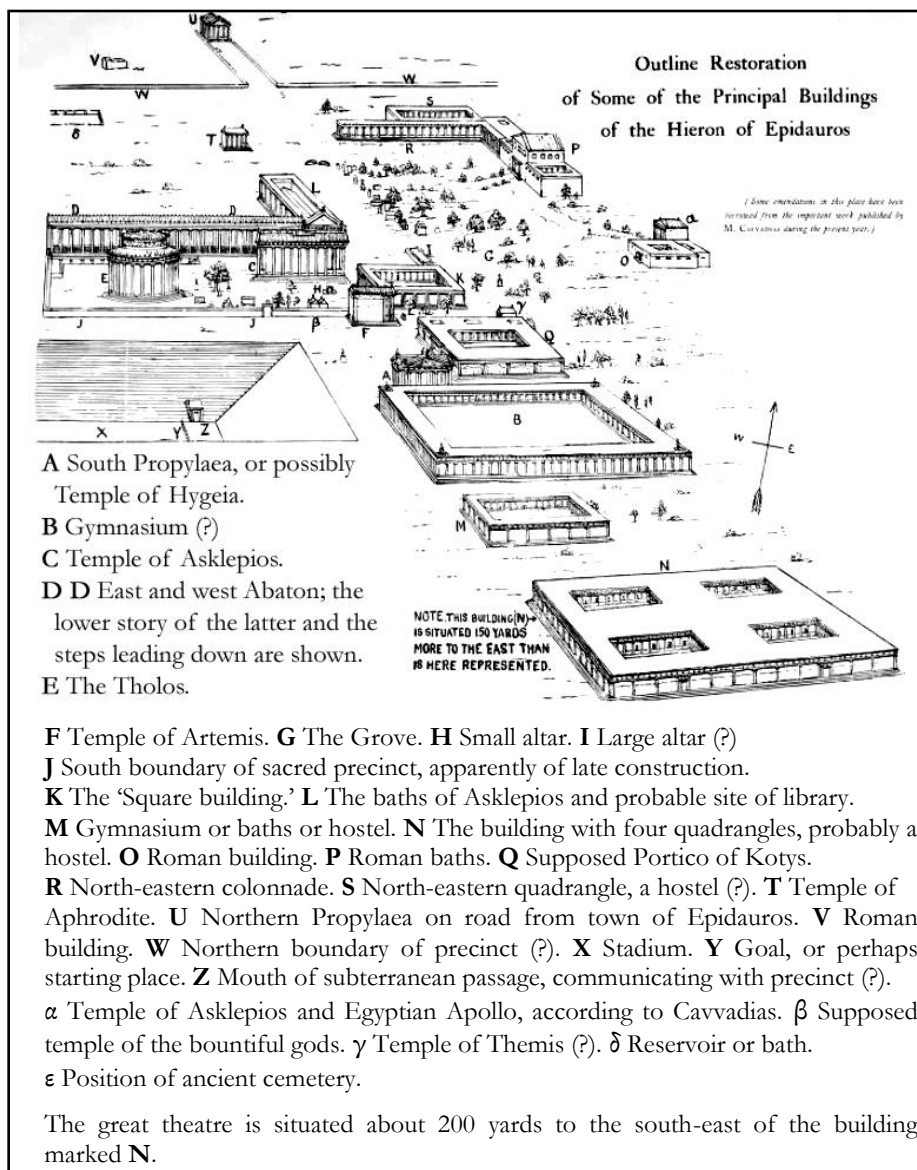
⁵⁵⁰ Amandry, “Un monnayage d’Hadrien à Épidaure,” 331. See Melfi, “Rebuilding,” 338.

⁵⁵¹ The Greek text may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/29047?bookid=7&location=1643>). For a listing of inscriptions for Hadrian on statue bases, see Højte, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases*, 404–65 (IG IV²,1 606 is #Hadrian 250)..

⁵⁵² The Greek text may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/29047?bookid=7&location=1643>).

Epidauros

(Adapted from Caton, *Temples and Rituals of Asklepios at Epidauros and Athens*, 2)



The Sacred Precinct of Epidaurus: Temple of Asklepios, 1
 (Caton, *The Temples and Rituals of Asklepios at Epidaurus and Athens*, 6)



PLATE V—RESTORATION OF PART OF ABATON AND OF TEMPLE OF ASKLEPIOS
 (Defrasse)

The Sacred Precinct of Epidaurus: Temple of Asklepios, 2
 (Caton, *The Temples and Rituals of Asklepios at Epidaurus and Athens*, 4)



PLATE II—RESTORATION OF EAST END OF TEMPLE OF ASKLEPIOS
 (Defrasse)

The Sacred Precinct of Epidaurus: Temple of Asklepios, 3
 (Caton, *The Temples and Rituals of Asklepios at Epidaurus and Athens*, 7)



PLATE VI—RESTORATION OF CHRYSELEPHANTINE FIGURE OF ASKLEPIOS
 (Defrasse)

The Sacred Precinct of Epidaurus: Tholos (Circular Temple) Known as the Thymele
 (Caton, *The Temples and Rituals of Asklepios at Epidaurus and Athens*, 11)



PLATE X—RESTORATION OF THOLOS (Defrasse)



PLATE XII—RESTORATION OF TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS (R. C.)

376 Epidauros, 3: Foundation of Panhellenion [133/134 C.E.]

(Inscription at Temple of Asclepius at Epidauros)

[IG IV² 384=SIG³ 842=Smallwood #79]⁵⁵³

In the third year of the consecration of Zeus Olympios and the foundation of the Panhellenion, the year of Trajan Hadrian Caesar's visit, when the priest of Asclepius was Eutyclus, son of Eutyclus, grandson of Eutyclus; in place of him Leonidus son of Perigenes; Stephanos son of Eutyclus was the fire-bearer (*pyrophoros*) of Asclepius and Epionē.

⁵⁵³ The Greek text can be found in Smallwood, *Documents*, 47 [#79]; also Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius*, 119-120 [#38]. It also can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/28822?&bookid=7&location=1690>). The dating of the founding of the Panhellenion is fixed by this inscription at 131/132 C.E. Hadrian's goal through the Panhellenion was to strengthen a sense of unity among the Hellenes of the empire. *Panhellenia* games were to be celebrated every four years. For a brief introduction to the sources and what is known about the Panhellenion, see Nasrallah, "The Acts of the Apostles, Greek Cities, and Hadrian's Panhellenion," 544-50. She notes (544n.45) that most of what is known about it comes from 54 inscriptions, most of which were collected together by Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius*, with others subsequently added by Spaworth and Walker in two articles. She also writes (p. 545), "While it was formerly thought that the Panhellenion may have met in the Olympieion precinct, most scholars now think that it occupied a large building of Hadrianic date. This basilica had interior measurements of ca. 64x 30 m; perhaps accommodating seven hundred or more, it was two and one-third times larger than the Curia at Rome, which accommodated approximately three hundred senators." For more on the Panhellenion, see Spaworth and Walker, "The World of the Panhellenion," Benjamin, "The Altars of Hadrian," and Romeo, "The Panhellenion." Epionē was the wife of Asclepius, who was sometimes called *Epios*, the "benevolent" or "gentle" one.

MANTINEA

377 Hadrian Restores the Name ‘Mantinea’

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁵⁴

VIII.1.1 The part of Arcadia that lies next to the Argive land is occupied by Tegeans and Mantineans, who with the rest of the Arcadians inhabit the interior of the Peloponnesus.

VIII.8.11 Antigonus of Macedonia, who was guardian of Philip, the father of Perseus, before he came of age, was an ardent supporter of the Achaeans, and so the Mantineans, among other honours, changed the name of their city to Antigonea.

VIII.8.12 Afterwards, when Augustus was about to fight the naval engagement off the cape of Actian Apollo, the Mantineans fought on the side of the Romans, while the rest of Arcadia joined the ranks of Antonius, for no other reason, so it seems to me, except that the Lacedaemonians favoured the cause of Augustus. Ten [p. 387] generations afterwards, when Hadrian became Emperor, he took away from the Mantineans the name imported from Macedonia, and gave back their city the name of Mantinea.

c56 Mantinean and Corinthian Coin of Antinous [c. 134 C.E.]

(Baldwin, *Six Roman Bronze Medallions*, Plate I; RPC III, 330; cf. RPC III, 327)⁵⁵⁵

OBVERSE:

BETOYPIOC: ‘Vetourios’
(a Magistrate who
dedicated the coin issue to
the Arcadians).

Antinous facing left, bare
shouldered.



REVERSE: TOIC

APKACI: ‘To the Arcadians.’ Horse facing right, foreleg raised.

[Note on Coinage: There was none in Hadrian’s reign until after the deification of Antinous and the establishment of his cult at Mantinea.⁵⁵⁶]

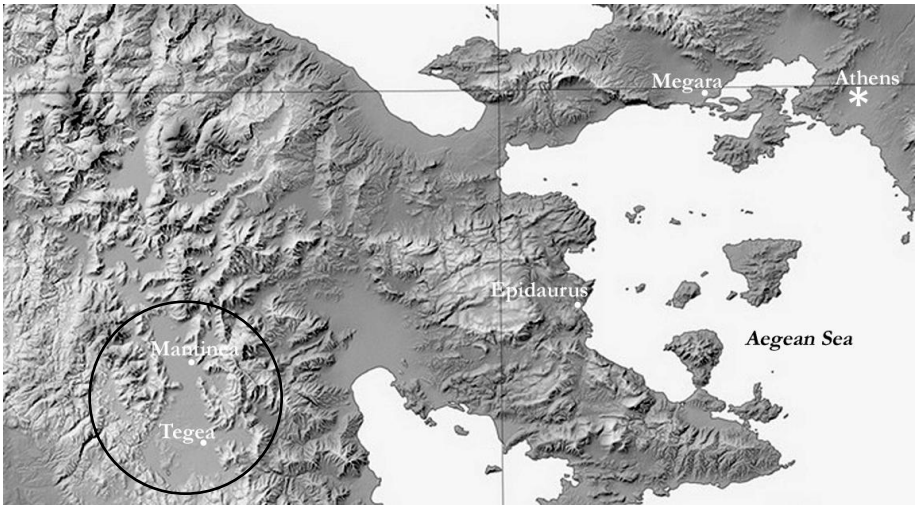
⁵⁵⁴ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones trans.), III, 347 [VIII.1.1], and 385, 387 [VIII.8.11–12], with facing Greek text. For more on the subject of Hadrian and Mantinea, see Roy, “Pausanias and Hadrian, Mantinea and Bithynion.” The date of Hadrian’s visit is not known for certain, though many favor 125 C.E. On the other hand, Pretzler, “Pausanias at Mantinea,” 30, favors 131/132 C.E. In the same place that is mentioned, Pretzler remarks that “Hadrian’s attention to this relatively insignificant city shows how valuable an impressive history could be.” In this case, Pretzler says, what impressed Hadrian most was that Mantinea was reputed to have founded the city of Bithynium, birthplace of Antinous. The cult of Antinous became prominent at Mantinea.

⁵⁵⁵ See Baldwin, *Six Roman Medallions*, 1–12 for a full discussion. In this book, see ch. 14.

⁵⁵⁶ Roy, “Roman Arkadia,” 64.

TEGEA

Tegea and Mantinea in Arcadia



Tegea and Mantinea circled

378 Hadrian Builds the Temple of Poseidon Hippius

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁵⁷

VIII.10 There are roads leading from Mantinea to the other parts of Arcadia, I will describe the most notable things to see on each of them. As you go to Tegea⁵⁵⁸ on the left of the highroad near the walls of Mantinea is a place for horse-racing, and at no great distance is the course where the games to Antinous take place. And above this course is the Mountain Alesium, so called they say from the wanderings of Rhea, and on the mountain is a grove of Demeter. And at the extreme end of the mountain is the temple of Poseidon Hippius,⁵⁵⁹ not far from the course in Mantinea. As to this temple I write what I have heard and what others have recorded about it. It was built in our day by the Emperor Adrian, who appointed overseers over the workmen, that no one might spy into the old temple nor move any portion of its ruins, and he ordered them to build the new temple round the old one, which was they say, originally built to Poseidon by Agamedes and Trophonius, who made beams of oak and adjusted them together.

⁵⁵⁷ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Shilleto trans.), II, 77.

⁵⁵⁸ In the Roman civil war between Octavian (later Augustus) and Marc Antony, Tegea sided with the latter and was afterwards penalized. However, as Di Napoli, "The Theatres of Roman Arcadia," 517, observes (with reference to the later inscriptions of IG V² 51–52), "Nevertheless, in the following years Tegea succeeded in flourishing again, as attested by the many monuments described by Pausanias as well as by the inscriptions which testify that in 124 A.D. the emperor Hadrian visited the city and had the baths rebuilt." Cf. Baleriaux, "Pausanias' Arcadia," 152.

⁵⁵⁹ See Baleriaux, "Mythical and Ritual Landscapes of Poseidon Hippios in Arcadia," 3–5.

379 Tegea, 1 [129–138 C.E.]

(Excerpt from an Inscription at Tegea in Arcadia)

[IG V² 127]⁵⁶⁰

To Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus *Olympios, Pythios, Panhellenios*.

380 Tegea, 2 [129–138 C.E.]

(Inscription at Tegea in Arcadia)

[IG V² 129; cf. IG V² 128]⁵⁶¹

Savior and founder Emperor Hadrian *Olympios*.

c57 Coin of Tegea

(Clerk, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Achaean League*, Plate IX [#4])



THE REGION OF ARCADIA

381 The Cynaetheans Honor Hadrian

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁶²

VIII.19.1 There is a clan of the Arcadians, called the Cynaetheans, the same folk who dedicated the image of Zeus at Olympia with a thunderbolt in either [*p.* 437] hand. These Cynaetheans live more than thirty stades from and in their marketplace have been made altars of the gods and a statue of the Emperor Hadrian.

382 Hadrian Writes an Inscription on the Tomb of Epaminondas

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁶³

VIII.11 And there are two pillars on his tomb, one ancient with a Boeotian inscription, and the other erected by the Emperor Adrian with an inscription by him upon it.

⁵⁶⁰ The Greek text can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/32141?bookid=12&location=1632>).

⁵⁶¹ The Greek text can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/32139?bookid=12&location=1632>).

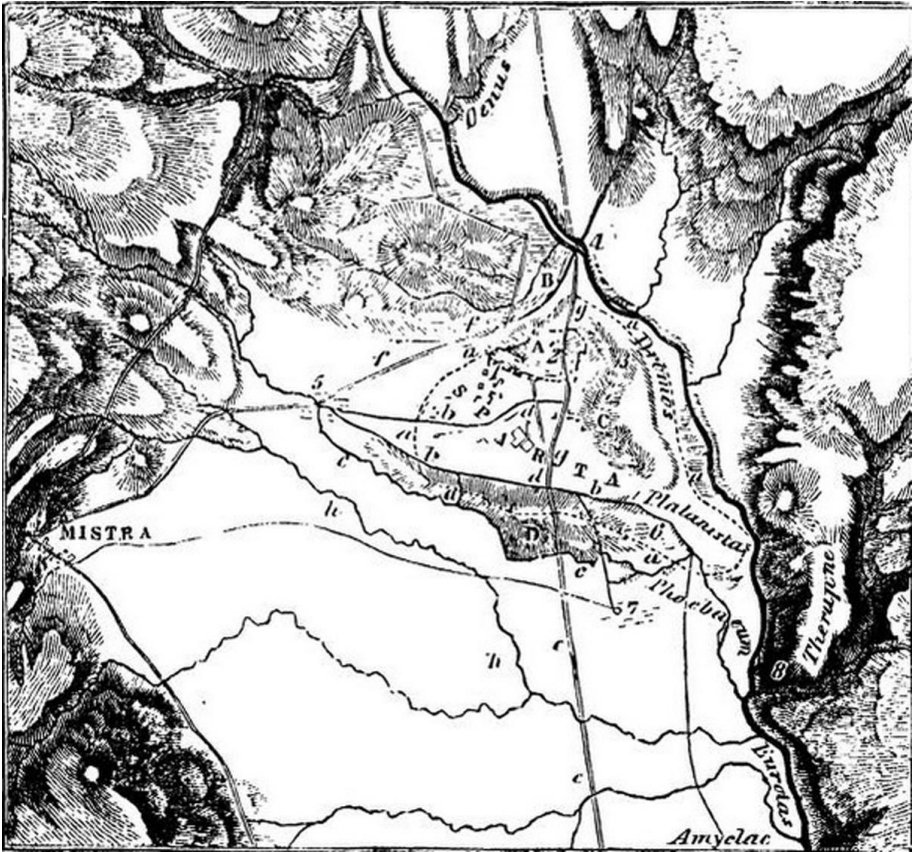
⁵⁶² Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones trans.), III, 435, 437 (with facing Greek text).

⁵⁶³ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Shilleto trans.), II, 80.

SPARTA

Sparta

(Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, II, 1030)



Key

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. Acropolis | 7. Village of Kalagnid |
| B. M. Issorium | 8. Temple of Menelaus |
| C. Hill Colona | aaa Circuit of Walls |
| D. New Sparta | bb Canals |
| 1. Theater | cc The Tuasa. |
| 2. Agora | dd Street Aphetais |
| 3. Amphithetaer, or Odeum | ee Hyacinthian Road |
| 4. Bridge across the Eurotas | ff Hollow Way |
| 5. Village of <i>Magula</i> | gg Modern road |
| 6. Village of <i>Psychiko</i> | hh The <i>Pandeileimona</i> |

383 Lacedaemon + Sparta

((Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁶⁴

III.1.2 Lacedaemon was wedded to Sparta, a daughter of Eurotas. When he came to the throne, he first changed the names of the land and its inhabitants, calling them [*p.* 5] after himself, and next he founded and named after his wife a city, which even down to our own day has been called Sparta.

384 Savior of the Lacedaemonians,' 1 [124/125 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Circular Base of Bluish Marble)

[#381]⁵⁶⁵

Emperor Caesar, the god Trajan Hadrian, savior of the Lacedaemonians.

385 'Savior of the Lacedaemonians,' 2 [124/125 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Block of White Marble)

[#507]⁵⁶⁶

Emperor Caesar Hadrian, savior of the Lacedaemonians.

386 Tiberius Claudius Atticus

(Excerpt from an Inscription at Sparta)

[*AE* 1904.190]⁵⁶⁷

... of the *Patronomos* Tiberius Claudius Atticus ...

387 Hadrian's Second Visit [c. 128 C.E.]

(Inscription at Sparta in Front of the Theater)

[*CIG* 1348]⁵⁶⁸

The city in accord with the will of the people: for Julius Lysippus, who honorably served as *gymnasiarch* upon the occasion of Emperor Caesar Augustus' second sojourn; because of his excellence and good will to them.

⁵⁶⁴ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones' trans.), II, 3, 5 (with facing Greek text).

⁵⁶⁵ The Greek text can be found in Tod and Wace, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, 59, [#381]. Cania and Kantiréa, "The Imperial Cult in the Peloponnese," 382, remark, "On the occasion of the Emperor Hadrian's first visit to the Laconian city (A.D.124/25), the *polis* ordered the erection of some thirty altars dedicated to Hadrian "the Saviour" (*soter*), on which private citizens were supposed to perform sacrifices during the procession in honour of the emperor. . . . [T]he ceremony of the *adventus principis*, celebrated on the occasion of Hadrian's first visit to Sparta, continued to be celebrated years later, and was thus included in the Spartan festival calendar." For other inscriptions also hailing Hadrian as savior, see #s 237 (Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος || σωτήρος.), 239 (Αὐτοκράτορος | Ἀ(δ)ριανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ | σωτήρος.), and 240 (Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι | Ἀδριανῷ Σω|τήρι), and others (#s 243, 373, 529, 629A, 676).

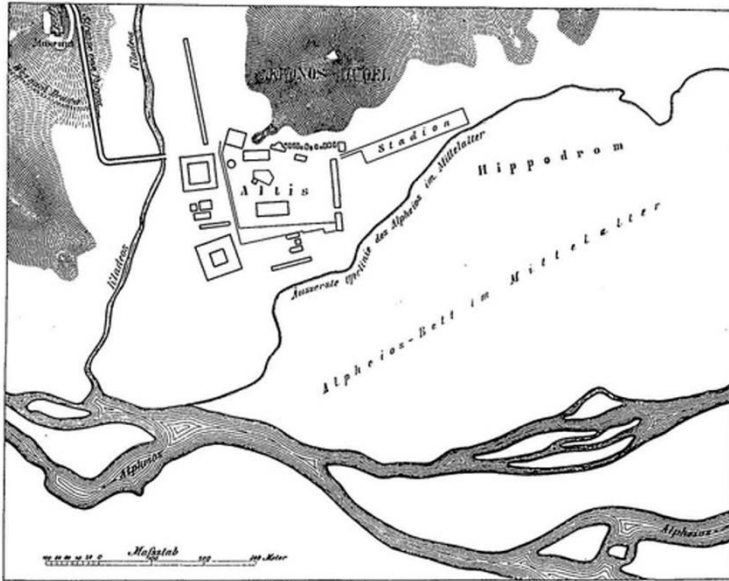
⁵⁶⁶ The Greek text can be found in Tod and Wace, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, 68, [#507]. The Spartans referred to themselves as *Lacedaemonians*. For more on the relationship of Hadrian to Sparta, see Spaworth and Walker, "The World of the Panhellenion, II."

⁵⁶⁷ The Greek text can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-77600033). See Spaworth, "Sparta and the Family of Herodes Atticus." Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 211, dates Hadrian's own tenure as *eponymous patronomos* to 128 C.E. ("128 war Hadrian wahrscheinlich *Patronom in Sparta*"); cf. Kennel, "The Size of the Spartan Patronomate."

⁵⁶⁸ The Greek text can be found in Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 211. The *gymnasiarch* was a city magistrate who might superintend a school or public games.

OLYMPIA

Olympia
(Luckenbach, *Olympia und Delphi*, 7)



(Gezeichnet nach Olympia, Ergebnisse, Mappe Blatt II.)

Fig. 1. Olympia und seine nächste Umgebung.

Olympia
(Illustration from Luckenbach, *Olympia und Delphi*, 10)

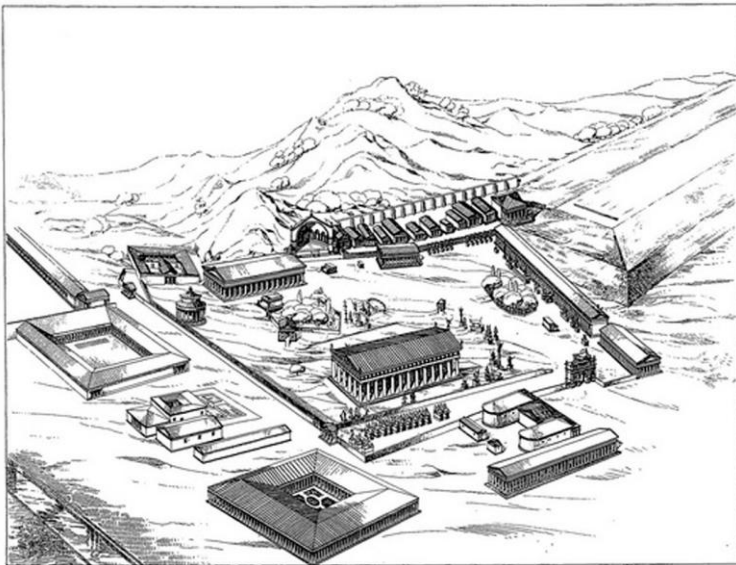
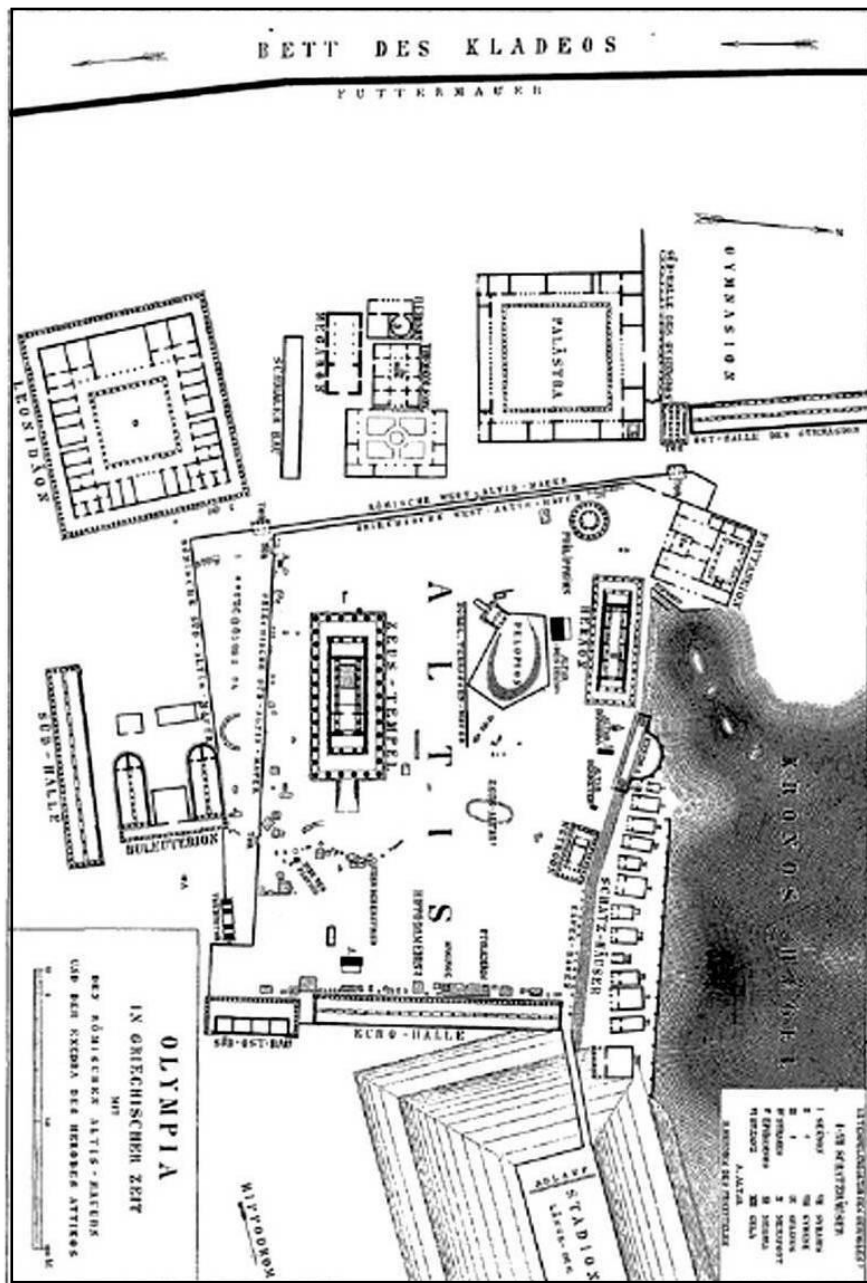
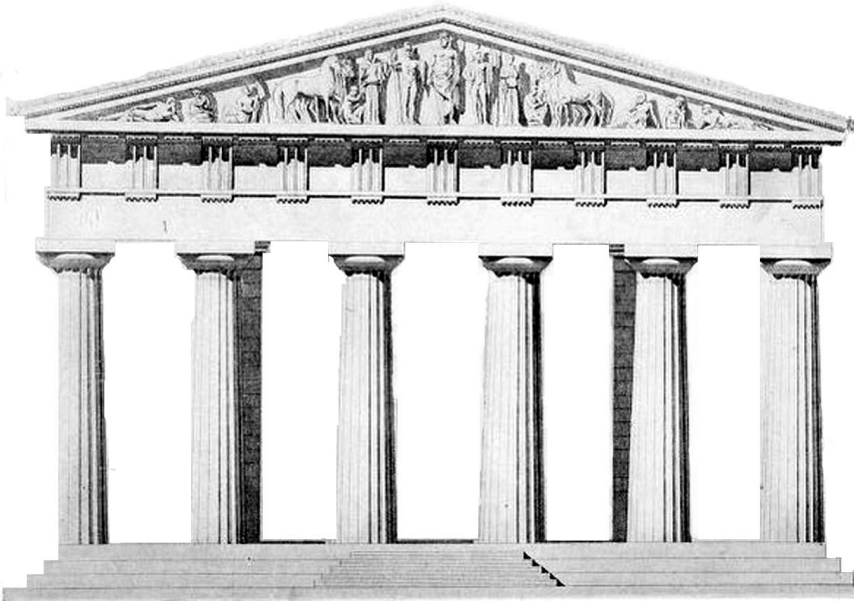


Fig. 2. Festplatz von Olympia. Ansicht von R. Raabe.

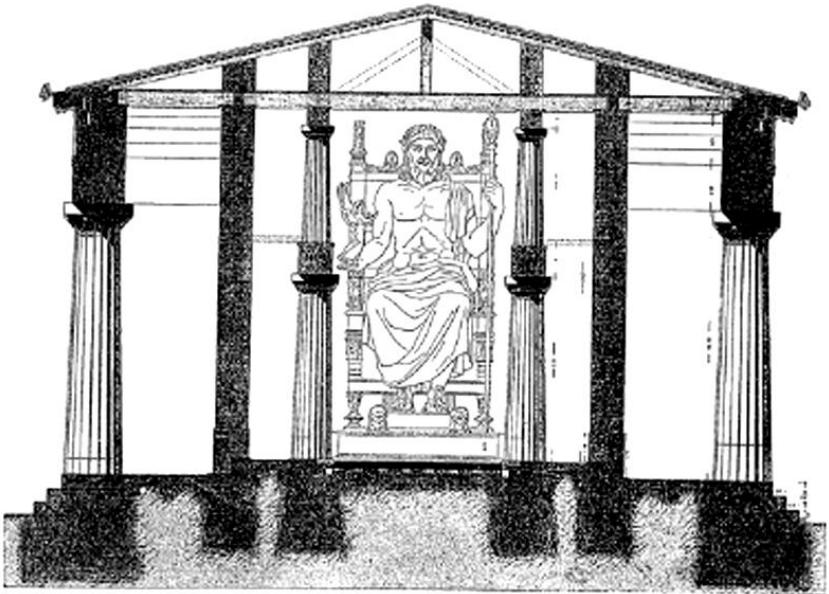
Plan of Olympia
(Luckenbach, *Olympia und Delphi*, 2)



Temple of Zeus, 1
(Hall, *Buried Cities*, 141)



Temple of Zeus, 2
(Illustration from Luckenbach, *Olympia und Delphi*, 17 (Fig. 12))



388 Honoring Hadrian

(Inscription on an Altar at Olympia)

[*IrO* 380]⁵⁶⁹

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the ___ time

389 Inside the Temple at Olympia

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁷⁰

V.12.5 The offerings inside, or in the fore-temple, include: a throne of Arimnestus, king of Etruria, who was the first foreigner to present an offering to the Olympic Zeus, and bronze horses of Cynisca, tokens of an Olympic victory. These are not as large as real horses, and stand in the fore-temple on the right as you enter. There is also a tripod, plated [*p.* 449] with bronze, upon which, before the table was made, were displayed the crowns for the victors.

V.12.6 There are statues of emperors: Hadrian, of Parian marble, dedicated by the cities of the Achaean confederacy, and Trajan, dedicated by all the Greeks.⁵⁷¹

390 Hadrian's Letter to the Achaean League [126 C.E.]

(Fragments of an Inscription Found Near the Temple of Zeus at Olympia)

[Oliver, 78B]⁵⁷²

[Imperator Caesar] Trajan Hadrian Augustus], son of [divus Trajan] Parthicus, grandson of divus Nerva, [tribunician] power for the tenth time, thrice consul, to the Commonalty of the [Achaean, greetings]. - - other honors voted by you [I accepted] - - I was able to see - - - [I approve] the goodwill which [you continue to] have [for me, but that,] you vote me successive series of honors - - - [of the honors] that have been decreed by the synhedrion - - - and I did not hinder those - - - festivals and sacrifices and - - - to be proclaimed - - to go on an embassy - - - agreement - - - Ambassadors were - - - - [Let the] travel money [be] paid [to them - - - - care of Claudius - - -

[The above letter is reproduced in chapter 15, where other letters of Hadrian may be found.]

⁵⁶⁹ *IrO* = *Inscripfien von Olympia*. Greek text from Curtius and Adler, *Olympia*, 489. The Greek text may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/214185?hs=130-141>). The offering of Arimnestus is important because he was the first *foreigner* to make such an offering to the Greek god Zeus at Olympia.

⁵⁷⁰ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece*, (Jones' trans.), II, 447, 449 (with facing Greek text).

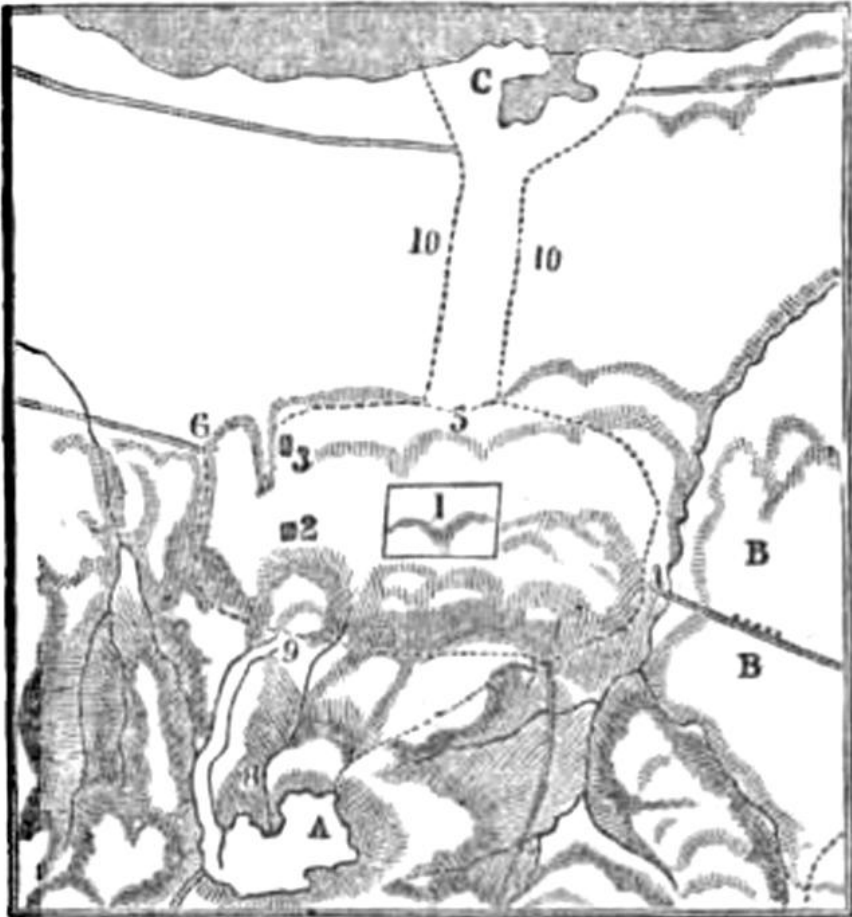
⁵⁷¹ The Achaean League (Achaean *Koinon*) was very active. Zoumbaki, "Elean Relations with Rome," 121, observes, "Epigraphic and literary sources show that Olympia, one of the most prominent places of common respect within the Koinon, was once again the most popular place for the Achaean Koinon or its officeholders to erect a new series of monuments."

⁵⁷² Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 198 (with Greek text, p. 197). Also see *SEG* XI 1198 (cf. *IrO* 57).

CORINTH

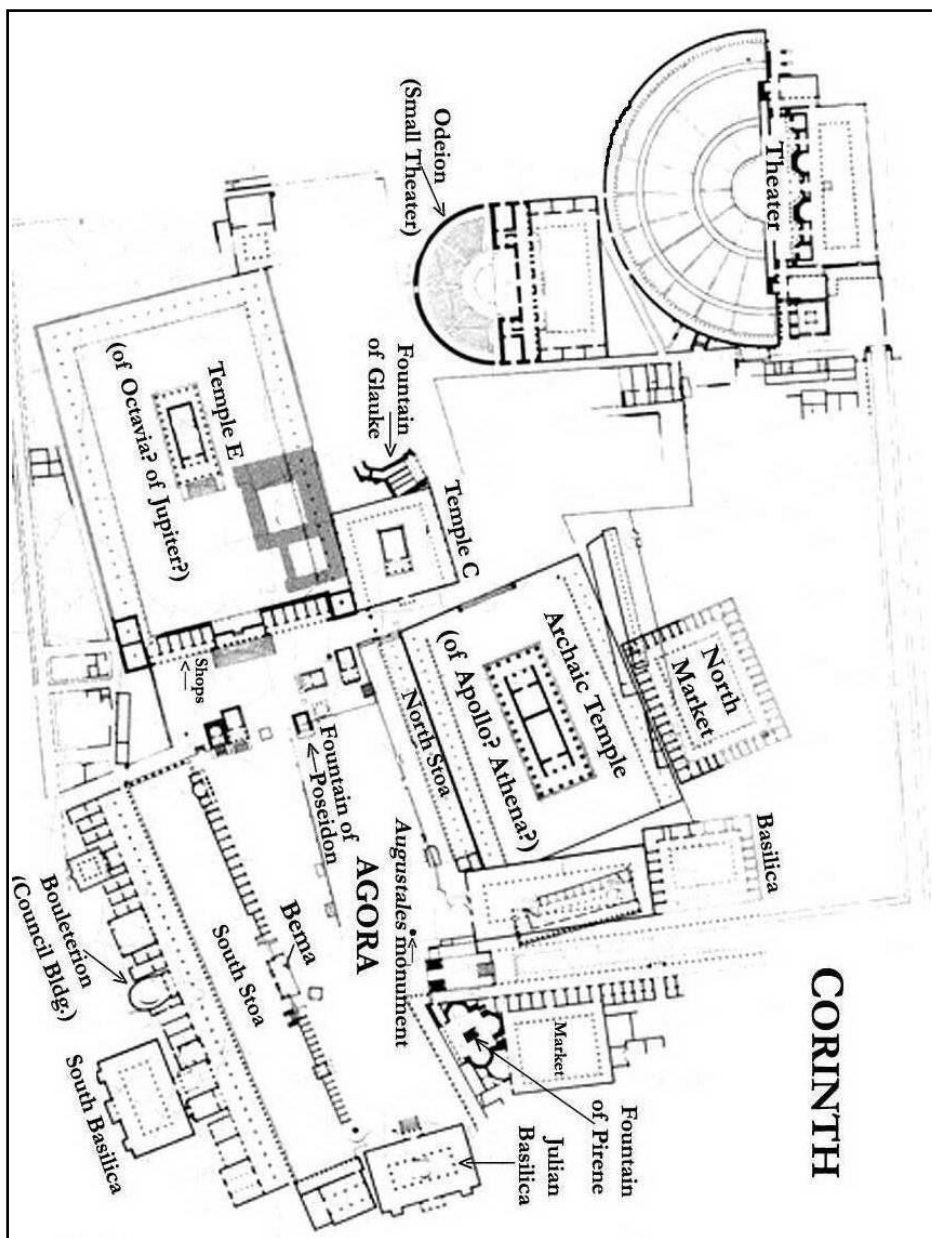
Corinth, 1

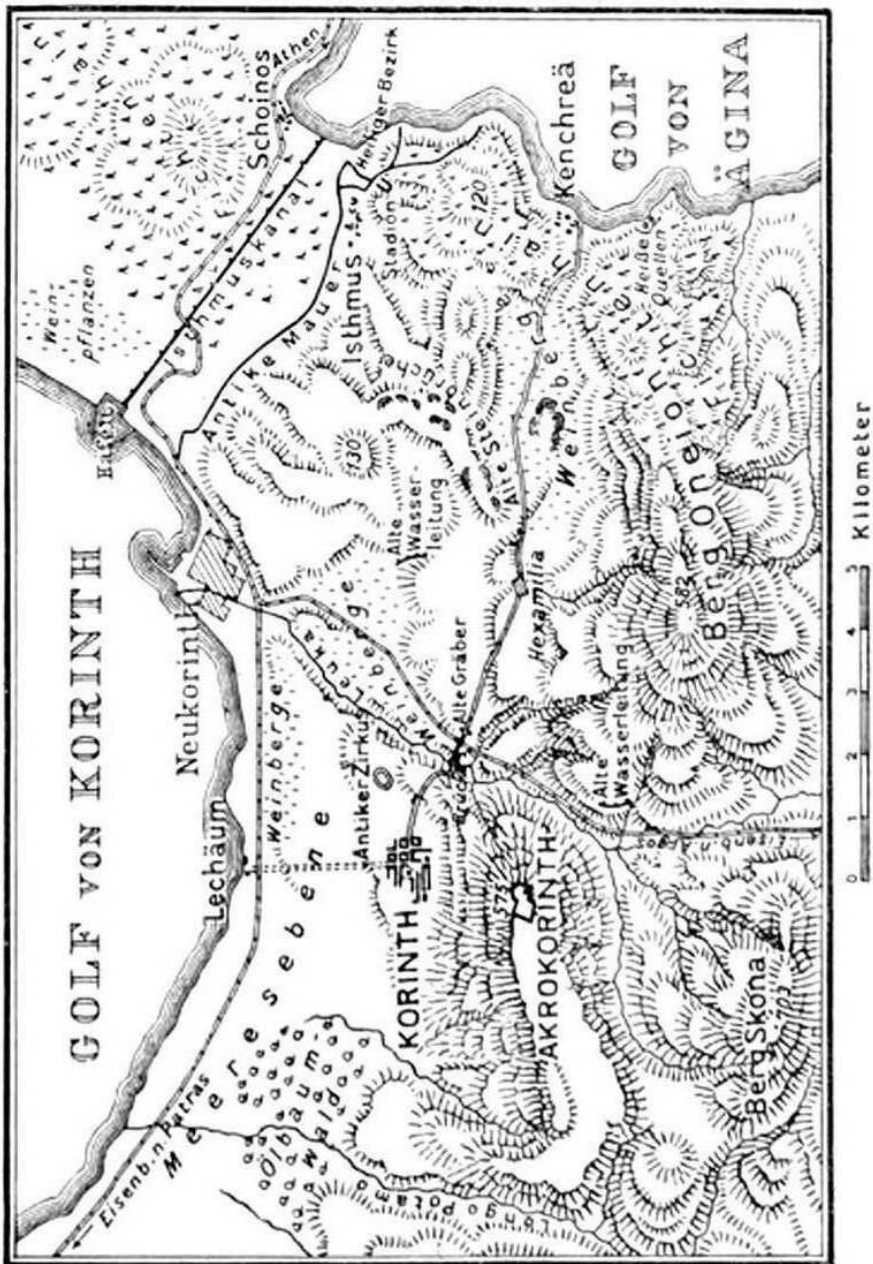
(Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, 679)



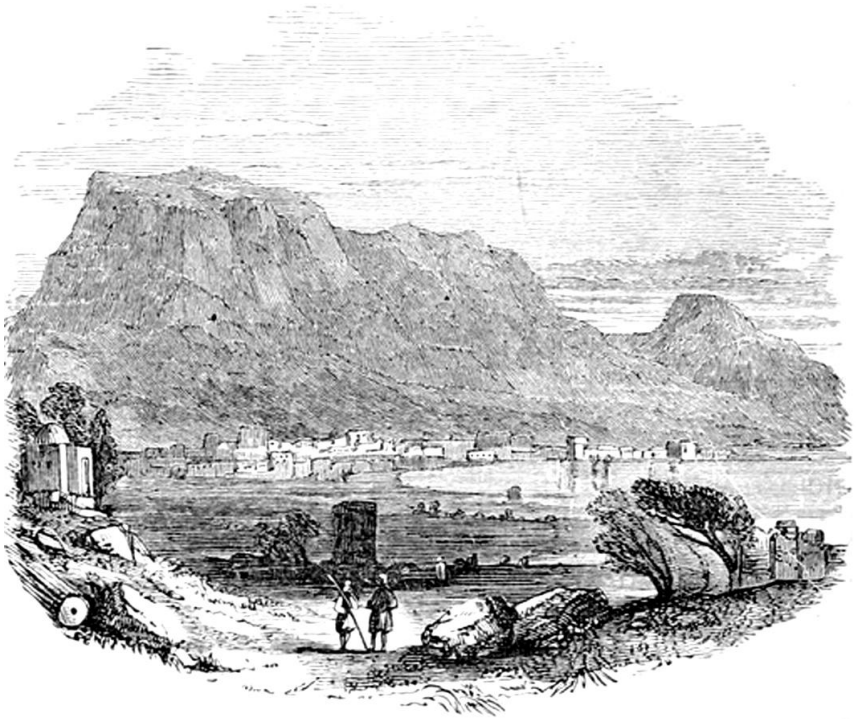
PLAN OF CORINTH.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| A. Acrocorinthus. | } | 4. Gate of Cenchreae. |
| B. Suburb Cranelum. | | 5. Gate of Lechaëum. |
| C. Lechaëum. | | 6. Gate of Sicyon. |
| 1. Agora. | | 7. Gate of Tenca. |
| 2. Temple of Athena Cha- | | 8. Fountain of Peirene. |
| linitis. | | 9. Sisypheum. |
| 3. Temple of Apollo. | | |





View of Corinth
(Adams, *Temples, Tombs, and Monuments*, 84)



View of Corinth.—(Martin and Corbould.)

Port of Corinth
(Schneller, *Athen und Korinth*, 33)



c58a–b *Corinthian Coins Honoring Hadrian (left) and Sabina (right)*
(Head, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Plate XIX and p. 74)



c59 *Corinthian Coin of Hadrian*
(Edwards, *Corinth*, #125 and p. 29 (text))



OBVERSE: IMP CAES TR. . . HADR: ‘Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian.’
Hadrian bust facing right, laureate.

REVERSE: COLLI V L COR: Emperor on horse facing left, right arm
extended, left arm holding scepter.

391 Hadrian’s Gift of a Public Bath to Corinth

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*⁵⁷³)

II.3.5a The Corinthians have baths in many parts of the city, some put up at the
public charge and one by the emperor Hadrian.

⁵⁷³ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones’ trans.), I, 261 (with Greek text, p. 260). At least nine baths are known at Corinth. The bath built by Hadrian may have been the one situated west of the *gymnasium*.

392 Corinth's Aqueduct

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁷⁴

II.3.5b Throughout the city are many wells, for the Corinthians have a copious supply of flowing water, besides the water which the emperor Hadrian brought from Lake Stymphalus. . . .

VIII.22.3 In the Stymphalian territory is a spring, from which the emperor Hadrian brought water to Corinth.

393 Honoring Hadrian [124 C.E.]

(Inscription on White Marble at Corinth)

[#84]⁵⁷⁵

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 7th time, three times consul, savior and benefactor of the city. The City of Corinth.

394 A Latin Inscription

(Fragment of an Inscription on White Marble Slab at Corinth)

[#21]⁵⁷⁶

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus.

395 Honorary Inscription [124/125 C.E.]

(Inscription found at Corinth)

[*Corinth* 8³, 102]⁵⁷⁷

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 8th time, three times Consul, founder and savior and benefactor of Greece, by the Achaeans.

396 Hadrian *Olympios* [c. 136 C.E.]

(Inscription on White Marble at Corinth)

[IG IV 1555]⁵⁷⁸

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus *Olympios*.

⁵⁷⁴ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones' trans.), I, 261 [for II.3.5b]; IV, 5 [for VIII.22.3]; with Greek text on facing pages. On this aqueduct, see Lolos, "The Hadrianic Aqueduct of Corinth."

⁵⁷⁵ Greek text from Meritt, *Corinth*, 61.

⁵⁷⁶ Greek text from West, *Corinth*, 19. The editor (p. 19) explains, "To the right of the I in line 1 there are traces of a letter which cannot be the S of the genitive case, or the T of *Traiano*. It is therefore probable that the inscription was erected to Hadrian and that the word *divi* completes the first line of the inscription."

⁵⁷⁷ The Greek text can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/179236?&bookid=223&location=1690>). "Founder and savior and benefactor of Greece": *κτίστην καὶ σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς Ἑλλάδος*.

⁵⁷⁸ The Greek text may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/27912?&bookid=6&location=1690>).

DELPHI

Eleusis and Delphi



397 Visit to Delphic Oracle

*(Contest of Homer and Hesiod)*⁵⁷⁹

Certamen 3 [314] But we will set out what we have heard was said by the Pythia about Homer, in the time of the most god-like emperor Hadrian. For the emperor enquired what Homer's homeland was and whose son he was, and she responded in this way, in hexameter verses:

You ask me the unknown lineage and fatherland of an undying Siren. As to his home, he is an Ithacan. His father was Telemachus, and Polycaste, daughter of Nestor, was his mother. She bore him, a man exceeding mortals in cleverness in every respect.

We must certainly trust these things, both on account of the one asking the question and the one answering it. . . .

398 Honoring Hadrian at Delphi, 1 [125 C.E.]

(Inscription)

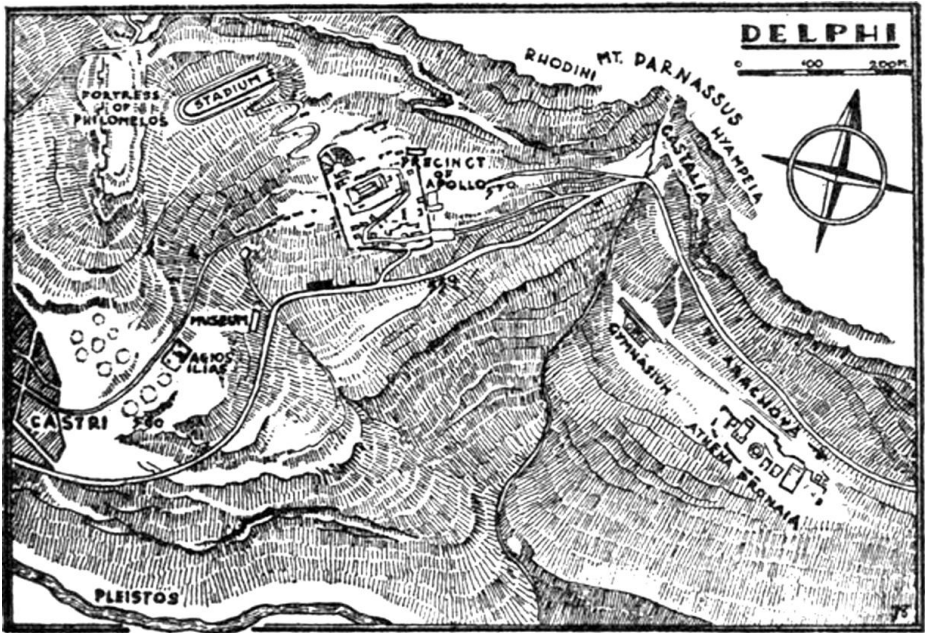
[*AE* 1912.29]⁵⁸⁰

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 9th time, three times Consul, by the priest of Pythian Apollo, Titus Flavius Aristotimus, by decree of the Amphictyony and Delphi.

⁵⁷⁹ Uden, "The Contest of Homer and Hesiod," 122. The Greek text can be found at *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* (*Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*), 568.

⁵⁸⁰ The Greek text can be found online at *EDCS* (EDCS-78300313). The mention here of Titus Flavius Aristotimus is thought to indicate that by this time Plutarch, who could have been expected to do this, was dead. He also is mentioned on a coin of Antinous (*Ἀριστότιμος ἀνέθηκεν ἱερεὺς*, "the priest Aristotemus dedicated (this)").

Delphi, 1
(Collas, *A Concise Guide to Delphi*, 7)



399 Hadrian and Plutarch at Delphi [c. 125 C.E.]

(Inscription)

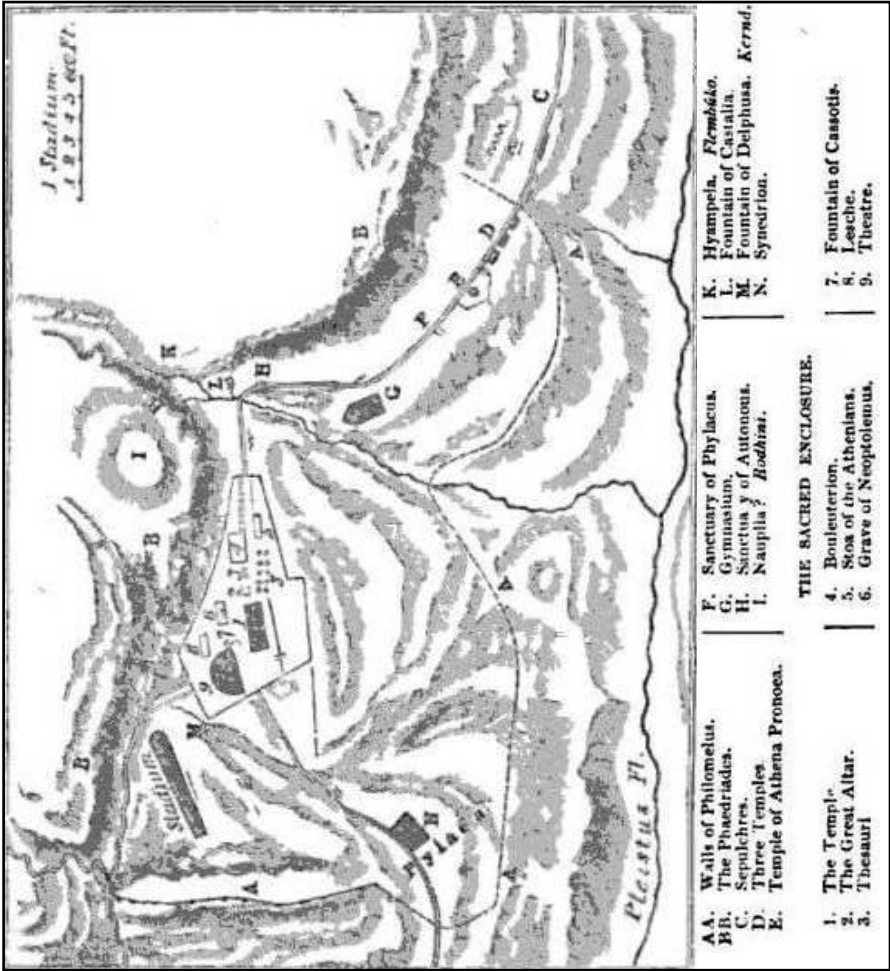
[SIG³ 829a=CID IV.150]⁵⁸¹

For the Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus; the Amphictyons [erected this statue] under the supervision from Delphi of Mestrius Plutarchus the Priest.⁵⁸²

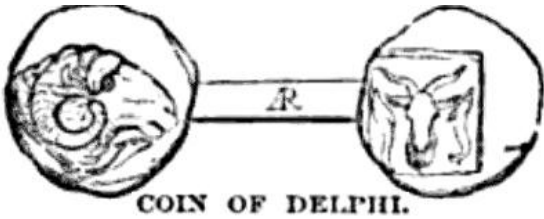
⁵⁸¹ The Greek text can be found in *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., 543.

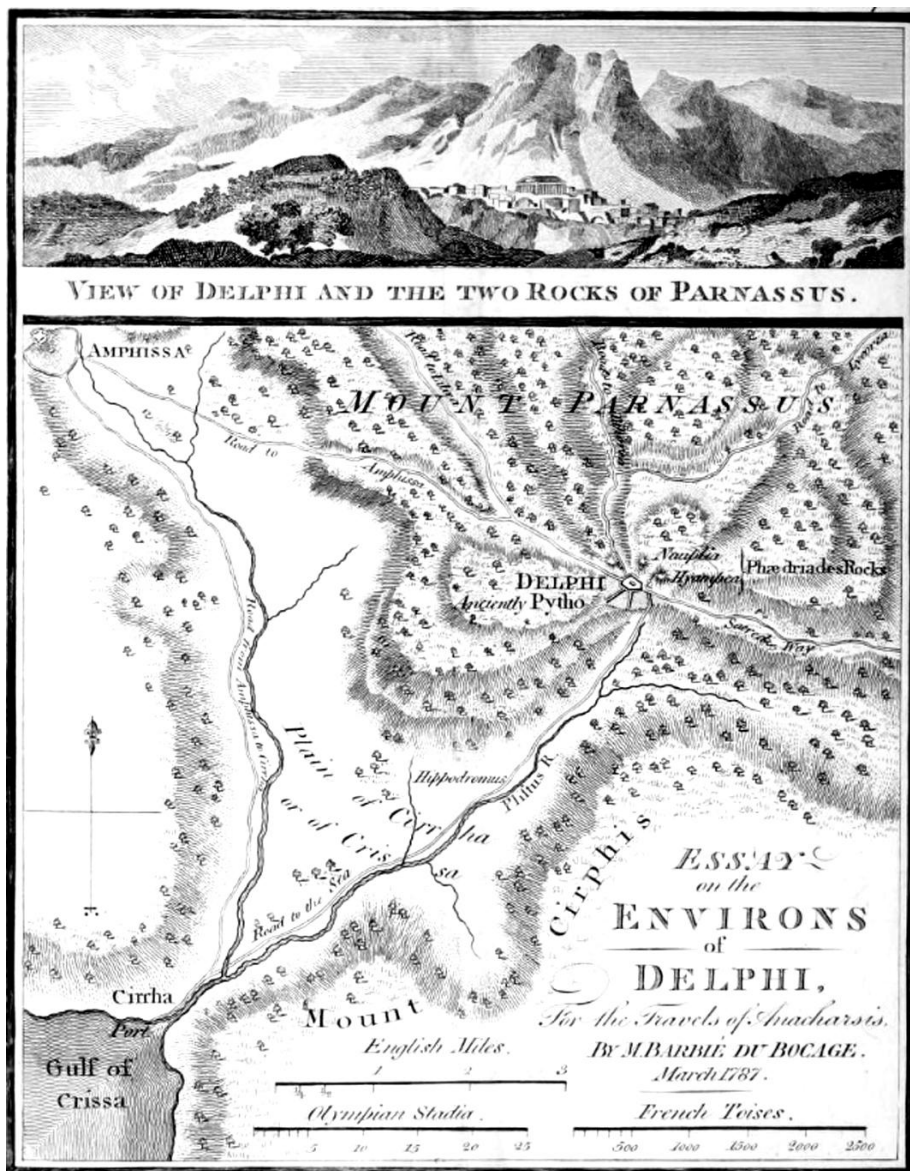
⁵⁸² Mestrius Plutarch was the famed Greek philosopher who wrote many works and was an old man at the start of Hadrian's reign. The date of his death is uncertain and a range of 120–125 C.E. a reasonable conjecture. Stadter, "Plutarch and Rome," 20, writes, "Whether through Sosius' influence, or Trajan's own initiative, Plutarch received from the emperor one of the highest honors given to Romans of the equestrian class, the *ornamenta consularia*. This gave him consular rank and privileges such as wearing the toga consularis and seating with senators on public occasions. Less credible is another late notice reporting that Hadrian had made Plutarch an imperial procurator for Greece, though possibly this could refer to some kind of non-administrative oversight of the province." Stadter's reference to a 'late notice' is covered in Swain, "Plutarch, Hadrian, and Delphi," 318, who cites the late 8th century historian Syncellus (*The Chronicle of Jerôme*), who wrote, "Plutarch of Chaeroneia the philosopher was appointed as an old man by the emperor [Hadrian] to be procurator of Greece" (see Swain for both translation and Greek text). Did Hadrian have personal acquaintance with Plutarch? The answer is unknown. See Bowie, "Hadrian, Favorinus, and Plutarch" (especially pp. 1 and 11). For more on the relationship between Hadrian and Plutarch, see Jones, "Toward a Chronology of Plutarch's Works," especially Part II.

Delphi, 2
 (Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, 763)



c60 Coin of Delphi
 (Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, 769)





Plan of Delphi's 'Holy District,' 1
 (Luckenbach, *Olympia und Delphi*, 45; cf. Collas, *A Concise Guide of Delphi*, 22)

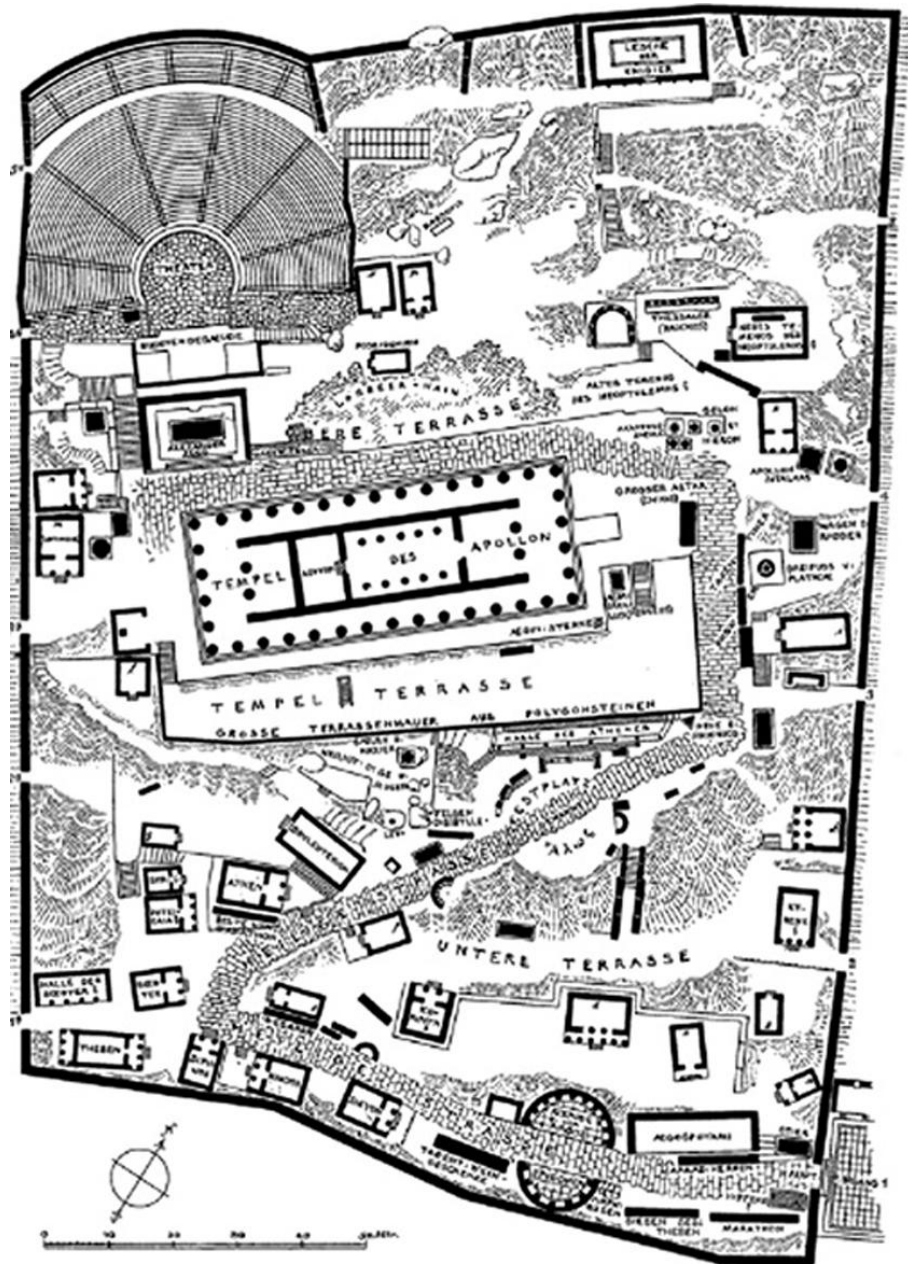


Fig. 50. Der heilige Bezirk von Delphi. Plan von H. Pontow.

Plan of Delphi's 'Holy District,' 2
 (Luckenbach, *Olympia und Delphi*, 45)

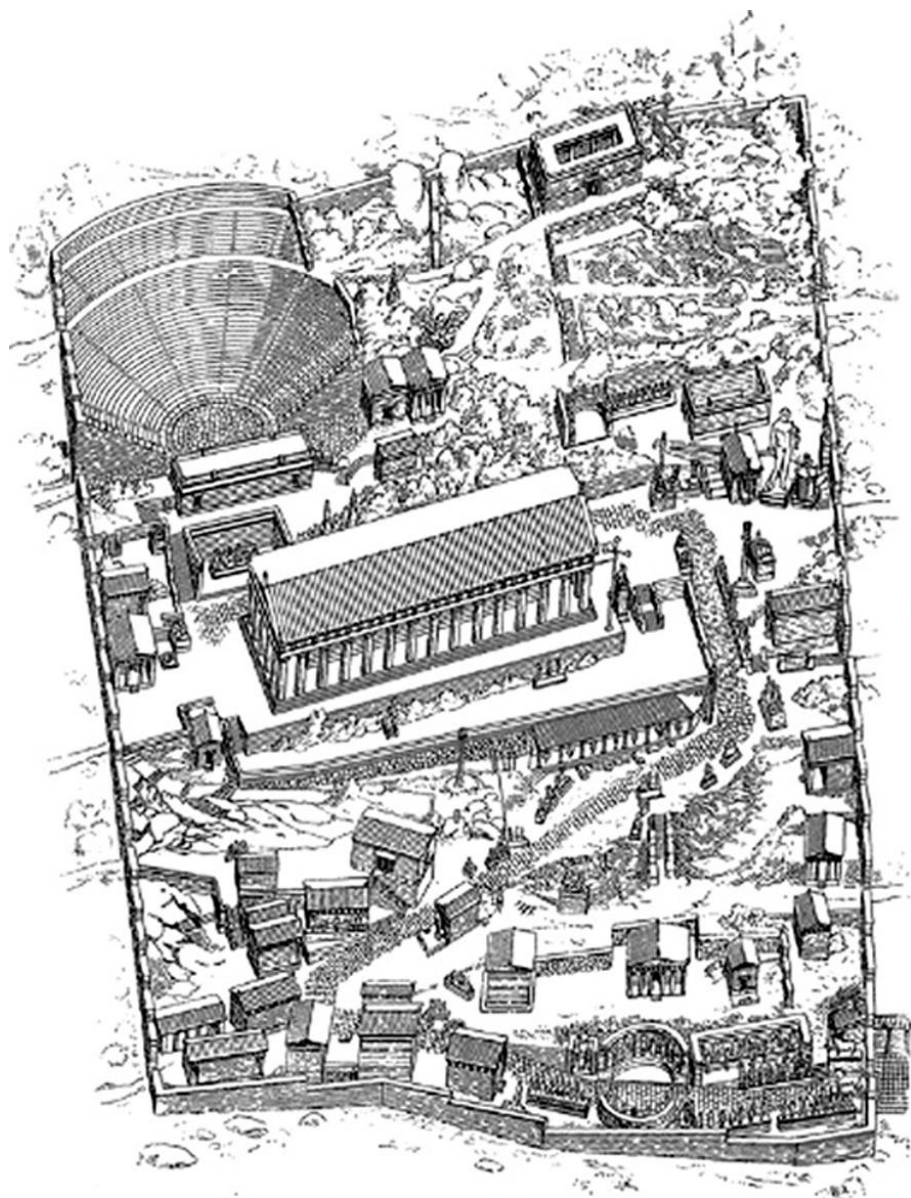
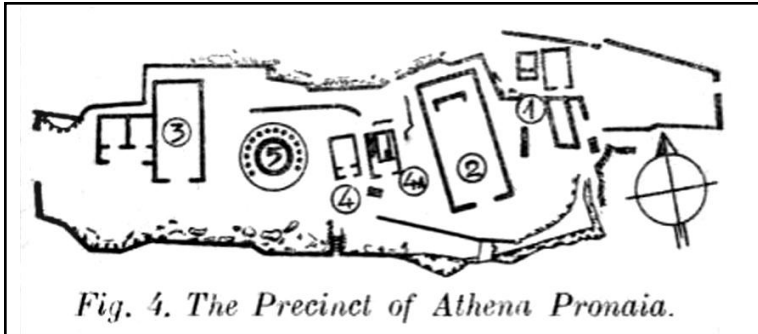


Fig. 45. Der heilige Bezirk von Delphi. Ansicht von C. Schaefer.



400 Plutarch about the Oracle at Delphi

(Plutarch, *Moralia*)⁵⁸³

406e[24] [H]istory descended from its vehicle of versification, and went on foot in prose, whereby the truth was mostly sifted from the fabulous. . . .

407a[25] The introduction of clearness was attended also by a revolution in belief, which underwent a change along with everything else. And this was the result: in days of old what was not familiar or common, but was expressed altogether indirectly and through circumlocution, the mass of people imputed to an assumed manifestation of divine power, and held it in awe and reverence; but in later times, being well satisfied to apprehend all these various things clearly and easily without attendant grandiloquence and artific[p. 331]ality, they blamed the poetic language with which the oracles were clothed, not only for obstructing the understanding of these in their true meaning and for combining vagueness and obscurity with the communication, but already were coming to look with suspicion upon metaphors, riddles, and ambiguous statements, feeling that these were secluded nooks of refuge for furtive withdrawal and retreat for him that should err in his prophecy.

401 Honoring Hadrian at Delphi, 2 [c. 125 C.E.]

(Inscription)

[SIG³ 829b]⁵⁸⁴

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, by the city of Delphi.

⁵⁸³ Plutarch, *Moralia* (Babbitt trans.), V, 329, 331 (with facing Greek text). Plutarch favored the view that the oracle changed with the times. On this matter, see Athanassiadi, “The Fate of Oracles in Late Antiquity: Didyma and Delphi.”

⁵⁸⁴ The Greek text can be found in *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., 544. Hadrian was *archon* at Delphi in 125 C.E. On Hadrian’s relationship with Delphi, see Scott, *Delphi*, 223–29.

402 Honoring Hadrian at Delphi, 2 [125(?) or 129(?) C.E.]

(Inscription at Delphi)

[*Fouilles des Delphes*, P21]⁵⁸⁵

Emperor Caesar Hadrian, the second (time).

403 Delphi Honors Hadrian's Overseer [125 C.E.]

(Inscription at Delphi)

[*SIG*³ 830=*Inscriptions of Delphi* III⁴ 98]⁵⁸⁶

The God (Apollo). Good fortune! The 3rd day of the month Poitropios⁵⁸⁷ in the assembly of the supreme magistrates (*damiourgi*): by the decree of the supreme magistrates, to Caius Julius Pudens, supply administrator (*frumentarius*) of legion I Italica, soldier overseeing the works and the equipping for same, by means of the lord Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, who has honestly and modestly sojourned (among us), citizenship is now given. In the reign of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus.

404 Hadrian Writes to Delphi in Greece [125 C.E.]

[*CID* IV.152 (11, 37–40); also note *CID* IV.302 and 303]⁵⁸⁸

I have ordered Claudius Timocrates, who is collecting the Amphictyonic decrees, to send to me those decrees which are in conflict with one another or with the common laws, in order that an investigation also of these may be made.

[Also see chapter 15 for other letters to Delphi]

⁵⁸⁵ The Greek text can be found in *Fouilles des Delphes*, 93 [#P21], or at *EDCS* (EDCS-78300313).

⁵⁸⁶ The inscription, with an alternative translation and commentary, can be viewed online at *Judaism and Rome* (<https://www.judaism-and-rome.org/delphi-hadrian-and-local-citizenship-roman-soldier>). Greek text also can be found online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/240217?hs=384-410%2C536-560>), or in the book by Flacelière, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, Fasc. IV, 183. On the inscription, see Grzesik, “From Democracy to Oligarchy.” About the *damiourgi* in Hadrian’s time Grzesik, 124, remarks, “the *damiourgoi* were numerous enough to constitute an assembly or council (*synedrion*) in their own right, which met regularly on a fixed date and had the ability to confer citizenship. . . .” On Delphic inscriptions in general, see Grzesik’s chapter, “The Language of Honors” (pp. 109–33), in his *Honorific Culture at Delphi in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Girdvainyte, “Law and Citizenship in Roman Achaia,” 227n.105 observes that this grant of citizenship is by the ‘supreme magistrates’ (*damiourgi*) rather than either the Council (*boule*) or ‘people’ (*Demos*).

⁵⁸⁷ *Poitropios* was the sixth lunar month of the Delphi calendar. It corresponds to the month of Poseidon at Athens and to December on the Gregorian calendar. In this month the rites of the Poitropia took place; these are thought to have some connection with purification. On the dating system at Delphi, see Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, 73–75. He notes, 74, “The intercalary month was the sixth, designated as Ποιτρόπιος ὁ δεύτερος. The appearance of Ποιτρόπιος ὁ πρῶτος presumably also indicates intercalary years. . . .”

⁵⁸⁸ Cortés-Copete, “*Koinoi Nomoi*,” 115 (with Greek text). The article argues for Hadrian’s strong interest in common laws as a force for unifying the empire. Cortés-Copete, 120, makes the case, “In all of his letters, Hadrian uses the first person singular to embody authority. The pronouns I, me, to me and mine—ἐγὼ, με, μοι, ἐμῆς—are also omnipresent, as are the verbs I want, I ordain, I will call, etc.—βύλλομαι, κελεύω, καλέσω. The Emperor was becoming the sole guarantor of legal certainty and safety in the Empire.” One tool was supporting common laws.

GREECE: EXAMPLES OF HADRIAN'S INFLUENCE ELSEWHERE⁵⁸⁹

405 Hadrian's Gift of an Altar at the Temple of Argive Hera at Argos [124 C.E.]

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁹⁰



THE HERA OF ARGOS,
(Athens Museum.)

II.17.6 There is an altar upon which is wrought in relief the fabled marriage of Hebe and Heracles. This is of silver, but the peacock dedicated by the Emperor Hadrian is of gold and gleaming stones. He dedicated it because they hold the bird to be sacred to Hera.

Argive Hera

← (Ward, *Greek Coins and Their Parent Cities*, 313)

406 Statue Dedicated to Hadrian at Messene, in Messenia

(Inscription on Limestone Base in Orchestra of Theater at Messene)

[AE 2006.1357]⁵⁹¹

Good fortune! To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, by Tiberius Claudius Frontinus, son of Tiberius Claudius Saethida Caelianus I, high priest of the Augusti for life, and Helladarch of the Koinon of the Achaeans.

407 Temple to Apollo at Abae in Region of Phocis

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁹²

X.35.4 Beside the large temple there is another, but smaller in size, made for Apollo by the emperor Hadrian.

⁵⁸⁹ Høyte, "Imperial Visits," 229, comments, "It seems fairly certain that Hadrian travelled through central Greece to a harbour on the Adriatic in the spring of A.D. 125. An inscription from a base in Elatea in Locris mentions Hadrian having tribunician power for the eighth time. Hadrian almost certainly was in Coronea in A.D. 125 and possibly in nearby Abaea and Hyampolis as well, and the base in Elatea was thus dedicated shortly before his arrival to the area, possibly in anticipation of an imperial visit." Fusco, "The Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Ares," 114, suggests that Hadrian's visit to Argos—which he places as likely in 124—may have included visiting the temple of Aphrodite and Ares, and subsequently influencing his project of the temple of Venus and Roma in Rome.

⁵⁹⁰ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones' trans.), I. 335 (with Greek text, p. 334). Touratsoglou, "Coin Production," 237, adds, "Hadrian was responsible for certain renovations on the theater, for the construction of two large aqueducts, as well as for the building of a brickwork *odnum*."

⁵⁹¹ The Greek text can be seen at EDCS (EDCS-66200171). Themelis, "Economy . . . of Messenia," 104, notes the dedicant, Tib. Claudius Frontinus, was the first Messenian senator under Hadrian.

⁵⁹² Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones' trans.), IV, 581 (Greek text on p. 580).

408 Portico at Hyampolis in Phocis

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁹³

X.35.6 Returning to the straight road to Opus, you come next to Hyampolis. . . . In earlier times the city was called by its neighbours the city of the Hyantes, but in course of time the name of Hyampolis prevailed over the other. . . .

X.35.6 The emperor Hadrian built a portico which bears the name of the emperor who dedicated it.

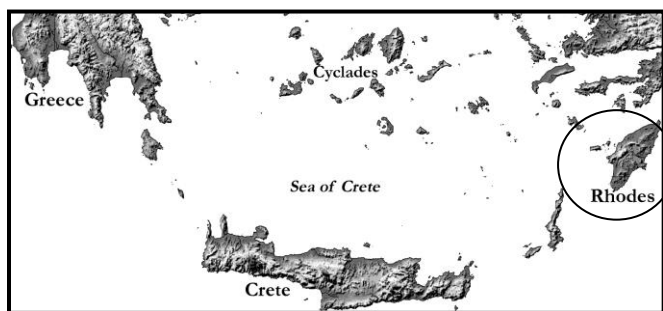
409 Largesse to Sybaris (Lupiae)

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁵⁹⁴

VI.9 The anchorage there is artificial and was made by the emperor Hadrian.

RHODES

(circled)



410 Hadrian and the Colossus of Rhodes, 1

(*Paschal Chronicle (Chronicon Paschale)*)⁵⁹⁵

[227th Olympiad] The Colossus of Rhodes was first moved in the reign of Hadrian.

411 Hadrian and the Colossus of Rhodes, 2

(John Malalas, *Chronicle*)⁵⁹⁶

XI.18 In his reign, Hadrian raised again the Colossus of Rhodes, which had fallen in an earthquake by the wrath of God, which Rhodes had suffered in earlier times. It lay upon the ground 312 years, but no part of it was lost. He spent three *centenaria*⁵⁹⁷ on machines, ropes, and artisans, as he inscribed at its base the time and expense to restore it to stand in the same place.

⁵⁹³ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones' trans.), IV, 583 (Greek text on p. 582).

⁵⁹⁴ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones' trans.), III, 340 (Greek text on p. 339).

⁵⁹⁵ The Greek text can be found in *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed.), I, 476: 'Ο ἐν Ῥόδῳ κολοσσὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀδριανοῦ πρῶτος ἐκινήθη.

⁵⁹⁶ For an alternative translation, see Malalas, *Chronicle*, 148. This text is not included in the translation of Spinka and Downey, *Chronicle of John Malalas*. The Greek text can be found in Malalas, *Chronographia*, 278–79. The authenticity of this account is debated. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 24, calls the account “complete balderdash.” On the other hand, Kouremenos, “Insularity and Imperial Politics,” 209–10, appeals to a ‘hint’ in Pausanias and other sources written after Hadrian’s reign to suggest the colossus was standing at the time.

⁵⁹⁷ This is a measure of weight meant to convey that an enormous sum of money was spent.

THE JOURNEY BACK TO ROME

412 Sicily and Mount Aetna [125 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁵⁹⁸

13.3 Afterwards he sailed to Sicily, and there he climbed Mount Aetna to see the sunrise, which is many-hued, they say, like the rainbow. Thence, he returned to Rome. . . .

Hadrian Visits Sicily on the Journey Back to Rome [125 C.E.]

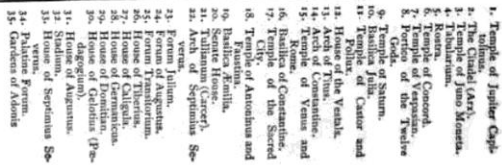
(Ward, *Greek Coins and Their Parent Cities*, facing p. 1)



*Mt. Aetna (lower center) and Rome (upper left) circled;
not shown is Dyrrachium on the west coast of Greece, from which Hadrian probably sailed.*

⁵⁹⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic's trans.), I, 41.

Rome
(Field, *Rome*, I, facing p. 92)



c61 *Hadrian and Rome, 1* [126/127 C.E.]

(Mattingly, “Some Historical Coins of Hadrian,” 223 [Plate XXXIII, #7])⁵⁹⁹



OBVERSE: HADRIANVS AVG: ‘Hadrian Augustus.’
Hadrian, laureate, facing right.

REVERSE: COS III: “Consul three times.”
She-wolf suckling twins.

c62 *Hadrian and Rome, 2* [125–127 C.E.]

(ANS; Silver Denarius)⁶⁰⁰



OBVERSE: HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS: ‘Hadrian Augustus.’
Bust of Hadrian, laureate, facing right.

REVERSE: COS III: ‘Consul three times.’
Goddess Roma,⁶⁰¹ helmeted and in military dress, is seated, facing left, holding in her right hand a branch and in her left hand a scepter.

⁵⁹⁹ Mattingly, “Some Historical Coins of Rome,” 219, sees this coin as a continuation of a theme inaugurated by his ‘refounding’ Rome in 121 C.E. with the start to building the Temple of Venus and Rome, with the Parilla festival now celebrated as ‘the birthday of Rome.’ The theme he sees extended with *Roma Aeterna* coins (which see in chapter 10).

⁶⁰⁰ Public domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (<http://numismatics.org/collection/1956.127.187>).

⁶⁰¹ Mellor, “Dea Roma,” 1, writes, “When Hadrian dedicated the temple of Venus Felix and Roma Aeterna in the Forum, he established for the first time a cult of Roma inside the city of Rome.” The goddess Roma, he observes, took over Vesta’s function as the “guarantor of Rome’s eternity.”

THE PANTHEON

413 Building Projects, 1:

The Pantheon's Reconstruction Completed [c. 126–128 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁶⁰²

19.10 At Rome he restored the Pantheon, the Voting-enclosure, the Basilica of Neptune, very [p. 61] many temples,⁶⁰³ the Forum of Augustus, the Baths of Agrippa, and dedicated all of them in the names of their original builders.

414 Temple of All the Gods (Pantheon) [c. 126–128 C.E.]

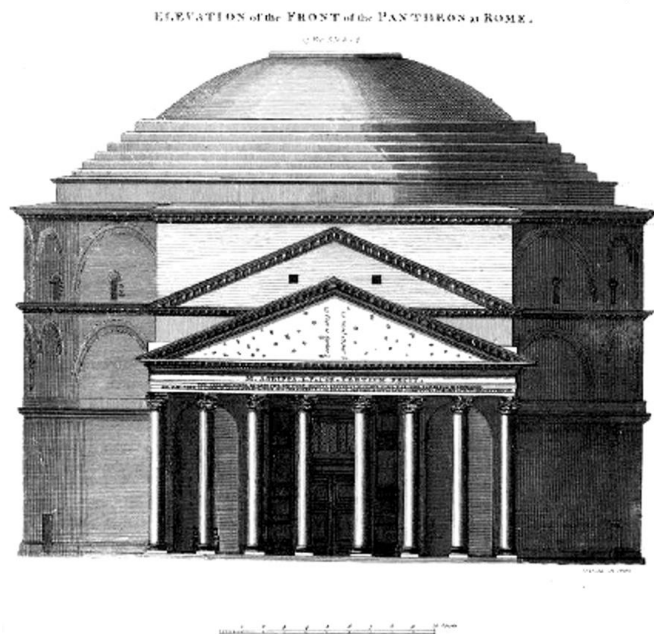
(Bronze Inscription on Stone above the Entrance on the Pantheon at Rome)

[*CIL* VI, 896 (first part)]⁶⁰⁴

Marcus Agrippa, the son of Lucius, consul three times, made this.

The Pantheon, 1: Exterior, Showing Height

(Lumisdén, *Remarks of the Antiquities of Rome*, 276)

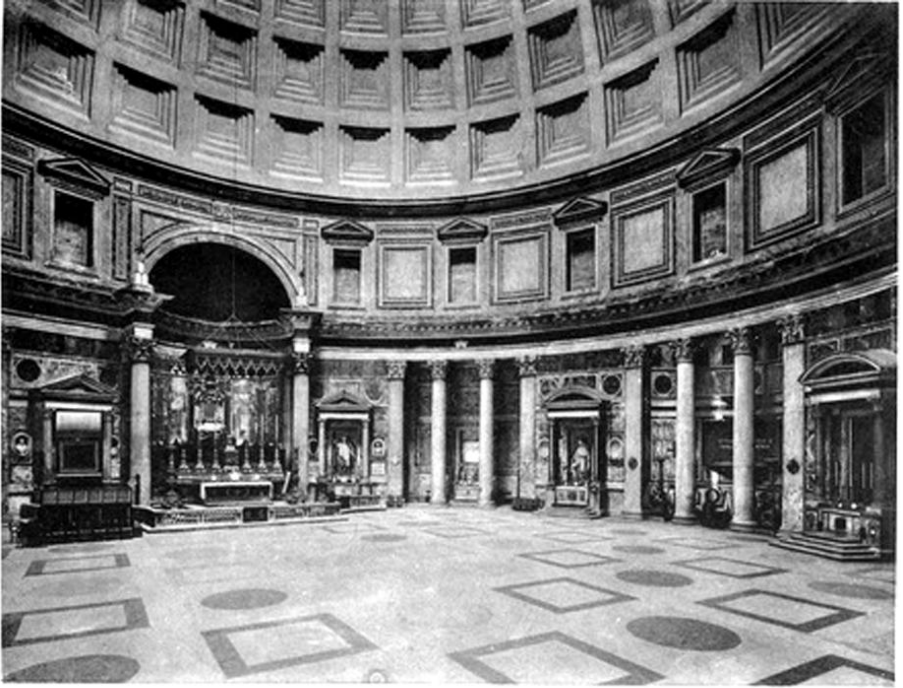


⁶⁰² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 59, 61.

⁶⁰³ Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 78, remarks, "The thrust of most of Hadrian's building in Rome is formal and religious." Hadrian's temple building is mentioned frequently in the sources. Other general remarks about this activity are found elsewhere in this volume (e.g., *Sibylline Oracles* XII and *HA: Severus Alexander* 43:6).

⁶⁰⁴ On this inscription, see Boatwright, "Hadrian and the Agrippa Inscription," 23–24, who argues that Hadrian's inscription either reflects his possession of the original wording, or his own composition in a style that would seem like Agrippa's—and either way it demonstrates his knowledge of Rome's urban history.

The Pantheon, 2: Interior
(Anderson and Spiers, *The Architecture of Greece and Rome*, 221)



181. THE INTERIOR OF THE PANTHEON AT ROME.

The Pantheon, 3: Exterior, 1
(Anderson and Spiers, *The Architecture of Greece and Rome*, 222)

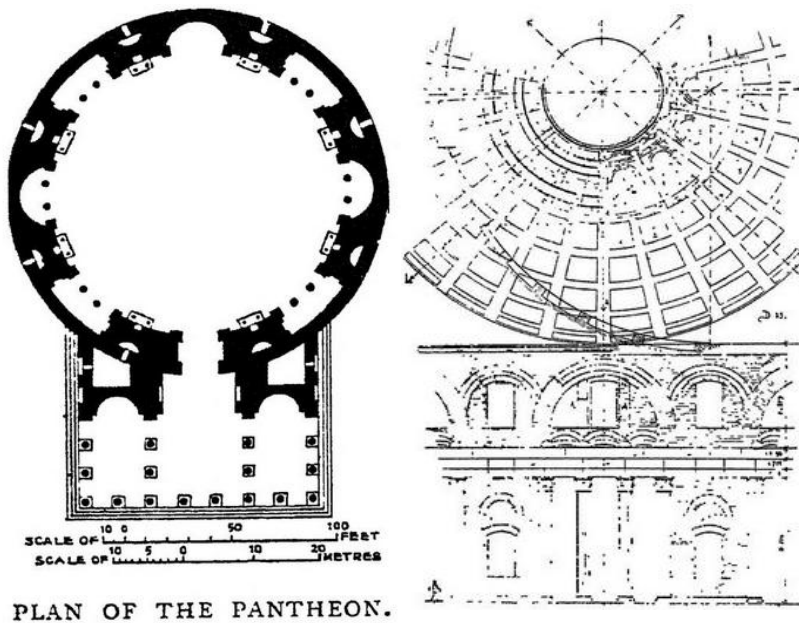


182.—THE PANTHEON AT ROME.

The Pantheon, 4: Exterior, 2
 (Richards, *Rome: A Sketch-Book*, #3)



The Pantheon: Plan (left) and Sections (right)
 (Anderson and Spiers, *The Architecture of Ancient Rome*, Plate XLI and p. 78)



TEMPLE OF THE DEIFIED TRAJAN AND PLOTINA

415 Temple of the Deified Trajan and Plotina [126–129 C.E.?] ⁶⁰⁵

(Honorary Dedication, Temple of Divine Trajan, Rome)

[CIL VI, 966= CIL VI, 3125]

By decree of the Senate, to the deified Trajan Parthicus and Plotina, Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus and grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the ___ time, three times consul, (dedicates this) to his parents.

Temple of Trajan

(Ramsay, *A Manual of Roman Antiquities*, 24)

c63–c66

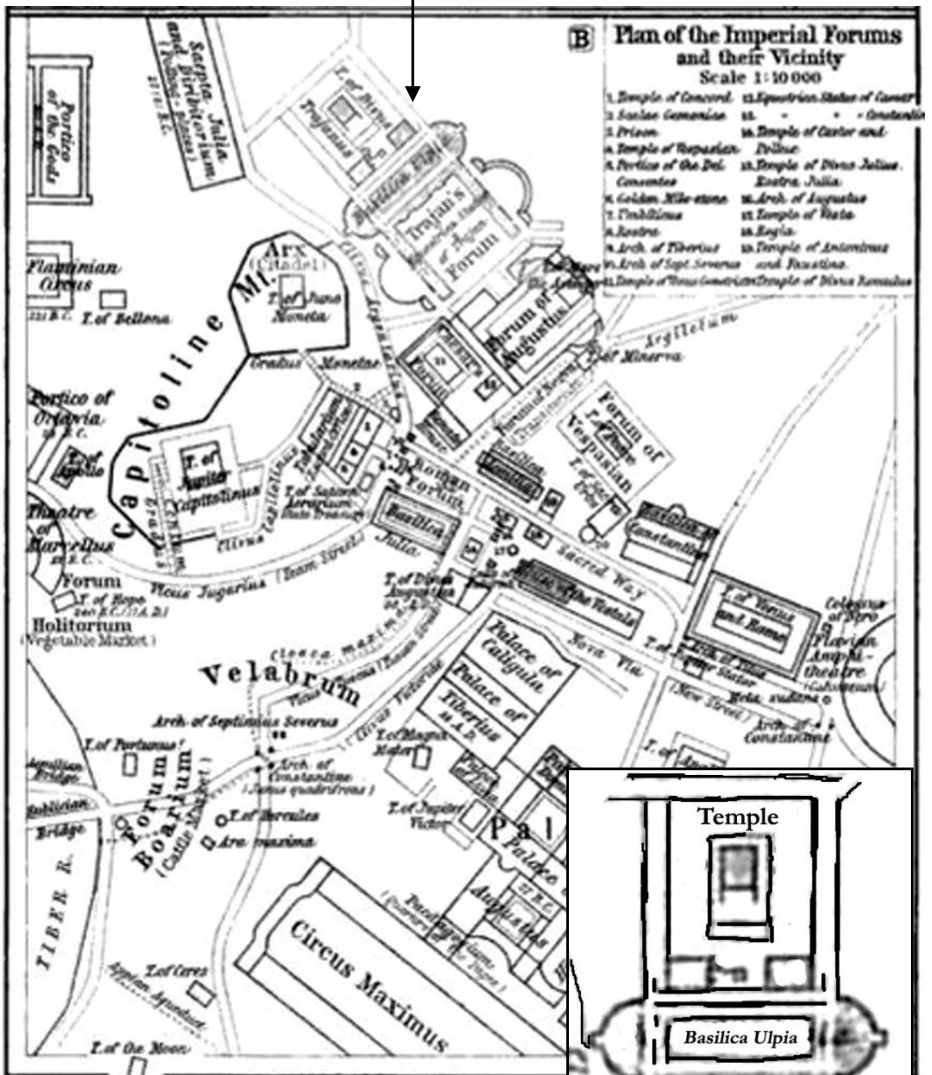


⁶⁰⁵ An image of the Latin text as it appears in place also can be viewed online (<http://docenti.unimc.it/s.antolini/teaching/2018/19112/files/t44>).

Temple of Trajan

(Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 24; Inset Adapted from Same)

Temple of Trajan (see inset, below)



(C) V. & K. The dates given are those of the construction or completion of the buildings.

c67 *The Deified Parents of Hadrian*

(Akerman, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 226 [#5]; description 232)



OBVERSE: HADRIANVS AUG(USTUS) CO(N)S(UL) III P(ATER) P(ATRIAE). (Hadrian Augustus, Consul three times, Father of the Fatherland).

REVERSE: DIVIS PARENTIBUS (Deified Parents) The

heads of Trajan and Plotina, face to face.

c68 *Deified Trajan and Plotina (Aureus)*

(Sotheby, Wilkenson and Hodge, *Catalogue*, Plate VIII [#356])



OBVERSE: DIVO TRAIANO PATRI AVG: 'Deified Trajan, father of Augustus.'

Laureate Trajan, draped bust, facing right.

REVERSE: PLOTINAE AVG: 'Plotina Augusta.'

Draped bust of Plotina, diademed and with hair arranged *en queue* (hair grown long on top, descends in a braid).

c69 *Hadrian and Rome [125–127 C.E.]*

(Quinarius Aureus; ref. RIC II, Part 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 796)⁶⁰⁶



OBVERSE: HADRIANVS AVGVS: 'Hadrian Augustus.' Draped and cuirassed bust of Hadrian, facing right.

REVERSE: COS III: 'Consul 3 times.' Goddess Salus—deity of safety and prosperity—seated, facing left, holding out *patera*

(shallow libation bowl) to feed snake; at left, altar with snake curled about it.

⁶⁰⁶ The public domain image is courtesy of Münzkabinett Wien (<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18200597>); it has been transformed to grayscale.

c70 *The Business of Government at Rome [128–129 C.E.]*

(Münzkabinett Wien, Aureus)⁶⁰⁷

OBVERSE: HADRIANVS
AVGVSTVS P(ater) P(atriciae):
Bust of Hadrian, laureate,
draped and cuirassed, right,
viewed from rear or side | Bust
of Hadrian, laureate, draped
and cuirassed, left, viewed from
rear or side.



REVERSE: CO(n)S(ul) III: Hadrian standing left, Senator standing right, holding sceptre; between them, Roma standing right, holding spear and drawing Hadrian's hand toward the hand of the Senator.

416 *The Arval Brethren Honor Hadrian [126 C.E.]*

(Fragmentary Inscription of Dedication at Rome)

[CIL VI, 970=CIL VI, 40517]⁶⁰⁸

To Emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus, (serving as) Magister, by the College of the Arval Brethren, with the permission of Hadrian Augustus, who built a shrine (*aediculam*), (when) Marcus Annius Verus, for the third time, and Caius Aegius Ambibulus (were) Consuls, as a record (*documentum*) of his unusual generosity at Rome towards the Arval brothers, when the Emperor Hadrian was Magister.

417 *Honoring Hadrian in Italy [126/127 C.E.]*

(Inscription from Somewhere in Italy)

[CIL VI, 969]⁶⁰⁹

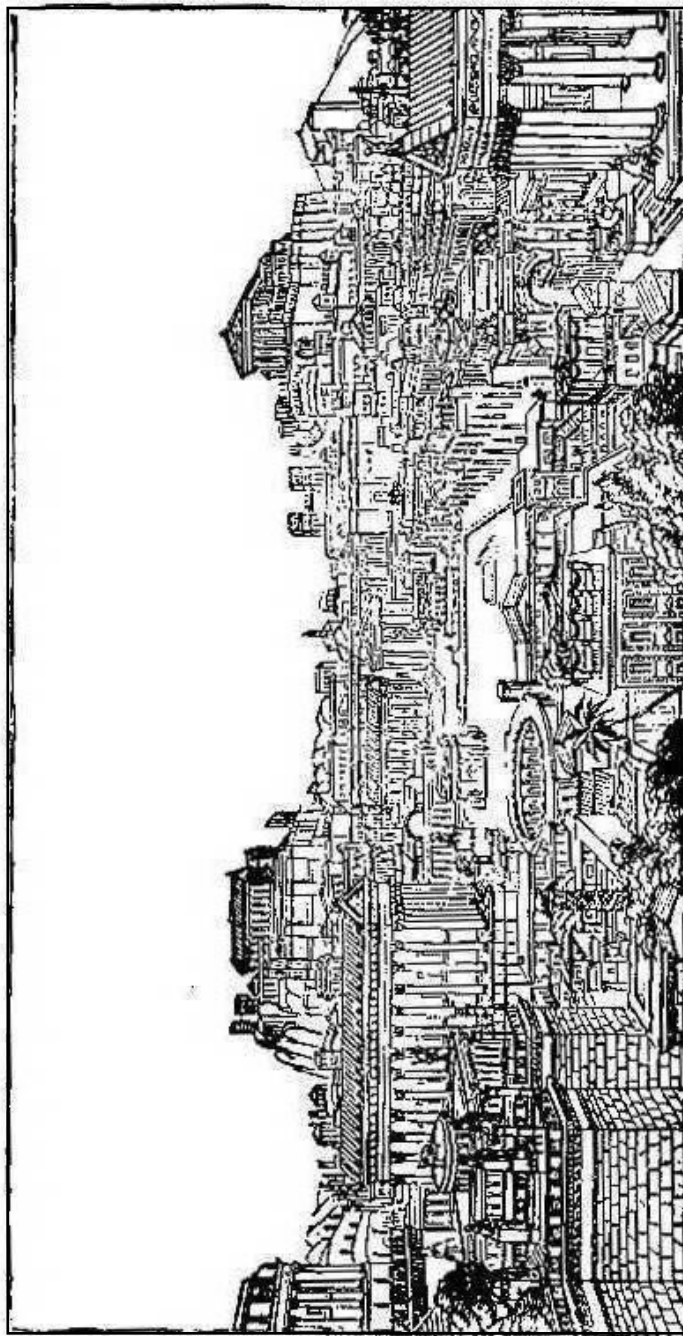
To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 10th time, three times Consul; by order of the decurions.

⁶⁰⁷ The image (© Münzkabinett Wien) is made available by Creative Commons (CC by 3.0) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/legalcode>); the image has been transformed to grayscale. The image, with the text, can be viewed at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian>). Image has been transformed to grayscale; text abbreviations are expanded. RIC II, Part 3 (2nd ed.) Hadrian 934–935.

⁶⁰⁸ The Latin text (and a photo image) can be found online at *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* (<https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD025667>). See Birley, *Hadrian*, 196. An *aediculam*—“shrine”—was a small temple or, commonly, a chapel attached to a temple. There were more than 400 *aediculae* in Rome. Marcus Annius Verus (c. 50–138 C.E.), the grandfather of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Enrolled as a patrician during the Flavian dynasty, he was Consul in 97 (*suffectus*), 121 (*ordinarius*) and 126 (*ordinarius*). His colleague, Caius Aegius Ambibulus (full name Caius Aegius Ambibulus Pomponius Longinus Cassianus Lucius Maecius Postumus) was a native of Aeclanum, a town in Samnium (southern Italy). He was favored by Trajan, but seems to disappear after his consulship.

⁶⁰⁹ The Latin text can be seen online at *EDCS* (EDCS-17301085).

Rome
(Bury, *The Student's Roman Empire*, 141)



OSTIA

418 Hadrian, Duovir for the 2nd Time at Ostia [126 C.E.]

(Fragmented Inscription in Two Parts, Ostia, Italy)

[*Fasti Ostienses*]⁶¹⁰

XXIV 126 . . . Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus brought forth . . . Temple of the Gods . . . dedicated, for which reason games . . . were given and completed . . .

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, for the second time of the *duoviri censoria potestate quinquennales* . . . patron of the colony . . . father.

419 Honoring Hadrian, 1 [126 C.E.]

(Inscription on Marble, Ostia, Italy)

[*IED* 669=*CIL* XIV, 5325]⁶¹¹

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 10th time, three times Consul.

Marcus Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus, son of Aulus, Prefect of the Municipal Treasury (*aerarium Saturni*).

420 Honoring Hadrian, 2 [128–138 C.E.]

(Fragmentary Inscription on Marble, Ostia, Italy)

[*IED* 1299]⁶¹²

To Emperor Caesar . . . three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland

Marcus Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus . . .

421 Brick Stamp [123 C.E.]

(Brick Stamp)

[*CIL* XV, 704a]⁶¹³

From the estates of our Caesar. Tiberius Claudius Irenaeus.

⁶¹⁰ The Latin text can be found in *Fasti Ostienses* (Vidman ed.), 21. The text is badly fragmented. The “Temple of the Gods” (*templum Divorum*) is often rendered *Pantheon*. Every fifth year *duoviri censoria potestate quinquennales* took office in place of the ordinary *duoviri* in a Roman municipality. In their year in office they were charged with revising senatorial and citizen lists (the ‘power of censor,’ *censorial potestate*), and financial planning. See Smith, Wayte and Marindin, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, I, 483. Meigs, *Roman Ostia*, 75, states that Hadrian accepting such a post a second time is “striking confirmation” for his concern for Ostia.

⁶¹¹ The Latin text can be found in *Italia Epigraphica Digitale*, II, 541 [#669]. Marcus Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus, of a prominent family in Ostia, was a Roman Senator during Hadrian’s reign. Prior to his position at the *aerarium Saturni* (where he was a colleague of Lucius Aurelius Gallus), he had been a military tribune with Legio V Macedonia, then quaestor at Rome, enrolled in the Senate, then praetor, *legatus* to proconsuls in Sicily and Asia, then given his own governorship in Gallia Narbonensis. He commanded Legio VII Augusta in the early 120s, was appointed Prefect of the Military Treasury (*aerarium militare*), and finally of the Municipal Treasury (*aerarium Saturni*). Also see *IED* 858 (= *CIL* VI, 972), *IED* 903 (= *CIL* XIV, 4353), and *IED* 1166.

⁶¹² The Latin text can be found in *Italia Epigraphica Digitale*, II, 1062 [#1299].

⁶¹³ The Latin text can be found in Bloch, “The Serapeum of Ostia,” 230 (see for other stamps). There are some 240 brick stamps dated 123 C.E. See Block, 237, on Hadrian’s involvement.

422 Honoring Hadrian, 3 [133 C.E.]

(Monumental Marble Inscription)

[CIL XIV, 95=SEOR II¹, 234]⁶¹⁴

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 17th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland. The colony of Ostia has been maintained and increased by means of all his indulgence and liberality.

423 An Imperial Decision [126–138 C.E.]

(Inscription at Ostia, Italy)

[IED 680=AE 1955.184]⁶¹⁵

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the ___ time, three times Consul, has decided to permit the uniting of the shipmen and traders who navigate the Tiber's channel.

424 Mark of Ownership, 1

(Inscription on Lead Pipe)

[IED 1715=CIL XIV, 5309, 13a (1); cf. CIL XIV, 1976]⁶¹⁶

(Of) Emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus, under the supervision of Procurator Hylas, freedman of Augustus.

425 Mark of Ownership, 2

(Inscription on Lead Pipe)

[IED 1720=CIL XIV, 5309, 15 (1)]⁶¹⁷

(Of) Emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus, under the supervision of the estate manager (*procuratoris patrimonii*).

⁶¹⁴ The Latin text can be found in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Dessau ed.), XIV, 23 [#95]. The key portion reads in Latin: *colonia Ostia conservata et aucta omni indulgentia et liberalitate eius*. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 74, succinctly remarks, “Hadrian deserved the tribute.” He adds (p. 658), “Nearly half the Ostia we now see was built while Hadrian was emperor and the new work is notable for the coherent planning of large areas.” This work largely occurred in two spurts, one early and one late. The former included a new Capitoleum dominating the forum, and warehouses northwest of the forum; the latter focused on the north side of the west Decumanus and included public buildings like the barracks of the *vigiles* (city watchmen—police and firefighters), and public baths.

⁶¹⁵ The Latin text can be found in *Italia Epigraphica Digitale*, II¹, 552 [#680]. Such ‘uniting’ (inscription’s *coire*) could form a guild (Latin *collegium*).

⁶¹⁶ The Latin text can be found in *Italia Epigraphica Digitale*, II, 1372 [#1715]. Hylas was one of the elite freedmen in service to the emperor (*Augusti liberti*). See Houston, “The Administration of Italian Seaports,” 159, and Appendix, 171.

⁶¹⁷ The Latin text can be found in *Italia Epigraphica Digitale*, II, 1375 [#1720]. The *procuratoris patrimonii*—imperial procurator—was like the administrative procurator, or ‘manager,’ employed by rich landowners. Indeed, Zwolve, “Valerius Patruinus’ Case,” 157–58, remarks, “As any wealthy Roman private individual did, the emperor employed procurators in the management of his estates and other patrimonial interests as a matter of course.” Zwolve explores the laws around such managers. He points out (p. 163) an imperial procurator was “a representative of the imperial administration with a carefully defined instruction, indicating the scope of his authority.”

Plan of Ostia, 1
(A Handbook of Rome and the Campagna, facing 451)

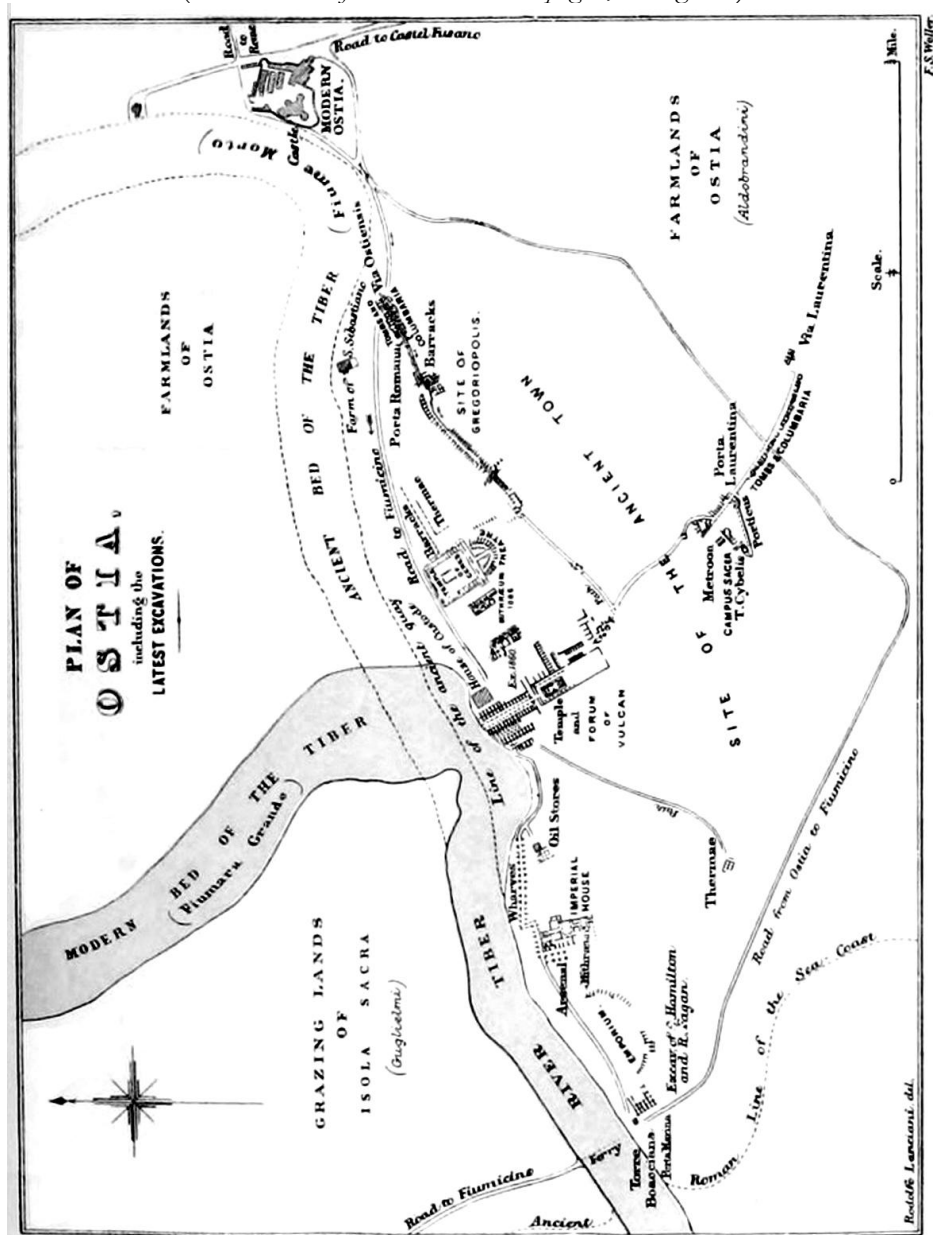
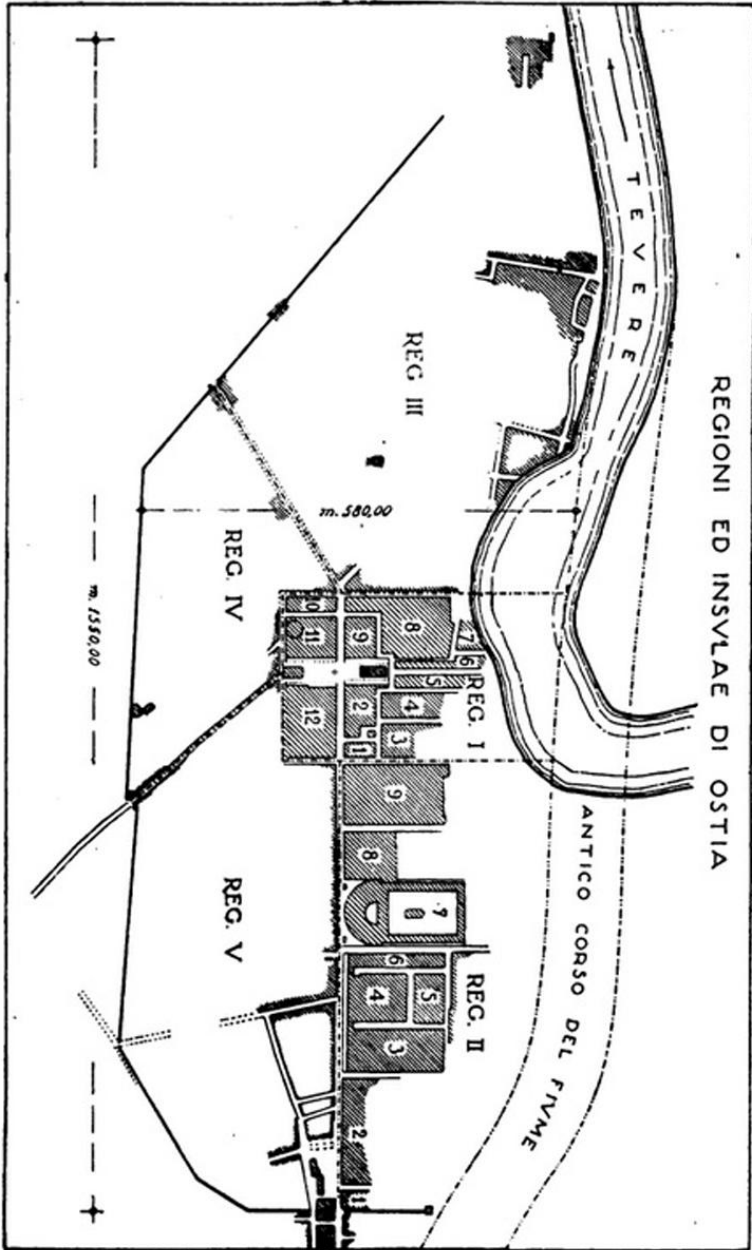


Fig. 22. — General plan of the city, divided into regions and insulae, as described in the Guide.



⁶¹⁸ In Region 1 the Capitoline Temple was built (c. 120); see *Survey of Capitoline Temple* online (<https://core.tdar.org/sensory-data/391602/survey-of-capitoline-temple-ostia-italy-using-the-optech-ilris-3d>). See DeLaine, “Building for the Gods: The Capitolium at Ostia.”

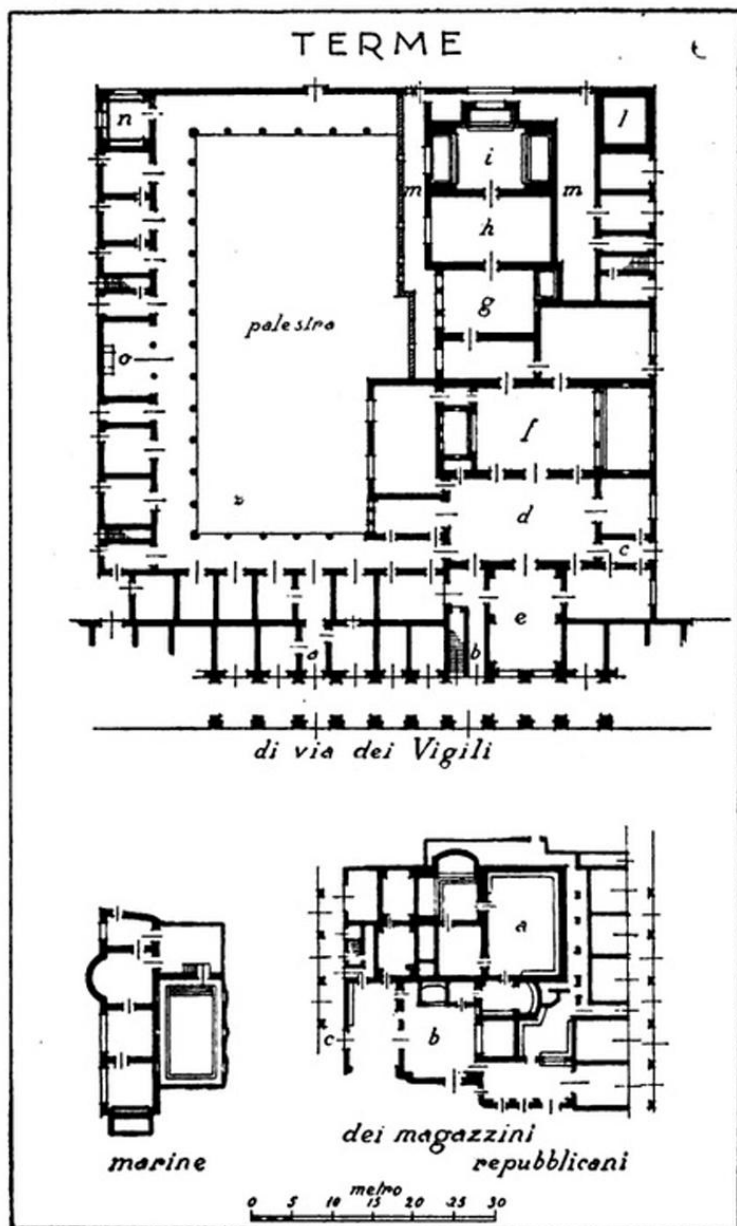


Fig. 26. — Plan of the Thermal establishments discovered in Ostia.

Baths of Neptune at Ostia
(Calza, *Ostia*, 55 [Fig. 17] and 101 [Fig. 27])⁶¹⁹



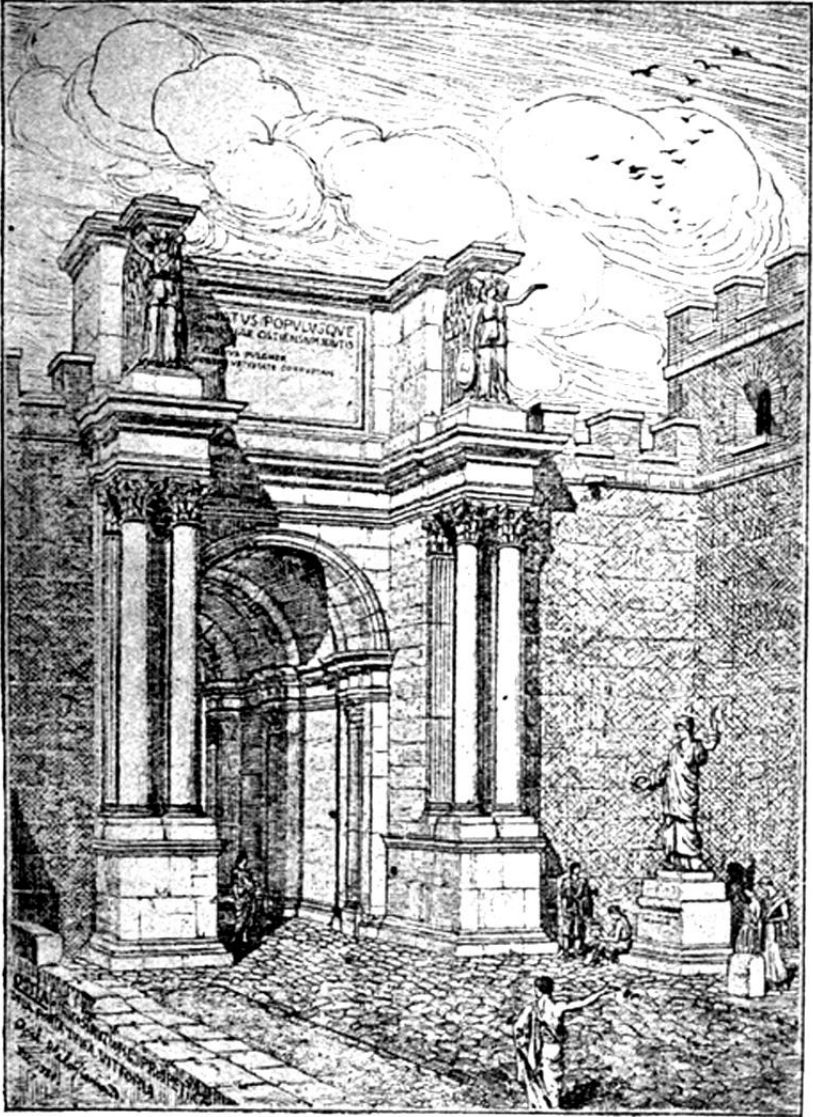
Fig. 17. — The great mosaic of Neptune, in the Baths on the Decumanus (II. century A. D.).



Fig. 27. — Frigidarium of the Baths on the Decumanus.

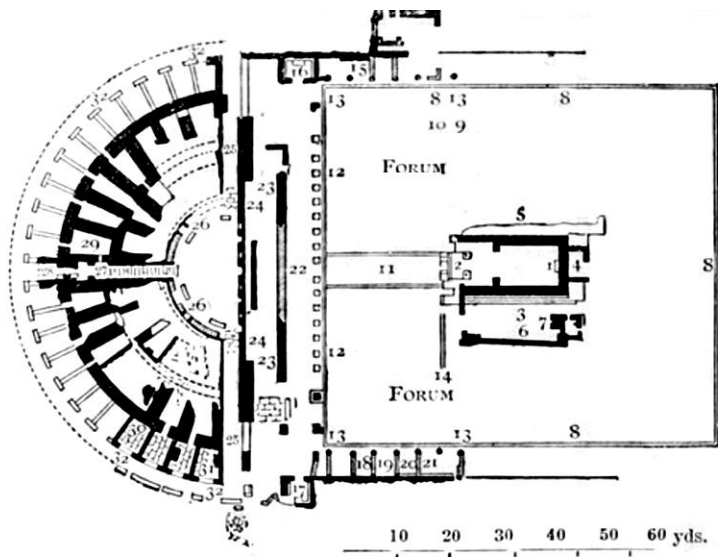
⁶¹⁹ The Decumanus Maximus was the main street in Ostia's eastern half. The bath with this mosaic dates to late in Hadrian's reign and was dedicated by Antoninus in 139 C.E. Earlier in Hadrian's reign (126 C.E.) were built the Baths of Midras and one known today as the Hadrianic Bath. Calza's description, 99–100, notes: "This thermal establishment occupied almost the whole of the eastern half of the entire insula, and consists of various halls arranged according to a somewhat irregular plan, as follows: in correspondence with the entrance (c) a large hall (d) ornamented with one of the grandest and most lifelike pavements in black and white mosaic which the Roman world has preserved for us; Neptune drawn by four marine horses has around him Tritons, Nereids, dolphins, animals and fishes of every species and also two men swimming."

The Roman Gate at Ostia
(Calza, Ostia, 79)



Reconstruction of the front of the Roman Gate.

Plan of Ostia, 3
*(A Handbook of Rome and the Campagna, 448)*⁶²⁰



THEATRE OF OSTIA. FORUM AND TEMPLE OF CERES.

THEATRE.

22. Post scena with cemented pavement.
23. Massive tufa wall of the scena.
24. Suggestum of the scena ornamented with niches.
25. Corridors dividing the scena from the cavea.
26. Marble parapets.
27. Central Ambulacrum.
28. Pedestals of statues used to strengthen the corridor walls.
29. Cemented room used as a sepulchral vault in 16th cent.
30. Stairs leading to the upper part of the cavea.
31. Room in which a statue of a goddess was found.
32. Semicircular Ambulacrum.

FORUM AND TEMPLE OF CERES.

1. Temple of Ceres.
2. Pronaos with bases and capitals.
3. Water-channel.
4. Later chamber.
5. Marble flags covering water-channel.
6. Site appropriated to the Peregrini.
7. Fountain.
8. Travertine channel round the area.
9. Site of pedestal of P. Aufidius.
10. Site of statue of P. Aufidius.
11. Cemented path from Theatre to Temple.
12. S. side of marble colonnade.
13. E. and W. sides of brick colonnade divided by transverse walls into chambers.
14. Leaden pipe with inscriptions.
- 16, 17. Chambers containing altars.
- 15, 18, 19, 20, 21. Chambers used as offices by various guilds.

⁶²⁰ There is a copious literature on Roman Ostia. For a general introduction, see Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (cited above), or Claridge, Gallina, and Zevi, *'Roman Ostia' Revisited*, or Hermansen, *Ostia: Aspects of Roman City Life*, or Karivieri, *Life and Death in a Multicultural Harbour City*. For an accessible treatment of a topic not covered here, see Watts and Watts, "A Roman Apartment Complex." For brief coverage on a matter of interesting and important topics (e.g., games and other spectacles at Ostia; imperial visits; the *Fasti Ostiensis*; and religious matters), see Bruun, "Civic Rituals in Imperial Ostia."

TOUR OF CISALPINA

426 A Five Month Tour of Italy [March 3–early August, 127 C.E.]

(*Fasti Ostiensis* 26: V Mar.)⁶²¹

Augustus progressed to Italy's Cisalpina.

Northern Italy (Cisalpine Region)

(Leighton, *A History of Rome*, 2)



⁶²¹ The Latin text used follows the suggested emendation of Syme, “Journeys of Hadrian,” 162, who says of the phrase *ad Italianam circum[padan]*, “That is, to the region known as Cisalpina.” Birley, *Hadrian*, 197, comments, “The missing part . . . must be *[padanam]*, in other words, the valley of the River Padus (Po).” Another possible reading is *circum[circa]*, “round about,” i.e., throughout Italy.

c71 Hadrian, ‘Restorer of Italy’ ⁶²²
 (Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, III)
 [(Plate 97.2); Sestertius]



REVERSE: RESTITVTORI · ITALIAE SC in ex. ‘Restorer of Italy.’

c72 Hadrian: Prepared [129–130 C.E.]
 (Münzkabinett Berlin; Aureus)⁶²³



OBVERSE: HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS: Head of Hadrian, right | Head of Hadrian, left | Bust of Hadrian, draped and cuirassed, left, viewed from front.

REVERSE: CO(n)S(ul) III P(ater) P(atriciae): Hadrian, draped, cuirassed, standing left, raising hand and holding spear; to left, two standards; to right, one standard.

⁶²² While it remains unknown exactly where he visited or the routes he took, Birley, *Hadrian*, 197–200, offers a brief series of remarks on this event. See Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, III, 523. *BMC* III 1823.

⁶²³ The image (© Münzkabinett Berlin) is made available by Creative Commons (CC by 3.0) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/legalcode>); the image has been transformed to grayscale; text abbreviations are expanded. The image, with the text, can be viewed at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian>). *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.) Hadrian 1060–1063.

427 Building Projects, 2: The Relocation of the Colossus of Nero [c. 128 C.E.²]

(HA: *Vita Hadriani*)⁶²⁴

19.12 With the aid of the architect Decrianus he raised the Colossus and, keeping it in an upright position, moved it away from the place in which the Temple of Rome is now, though its weight was so vast that he had to furnish for the work as many as twenty-four elephants.

19.13 This statue he then consecrated to the Sun, after removing the features of Nero, to whom it had previously been dedicated, and he also planned, with the assistance of the architect Apollodorus, to make a similar one for the Moon.



c73 Coin Celebrating “Father of the Fatherland”
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 353)

428 Accepts Title “Father of the Fatherland” (*Pater Patriae*) [128 C.E.]

(Jerome, *Chronicle* (Hadrian))⁶²⁵

XII^c The emperor Hadrian is called Father of his Country and his wife Augusta.

429 Hadrian as *Pater Patriae* and Sabina as *Augusta* [128 C.E.]

(*Paschal Chronicle* (*Chronicon Paschale*))⁶²⁶

[226th Olympiad] The Emperor Hadrian was proclaimed ‘Father of the Fatherland’ and his wife ‘Augusta.’

430 “Father of the Fatherland” (*Pater Patriae*), 1

(Paulus Orosius, *History against the Pagans*)⁶²⁷

VII.13 [488] He, likewise, in the Senate was immediately called Father of His Country and his wife was called Augusta, contrary to the practice of the forefathers.

431 “Father of the Fatherland” (*Pater Patriae*), 2

(Inscription at Great Chesters, Northumberland, in Britain)

[RIB¹ 1736]⁶²⁸

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland.

⁶²⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 59, 61.

⁶²⁵ Pearse et al. at the Tertullian Project (http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm). The Latin text can be found in Jerome. *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones*, 282.

⁶²⁶ The Greek text can be found in *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed.), I, 475: Ἀδριανὸς δ’ αὐτοχράτωρ πατὴρ πατρίδος ἀνηγορεύθη καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ σεβαστή.

⁶²⁷ Orosius, *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, 307 (Deferrari’s translation). The Latin text can be found in Orosius, *Pauli Orosii. Adversus Paganos*, 275.

⁶²⁸ The Latin text can be viewed online at *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (<https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/1736>).

Chapter 8

The Long Journey to Egypt: 128–131 C.E.

AFRICA

432 Before Hadrian's 128 C.E. Visit:

Road Construction—Rusicada to Cirta (Constantine) [125/126 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Military Column near Carthage)

[CIL VIII, 10296]⁶²⁹

By the command of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, a new road between Rusicada and Cirta made by the Legion III Augusta under Sextus Julius Major, Legate with Propraetorian authority, from imperial funds.

433 Rome to Africa [128 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁶³⁰

13.4 [H]e returned to Rome, and from there he crossed over to Africa, where he showed many acts of kindness to the provinces.

c74 *Adventus Africa*
(Stevenson, Smith, and
Madden, *A Dictionary of
Roman Coins*, 9)



c75 *Restorer of Africa*

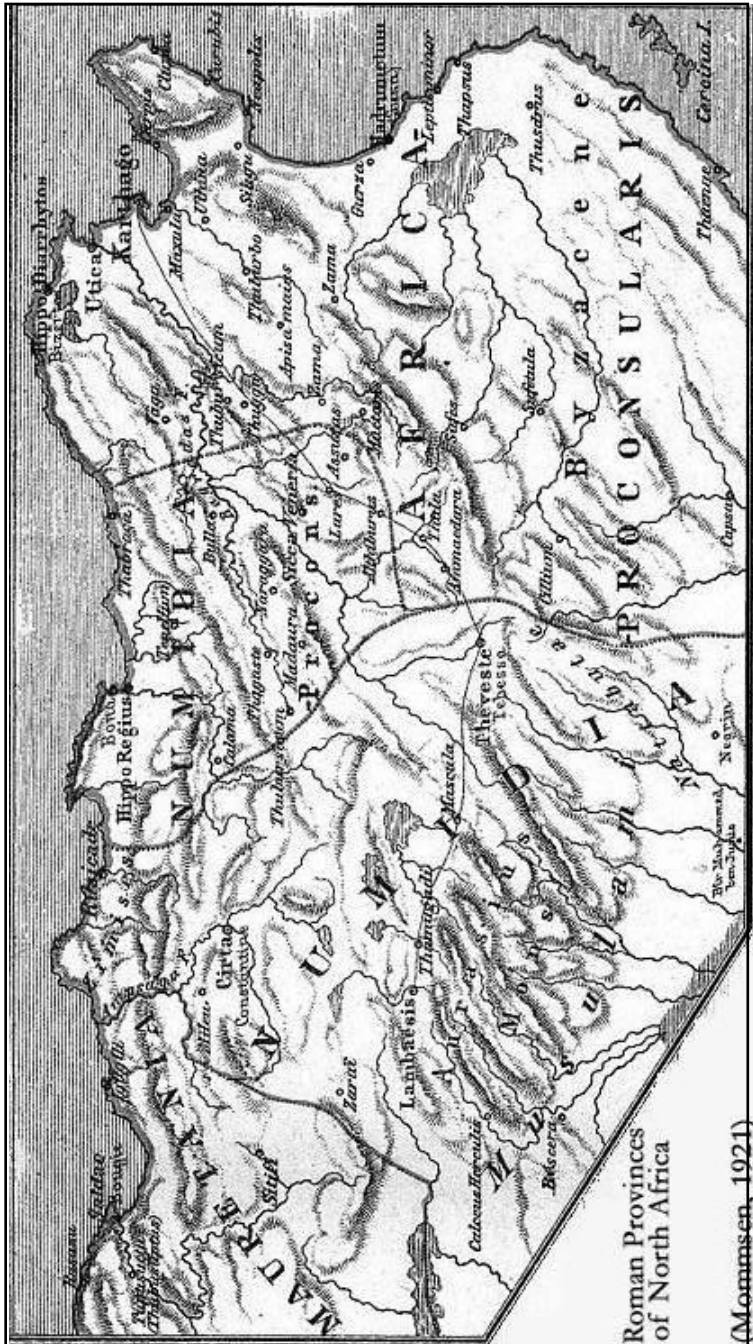
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2,
350)⁶³¹

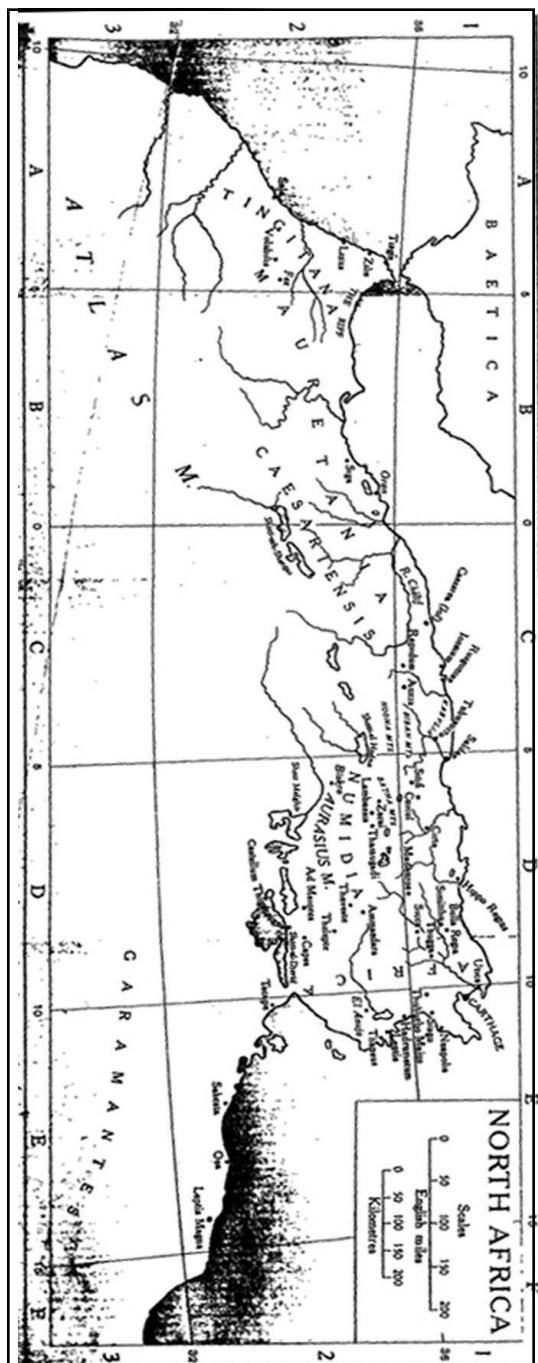
⁶²⁹ The Latin text and comments can be found in Graham, *Roman Africa*, 108; also online at *Epigraphik-Datenbank Class/Slaby* (EDCS-25900545). See Raaijmakers, “Twin Roads” for commentary.

⁶³⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 41.

⁶³¹ Maritz, “The Image of Africa,” 121, observes that there occur “important innovations on Hadrianic coinage, as regards the image of Africa.” He lists six: (1) the image of Africa is identified by legend, thus showing it is a personification; (2) the personification is relegated to the reverse rather than, as customary previously, appearing on the obverse; (3) the personification appears as a whole figure rather than merely a bust; (4) this figure is usually part of a scene; (5) some of the attributes of Africa previously emphasized (e.g., spears) are replaced by others (snake, scorpion, lion), while even familiar ones (e.g., corn) are rendered differently (e.g., as cornucopia and baskets full of produce); and (6) the dress of personified Africa is not native garb but Graeco-Roman.

(Abridged and Excerpted from Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, V (9th ed. (1921))





434 A Dedication to Hadrian [126/127 or 136/137 C.E.]

(Inscription on Monument Block of Gray Limestone
at Hadrianic Baths, Lepcis Magna, Africa)

[IRT (1952) 361=IRT (2021) 0361=AE 1973.571=AE 2005.1673]⁶³²

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the (11th? 21st? time), three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland . . .

Publius Valerius Priscus, Proconsul, with Popilius Celer, his Legate, . . . took the auspices . . . baths . . .

435 Arrival in Africa [128 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁶³³

22.14 When he went to Africa it rained on his arrival for the first time in the space of five years, and for this he was beloved by the Africans.

436 Indirect Praise of Hadrian(?), 1 [c. 128 C.E.]

(Honorific Inscription on Stone at Mactaris in Africa Proconsularis)

[SIRAR 1567]⁶³⁴

To good strong storms, dedicated by Legio III Augusta, Quintus Fabius Catullinus, Legate with Propaetorian powers.

437 Indirect Praise of Hadrian(?), 2 [c. 128 C.E.]

(Honorific Inscription on Stone at Mactaris in Africa Proconsularis)

[SIRAR 971]⁶³⁵

To Jupiter Best and Greatest, God of powerful storms. Dedicated by Legio III Augusta, Quintus Fabius Catullinus, Legate with Propaetorian powers.

438 Road Building [129 C.E.]

(Inscription on Stone at Simitthus (Chemtou) in NW Africa Proconsularis)

[AE 2017.1714]⁶³⁶

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, has caused the road from Simitthu to Thabraca to be made.

⁶³² For an alternate translation (and Latin text), see Reynolds' at *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania 2021* at <https://irt2021.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/IRT0361.html>. Dedication to Hadrian (kcl.ac.uk). For Latin text, also see online *EDH* 030787 (*EDH*: Inscription Database (uni-heidelberg.de)). A date of c. 127 may be more likely but the state of the inscription makes it hard to determine if the text reads XI or [X]XI for Hadrian tribunician power. A native of Hispania, Publius Valerius Priscus had been Consul c. 120/121 (*CIL* VIII, 98).

⁶³³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 69.

⁶³⁴ The Latin text can be viewed online at *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Africae Romanae* (<https://humanidadesdigitales.uc3m.es/s/sirar/item/16947>). See Evertt, *Hadrian*, 272–73.

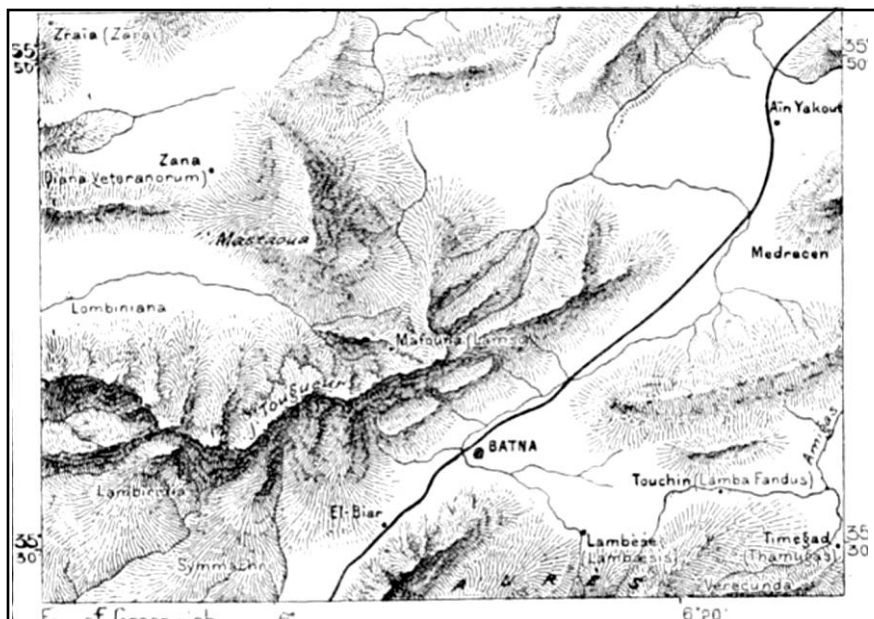
⁶³⁵ The Latin text can be viewed online at *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Africae Romanae* (<https://humanidadesdigitales.uc3m.es/s/sirar/item/14378>). See Evertt, *Hadrian*, 272–73.

⁶³⁶ The Latin text can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-78300386). Thabraca=Tabarka, on the coast.

Northwest Roman Africa
(Map from Reclus, *Universal Geography*, XI, 230 [Fig. 80])
[Lambaesis indicated by arrows and box.]



Location of Lambaesis (bottom right)
(Reclus, *Universal Geography*, XI, 300 [Fig. 129])



439 For the Health of Hadrian [128 C.E.]

(Inscription on Stone at Bir el Goussate in Africa Proconsularis)

[*AE* 2017.1704]⁶³⁷

To sacred Mercurius Sobrius a sacrifice for the safety of Hadrian Augustus; a vow paid by Ianuarius, (son of) Merula.

440 Hadrian's Visit to Lambaesis

(Latin Dedication at Lambaesis in Numidia)

[*AE* 1900.33]⁶³⁸

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, most powerful and generous, (this) is dedicated by P. Cassius Secundus, Legate of the Emperor with Praetorian authority [i.e., “Governor/General”], (and) veterans of the Legion III Augusta who have served as the occupying force (in Africa).

⁶³⁷ The Latin text can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-78300386). Mercurius Sobrius was an African deity resulting from the merging of the Carthaginian god Sobrius with the Roman god Mercury.

⁶³⁸ The Latin text can be found in Graham, *Roman Africa*, 107; cf. *AE* 1900 (p. 14); also cf. *AE* 1942/43.112. The dedication is on the east face of the monument erected in remembrance of Hadrian's visit and inspection of the troops in 128 C.E. Lambaesis (Lambessa) was in Numidia (modern Algeria), then part of Africa province. P. Cassius Secundus might be identified with the person of the same name who was Prefect of the *ala Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum bis torquata* and an honored veteran of the Dacian wars under Trajan. He was Consul in 139 under Antoninus Pius and Governor of Cappadocia c. 141–144. On the issues, see Šašel Kos, “Dedications,” 108–09.

441 Hadrian Meets His Troops at Lambaesis

(Inscription of Dedication on Stone at Lambaesis)

[*AE* 2006.1008a]⁶³⁹

To Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, most gallant and most generous, the Third Augustan Legion, training field and army having been approved.

442 Hadrian Inspects the Troops at Lambaesis

(Hadrian's Speeches (*Adlocutiones*) at Lambaesis)

[*CIL* VIII, 2532 and *CIL* VIII, 18042]⁶⁴⁰

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus to the legion III Augusta. After inspecting their military exercises, he addressed them in the words written below (when Torquatus was consul for the second time and Libo was consul, on the Kalends of July):

1. *To the Men of the Third Augustan Legion*

. . . Your Colonel⁶⁴¹, my men, has explained to me on your behalf why I should be ready to make allowances for any falling short in efficiency I might notice in you. One of your battalions is absent today, of necessity. For one battalion must serve every year as the Governor's Guard, taking turns. Then again, two years ago your numbers were further diminished by the sending of one whole battalion with four men besides from each of the other regimental companies in order to recruit the strength of your comrades of the Third Regiment. Then again, some of you have to be continually away on outpost duty at one or other of the many widely-scattered frontier picquet posts. Within my own recollection too, you have had not only to change camp twice, but to set to work to build the new camp yourselves.

All these are good excuses supposing your regimental drill or military exercises had fallen short in any respect. But in actual fact this is not the case. You have no need for anyone to make excuses for you. . . . Your Colonel has been indefatigable in his care for you. Your N.C.O.'s⁶⁴² have shown themselves as smart and as brave as ever. . . .

⁶³⁹ Ecker, "The Training Ground," 114, where he also notes that Hadrian met his troops in their *campus* ('field' for training).

⁶⁴⁰ The translation before #1 is mine; the rest is Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 96–98 (who had several texts in front of him but relied on *AE* 1900.34 for organization), but cf. Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 187–189, who shows textual reconstructions and line divisions. Also see Alexander, "Letters and Speeches," 146–49. Especially see Speidel's text and translation. The Latin text can be found in *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg* (HD028138, as well as *EDCS* 8719 and 8750), and in Speidel, *Emperor Hadrian's Speeches to the African Army—a New Text*. The Latin text itself gives some indication of the challenges faced, but I will not here weigh in on such matters and how they affect translation.

⁶⁴¹ "Colonel" here for the Latin title "Legate"; the Legate, the commanding officer of the III Augusta, was Q. Fabius Catullinus. He was Consul *ordinarius* in 130 C.E. (with M. Flavius Aper).

⁶⁴² "N.C.O." (non-commissioned officers) here refers to "battle line leaders" (*primi ordines*) and Centurions.

2. *To the Cavalry of the Legion*

All military exercises have, I may say, clear and precise rules laid down for them; and if anything is taken away from those rules or added to them, the exercise becomes either of little use or too complicated. The more elaborate an exercise is, the poorer show it makes. But you chose the hardest of all to display to me, javelin-hurling at full gallop and wearing cuirasses. . . . I congratulate you on your keenness.

3. *To the Second "Mounted" Cohort of Spaniards*

Entrenchments which others take many days to construct you finished in a single day. You built a wall quite good enough for permanent winter-quarters in a time hardly longer than that wanted for a rampart of sods of earth. This last kind of rampart is quite an easy matter. The turfs are cut of a standard size, and are easy to carry and to handle. There is no difficulty in placing [p. 97] them one on top of another, for they are naturally soft and level. But the wall which you built was of big heavy stones of all shapes and sizes, and to lift or carry these and to put them in place they have to be fitted very carefully together. Next, you cut a trench in a plumb straight line through the very hardest and coarsest gravel, and made its sides perfectly smooth as well.

When you had done this, back you went full tilt to camp, got your rations and your arms, and out you sallied at once after the cavalry. When you found these falling back on you, you advanced with loud cheers in their support. . . . I compliment my Legate Catullinus on his choice of maneuvers so like real warfare for your training, and for practicing you so well in these that I am able to congratulate you all very heartily on the result. Cornelianus too, your own commander, is an excellent officer. . . .

I do not myself care much for Open Order tactics, and in this I follow the best authority. In advance, the trooper should make all the use he can of cover; and in pursuit he should exercise some caution. Otherwise, unless he looks where he is going and is able to rein in sharply whenever he wants, he may easily find himself trapped. . . .

When you charge, let it be knee to knee. . . .

4. *To the First Pannonian Squadron*

You were quick to obey orders, and you maneuvered well over the whole ground. Your javelin-hurling was accurate and good, and that although the javelins were of a kind difficult to grasp. Your spear-throwing too was in many cases excellent, and the jumping was neat and lively. I would certainly have pointed out to you anything in which you fell short if I had noticed it—for example, if you had shown a tendency to overshoot your targets. But there has been no flaw of the kind. The whole of your exercises have been performed absolutely according to rule.

My Legate Catullinus, it is clear, spares no pains in the discharge of every single one of his duties. Your own commander too evidently looks after you very thoroughly. You shall have your travelling-expenses here given to you. The jumping will take place on the Commagenians' parade ground.

5. *To the Horse of the Sixth Commagenian Cohort*

It is not easy for Mounted Infantry to give satisfaction by themselves to the Inspecting Officer; and still harder for them when they come after the display given by Cavalry Squadrons [p. 98] proper. These last cover more ground; their javelin-men are in greater numbers; they practice wheeling constantly; and they make a specialty of the "Cantabrian Charge." Then too they have finer horses and more striking equipment, because they get better pay. None the less, you have not failed to interest and to please me in spite of this heat because you have done just exactly what you had to do. You have shown me also some stone-slinging and missile-fighting. Your jumping is most creditable. That my Legate Catullinus has taken great pains with you is proved by the fact that he has made you what you are to-day.

443 After Hadrian's Visit: A Dedication to Hadrian, 1 [132/133 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Moulded Panel at the Temple of Liber Pater

In the Old Forum (*Forum Vetus*) at Lepcis Magna, Africa)

[IRT (1952) 362=IRT (2021) 0362]⁶⁴³

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 17th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, (at) the public expense of the Lepicitanians for he who in all things has been their savior.

444 Building Dedication to Hadrian by a Wealthy Woman [128–138 C.E.]

(Inscription of Dedication on Stone at Lepcis Magna)

[IRT (1952) 363]⁶⁴⁴

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the ___ time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland; by Aemilia Iov(ina?), at her own (expense).

⁶⁴³ For an alternate translation (and Latin text), see Reynolds' at *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* 2021 at <https://irt2021.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/inscriptions/IRT0362.html>. For Latin text, also see online EDH 059287 (EDH: Inscription Database (uni-heidelberg.de)). With respect to the Latin text, I have rendered *conservatori*—'conservator'—as 'savior,' though 'preserver' or 'defender' might be chosen depending on how one assesses the relationship the citizens wished to express.

⁶⁴⁴ The Latin text can be viewed online at *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* (<https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD059288>). Mugnai, "A Promenade at Lepcis Magna," 97, reports the inscription, perhaps not found in its original location, was recovered in an edifice opposite the *Calchidicum* (a "monumental covered podium"—Quinn, "The Reinvention of Lepcis," 56).

445 Hadrian Is Met Returning to Rome from Africa [128 C.E.]

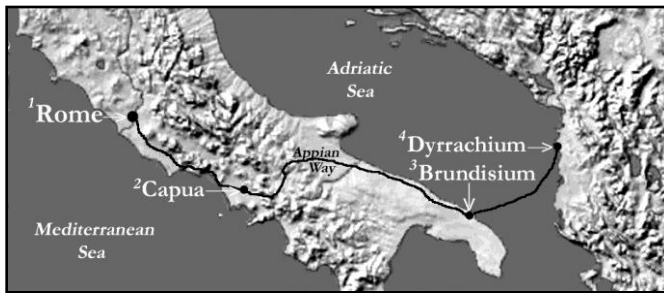
(Inscription at Labicum in Latium, Italy)

[*AE* 1940.99=*AE* 1946.168]⁶⁴⁵

For Publius Cluvius Maximus Paullinus, Consul; one of the seven men in charge of public banquets (*VIIviro epulonem*); assigned Proconsul of the province of Asia; one of the fifteen with priestly duties (*XVviro sacris faciundis*); the legate of Augustus with propraetorian power for the province of Moesia Superior; overseer (*curatori*) of the Flaminian road; legate of legio XIV Gemina; Proconsul of Sicily; legate of the province of Asia; legate of the province of Achaia; commander of the 3rd squadron of Roman *equites* (*sevir turmae III equitum Romanorum*); prefect of the grain supply (*praefectus frumenti dandi*); legate sent by the Senate to Emperor Hadrian when he returned from Africa, praetor; tribune of the plebs; quaestor of the province of Achaia; military tribune of Legio V Macedonica; one of the four supervisor of roads (*quattuorviri viarum curandarum*); Publius Cluvius Maximus Paullinus, the greatest father. . . .

ATHENS [128 C.E.]

Expected Route from Rome to Athens (via Appian Way)



446 Ongoing Building Work in Athens

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁶⁴⁶

13.6 Finally, after his return to Rome from Africa, he immediately set out for the East, journeying by [p. 43] way of Athens. Here he dedicated the public works which he had begun in the city of the Athenians, such as the temple to Olympian Jupiter⁶⁴⁷ and an altar to himself; and in the same way, while travelling through Asia, he consecrated the temples called by his name.

⁶⁴⁵ The Latin text can be found online at *EDCS* (EDCS-15300346); key portion: *legato misso a senatu ad Imperatorem Hadrianum cum ex Africa reverteretur*. See Birley, *Hadrian*, 213–14. The *quindecimviri* (XV) *sacris faciundis* was one of the four most prominent of the priestly colleges. The *sevir equitum* was the officer in charge of a squadron (*turmae*) of members of the Equestrian order residing at Rome. On this topic, see Taylor, “*Sevirii Equitum Romanorum*.” A *praefectus frumenti dandi* was in charge of overseeing food distribution to the Roman populace.

⁶⁴⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 43.

⁶⁴⁷ The Hadrianic work on the temple was progressive from c. 124 C.E. until completion in 131 C.E. (see a later entry). A rectangular precinct wall was built around the temple, baths were added, and eventually Hadrian’s Arch (also later in this chapter) was set at the entrance to the area.

ELEUSIS [128 C.E.]

447 Hadrian Visits Greece and Returns to Eleusis [128 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)⁶⁴⁸

LXIX.11.1a On coming to Greece he was admitted to the highest grade at the Mysteries.

448 Heracles (Hercules), Eleusis, Its Mysteries (and Hadrian)

(Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaic Oration*)⁶⁴⁹

I.50 When Heracles departed from mankind, the city was the first to establish for him temples and altars, just as even before it honoured him first of foreigners with initiation into the mysteries.

I. 51 And from that time he has always been and has seemed to be a God.

I. 374 Everybody of course believes that Heracles and the Dioscuri are [p. 261] Gods. But they were the first strangers to whom the city revealed its sacred ceremonies, while they still lived among mankind, so that it clearly has initiated into the mysteries those to whom we now sacrifice.

449 A Marginal Note Concerning the Mysteries

(A Scholiast on Aristophanes, *The Frogs*, 158)⁶⁵⁰

It was the common belief in Athens that whoever had been taught the Mysteries would, when he died, be deemed worthy of divine glory. Hence all were eager for initiation.

450 A Bridge Built Near Eleusis [attributed to 127 C.E.]

(Cassiodorus, *Chronicle*, 778–779)⁶⁵¹

778 Gallicanus and Titianus

779 Under these consuls near the city of Eleusis, Hadrian built a bridge over the Cephissus river.

⁶⁴⁸ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 445. Cortés-Copete, "Hadrian among the Gods," 122, writes, "Another procession, with citizens, epheboi, and Greeks who had come from far and wide, accompanied him as far as the Telesterion. There he would complete the epoptia, the second grade of initiation into the mysteries and a ritual that was not open to all. The emperor came out of it transformed." (The *Telesterion* was the 'initiation hall' at Eleusis.)

⁶⁴⁹ Aelius Aristides, *Aristides in Four Volumes* (Behr trans.), I, 45 (with facing Greek text), and 259, 261 (with facing Greek text). With respect to the latter portion, Hadrian would be one of those "to whom we now sacrifice" as Aristides was orating in the reign of Antoninus Pius. For an alternate translation of this portion, and comments, see Cortés-Copete, "Hadrian among the Gods," 129.

⁶⁵⁰ Eliade, *Man and the Sacred*, 148.

⁶⁵¹ Proce, *Cassiodorus Chronicle*, 30. The Latin text can be found in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* (Mommesen ed.), XI; see pp. 109–61 for the complete text. Cassiodorus places this in the 7th year of Hadrian's reign (which he has beginning in 121 C.E.). Galimberti, "Hadrian, Eleusis, and the Beginning of Christian Apologetics," 72, notes that the rebuilding of the bridge, destroyed by a flood, was to enable a quicker connection for people travelling between Athens and Eleusis.

ASIA

451 Dealing with Provincial Issues [129 C.E.]

(Excerpt from Letter on a Stele in Asia Minor)

[*AE* 2009.1428=SEG LIX.1365]⁶⁵²

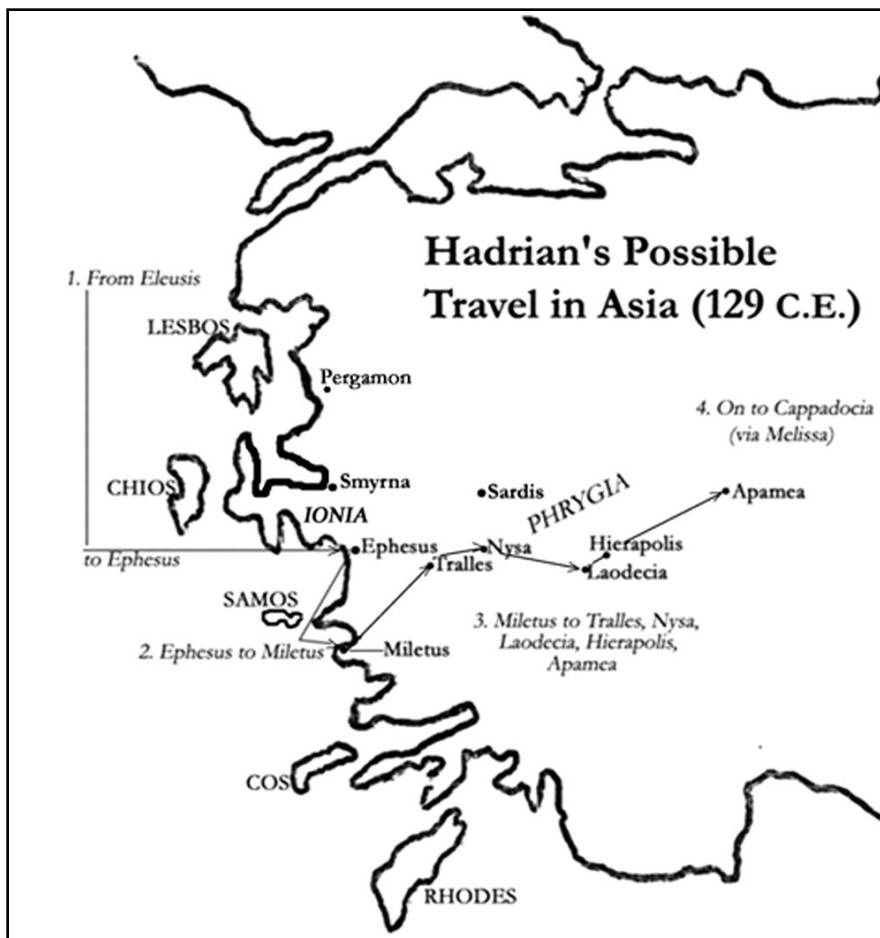
Good fortune! Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, with proconsular imperium, says: During my residing in your province I became aware that the cities and villages have been troubled more than what is justified by soldiers passing through. Therefore, that those men should know what to keep themselves away from place to place, and so that you (understand) what services you must accomplish as well as what you need not put up with as being required, I found it necessary <to make things clear> by a decree.

Roman Roads in Asia Minor

(Excerpted from Mooney, *Travel Among the Ancient Romans*, 25, Map III)



⁶⁵² The excerpt covers the first 15 lines (the formulaic opening and introduction). For an alternate translation, see Edmondson, "The Roman Emperor and the Local Communities of the Roman Empire," 134. The Greek text can be found in Hauken and Malay, "A New Edict of Hadrian" (which see for complete text and discussion). The document covers matters such as providing a wagon, or a guide (permissible only when heavy snowfall obscures the road), demanding food, and providing lodging.



c76 Coin Showing Travel [130 C.E.]
(ANS; Denarius)⁶⁵³



OBVERSE: HADRIANVS
AVG(ustus) CO(n)S(ul) III P(ater)
P(atriae): 'Hadrian Augustus, three
times Consul, Father of the
Fatherland.'

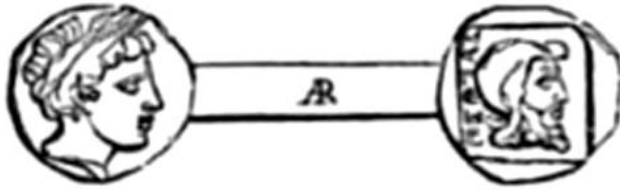
REVERSE: FELICITATI
| | AVGVSTI (in exergue)

⁶⁵³ Public domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (ANS); it, with text, can be seen at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian>). The image has been transformed to grayscale; text abbreviations are expanded. *RIC II*, Part 3 (2nd ed.) Hadrian 1400–1444.

PERGAMON

c77 Coin of Pergamon

(Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, II, 576)



452 Pergamon⁶⁵⁴

(Strabo, *Geography*)⁶⁵⁵

XII.8.1 Bordering on the Bithynians towards the south, as I have said, are the Mysians and Phrygians who live around the Mysian Olympus, as it is called. . . . [p. 487] Mysia is likewise divided into two parts, I mean Olympeñē, which is continuous with Bithynia and Phrygia Epictetus, which, according to Artemidorus, was colonized by the Mysians who lived on the far side of the Ister, and, secondly, the country in the neighborhood of the Caicus River and Pergamēñē, extending as far as the Teuthrania and the outlets of the river.

c78 Cistophorus of Hadrian from Pergamon

(Yale University Art Gallery)⁶⁵⁶



OBVERSE: HADRIANVS AVG.: 'Hadrian Augustus.' Figure of Hadrian facing right.

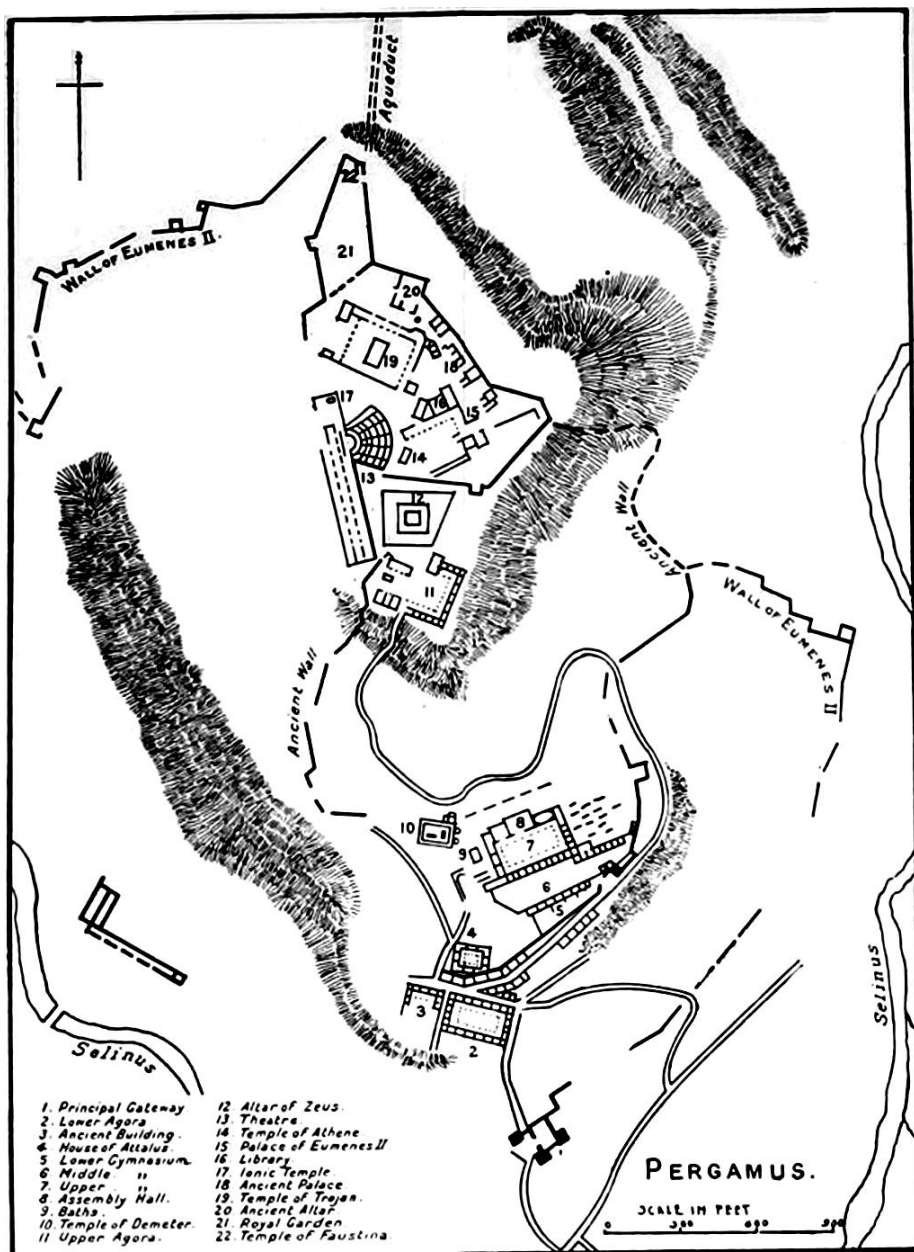
REVERSE: COS.: 'Consul.' Figure of Telesphorus (son of the god of healing, Asklepios).

⁶⁵⁴ On Pergamon, see Seaman, "Pergamon and Pergamene Influence."

⁶⁵⁵ Strabo, *Geography*, V (Jones trans.), V, 485, 487 (with Greek on facing pages).

⁶⁵⁶ Coin image courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery (<https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/96141>). The image has been transformed to grayscale. See Metcalf, *The Cistophori of Hadrian*.

Pergamon (Pergamum)
(Hawley, *Asia Minor*, 104)



Pergamon (Pergamum): Plan of the Acropolis
 (Robinson, "Pergamum and Ephesus," 158)

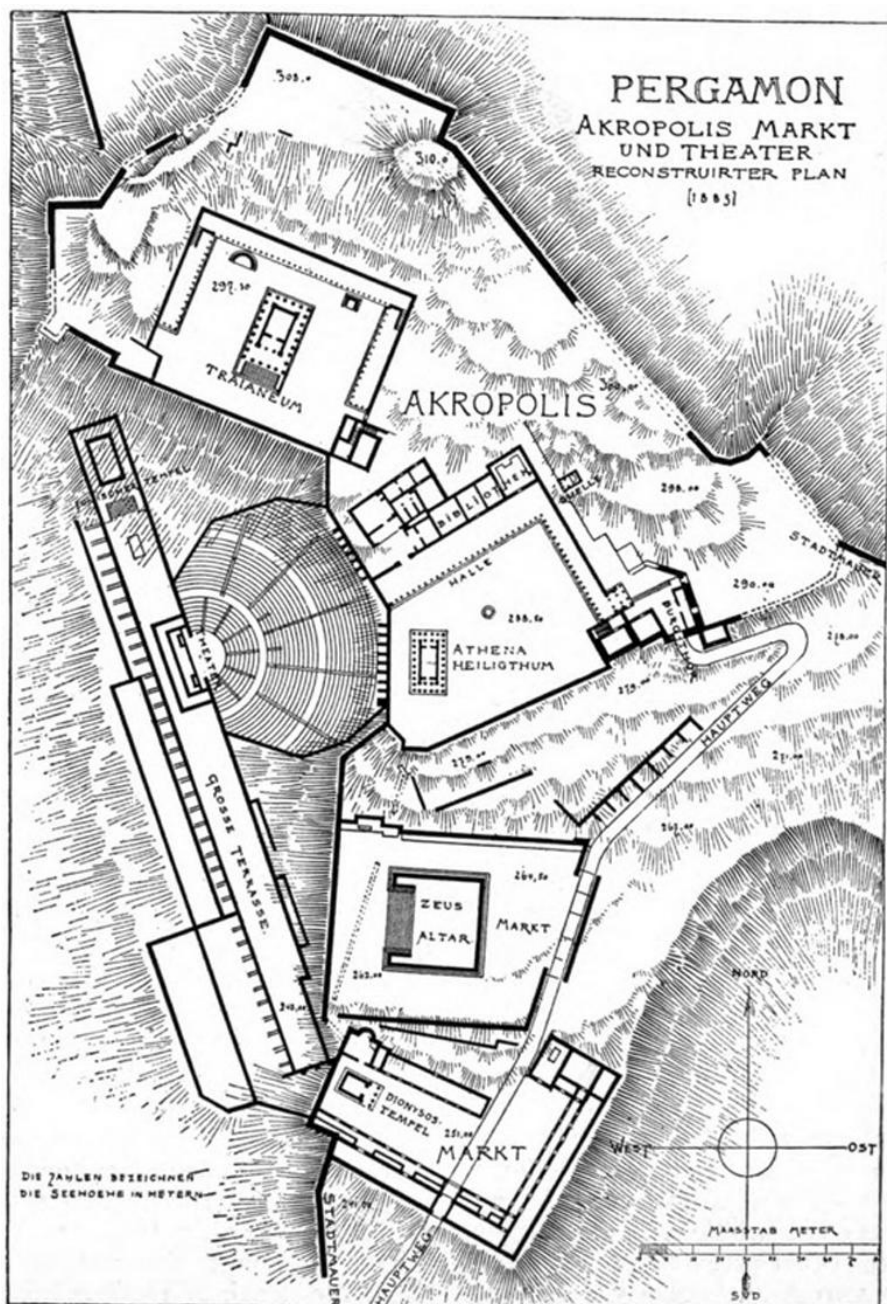


Figure 1.—Plan of the Acropolis of Pergamum. (From Fabricius.)

Pergamon Seen from the South
(*Altertümer von Pergamon*, II, 1)



Pergamon
(Robinson, “Pergamum and Ephesus,” 157)

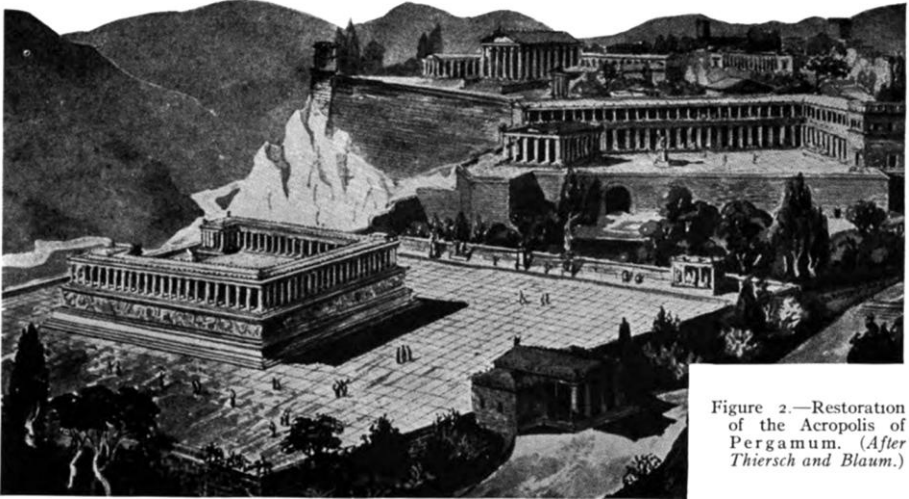


Figure 2.—Restoration
of the Acropolis of
Pergamum. (After
Thiersch and Blaum.)

453 Hadrian, ‘Savior and Founder’ [after 132 C.E.]

(Inscription at Pergamum) [IMT *Kaïkos* 808]⁶⁵⁷

Emperor Hadrian, Caesar, *Olympios*, savior and founder.

⁶⁵⁷ The Greek text may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/288233?hs=35-45>). IMT *Kaïkos*=*Inscripfen Mysia & Troas* (Barth and Stauber).

454 Honoring Hadrian

(Inscription at Pergamon)

[*IvP* II, 293]⁶⁵⁸

To Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Dacicus Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus and to the homeland; Poseidippus, son of Poseidippus.

455 Salute to Hadrian by Hymn-Singers [after 128 C.E.]

(Excerpt (Opening lines) from Side A of a Marble Altar at Pergamum)

[*IvP* II, 374]⁶⁵⁹

Good fortune! To Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian *Olympios*, savior and founder, by the hymn-singers of the deified Augustus and goddess Roma.

Pergamon Altar of Zeus

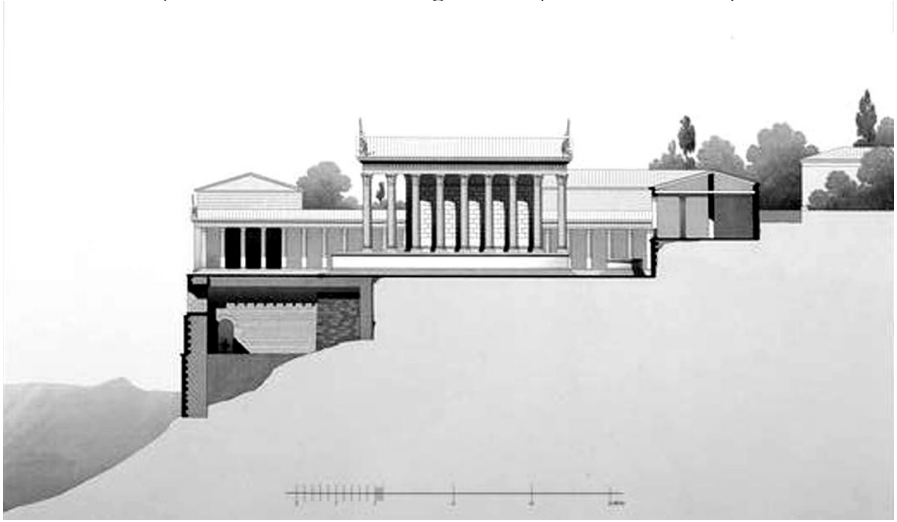
(Schuchhardt, *Die Meister des grossen Frieses von Pergamon*, 9)



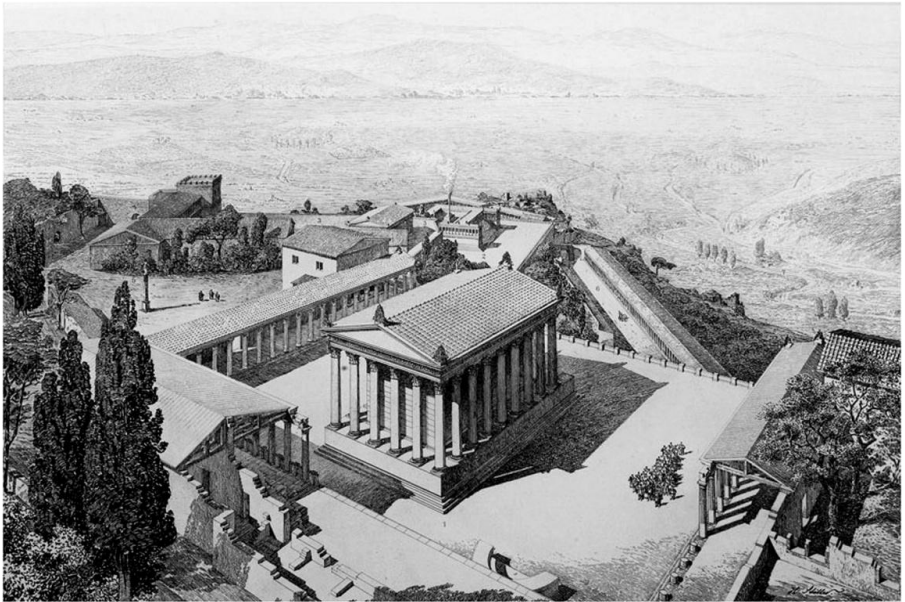
⁶⁵⁸ The Greek text may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/301941?hs=128-139>).

⁶⁵⁹ The entire Greek text, with translation, may be viewed online at *Associations in the Greco-Roman World* (<http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/dedication-of-an-altar-to-hadrian-with-a-calendar-of-the-hymn-singers-%e2%80%99celebrations/>).

Temple of Trajan, 1⁶⁶⁰
 (Stiller, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, V|2, Plate XXXIII)

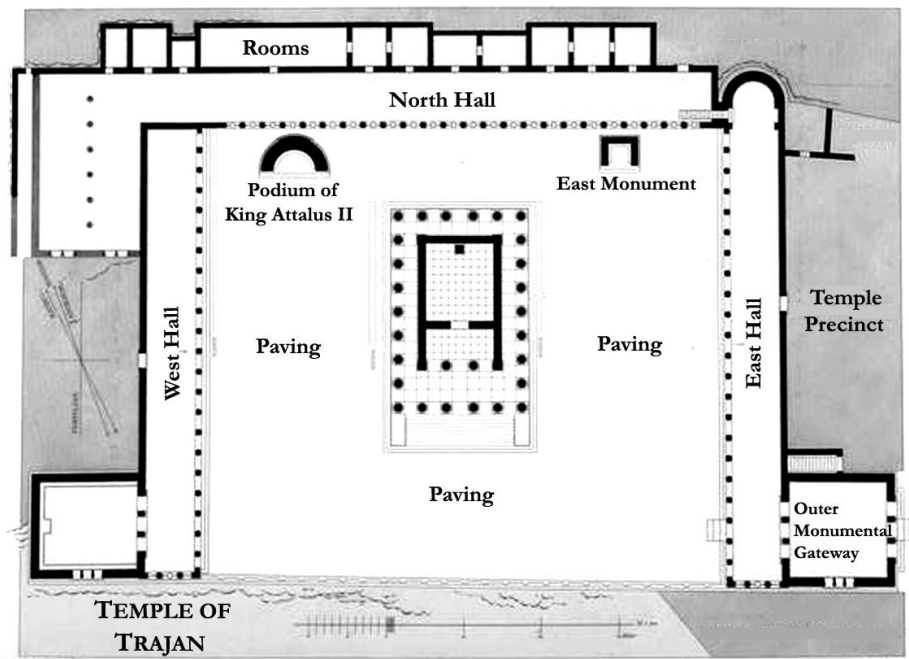


Temple of Trajan, 2
 (Stiller, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, V|2, Plate XXXIV)

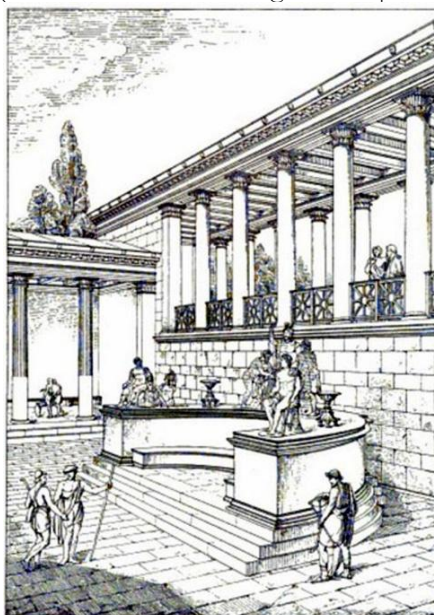


⁶⁶⁰ The temple, begun during the latter part of Trajan's reign, was completed by Hadrian.

Plan of Temple of Trajan
 (Illustration adapted from Stiller, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, V|2, Plate XXXIII)



Temple of Trajan, 3
 (Stiller, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, V|2, 61)



SMYRNA

456a Hadrian, ‘Savior and Founder’

(Inscription of Dedication on a Marble Altar at Smyrna)

[*I.Smyrna* II² 32]⁶⁶¹

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian, savior and founder.



C79 Coin Honoring Hadrian
(Silver coin minted at Smyrna)
(Carole Raddato)⁶⁶²
[BMC 331]

c80 Cistophoric Tetradrachm of Hadrian at Smyrna (Coin not shown) [post 138 C.E.]

OBVERSE: HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Bare-headed Hadrian, facing right.

REVERSE: Two Nemeses facing each other, both holding out fold of drapery; one to left also holds a bridle, while one to right also holds a ruler.

c81 Coin Honoring Antinous
(minted at Smyrna) (right)

(Public Domain Image
courtesy of Yale Univ. Art
Gallery)



c82 Smyrna Coin Honoring Antinous
[after 130 C.E.] (left)

(Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 10 [Fig. 39])⁶⁶³

FIG. 39. — SMYRNE (ANTINOÛS).

⁶⁶¹ The text can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/254996?bookid=525&location=1688>); cited as *I.Smyrna* II², pp. 364–365, #XXXII and as Smyrna 103*5. Greek: Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραϊανῶι Ἀδριανῶι Σεβαστῶι σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστῃ[ι.]

⁶⁶² Photo Photo courtesy of Carole Raddato at *Following Hadrian* (<https://followinghadrianphotography.com/2019/03/18/smyrna/>) and made available under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>). This work has been modified by transforming from color to grayscale.

⁶⁶³ Opper, *Hadrian*, 190, writes, “At Smyrna Antonius Polemo, the leading Sophist of the era, sponsored the issue by the local mint of coins bearing the image of Antinous.”

456b Hadrian *Olympios* [post 128 C.E.]

(Inscription of Dedication at Smyrna)

[CIG 3174=IGR IV, 1395 (cf. 1394)=*I.Smyrna* 623 (cf. 624, 625)]⁶⁶⁴

Emperor Hadrian *Olympios*, savior and founder.

457 Dedication to Hadrian

(Partial Inscription at Smyrna)

[IGR IV, 1396]⁶⁶⁵

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, holding tribunician power for the __ time. . . .

458 Honoring Hadrian at Smyrna [c. 129–132 C.E.]

(Stone Inscription in Agora at Smyrna)

[*I.Smyrna* 622]⁶⁶⁶

The initiates (*mystai*) of the great Breiseus Dionysos before the city (honoured) emperor Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus Olympios, saviour and founder. This was done under the supervision of Dikaïos Heliodoros son of Alexandros, their own treasurer (*tamias*).

459 Worshipping Hadrian at Smyrna [c. 200 C.E.]

(Inscription on Altar at Smyrna)

[*I. Smyrna* 595]⁶⁶⁷

[Partial name], *hymn[odus]*, (in the manner) of the forefathers, son of Gaius Claudius Pompeius, (member) of the Council, Senator, descended from Gaius Claudius Valerius Licinnianus, priest of Asclepius and chief of police (at the Olympic games⁶⁶⁸) at Pisa, for the authentic fellow hymn-singers has established the altar of the god Hadrian.

[Also see material on Smyrna in chapter 6.]

⁶⁶⁴ The Greek text, an English translation, and a photo of the inscription all can be found online at *Livius.org* (<https://www.livius.org/pictures/turkey/izmir-smyrna/smyrna-museum-pieces/Smyrna-dedication-to-hadrian/>). Also see the Greek text and English translation in Kiliç, “The Roman Imperial Cult in Smyrna,” 389–90. The Greek formula “savior and founder” (σωτήρι και κτίσῃ) is a familiar one in this time period for Hadrian.

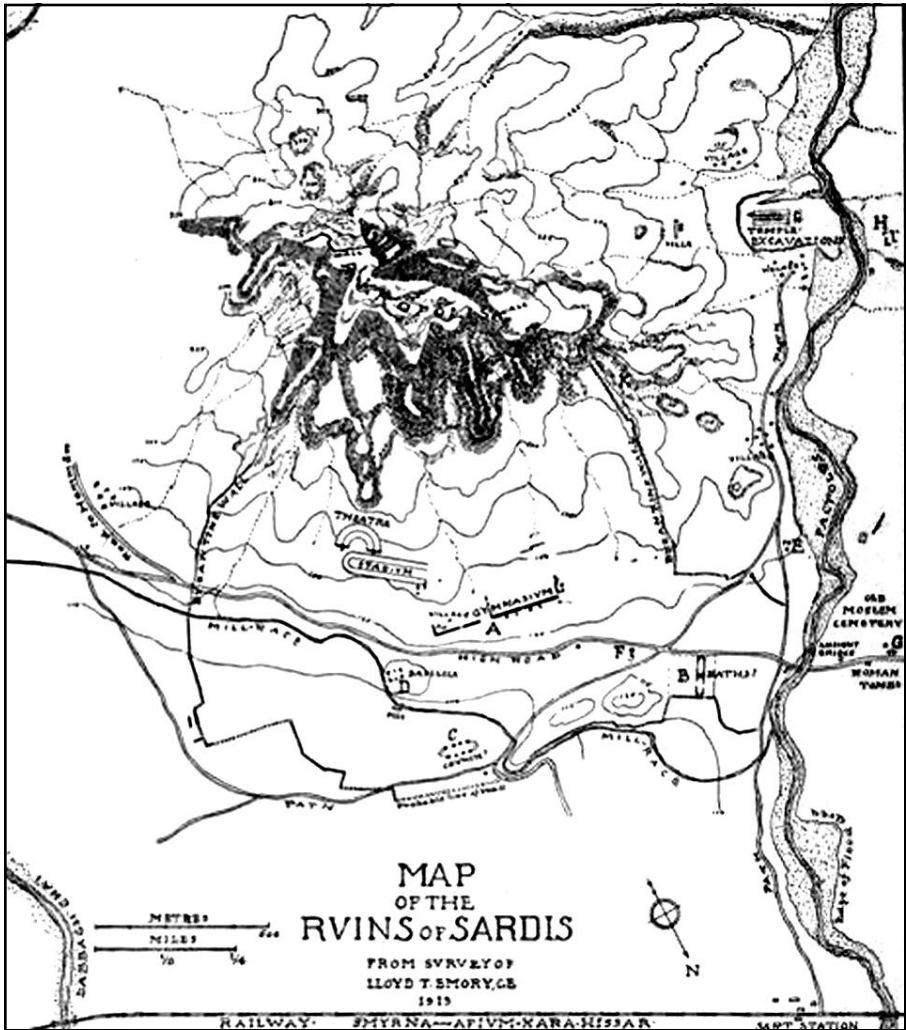
⁶⁶⁵ Greek text from *Inscribed Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, IV, 463 [#1396].

⁶⁶⁶ Harland, *Greco-Roman Associations*, II, 302–07 [#137], with Greek text; cf. Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, 117 [#191].

⁶⁶⁷ The Greek text can be seen at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/255002?bookid=525&location=1688>); Both the Greek text and an alternate English translation can be found at Philip Harland’s website, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World* (<http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/198-dedication-of-an-altar-for-the-fellow-hymn-singers-of-hadrian/>). The Council, of course, was the *boule*; “Senator” translates *prytaneōs*, and “chief of police” renders the name of the office *alutarchēs*. On inscriptions from Smyrna, see Petzl, *Inscripfen griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*.

⁶⁶⁸ Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, I.25 [530], recounts that the people of Smyrna honored Polemo and his family the coveted distinction of presiding “over the Olympic games founded by Hadrian (προκαθίσθαι γὰρ τῶν Ἀδριανῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔδοσαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἐγγόνους), and to go on board the sacred tireme” (Wright trans., 107).

SARDIS
Ruins of Sardis
 (Butler, *Sardis*, I|1, 30)



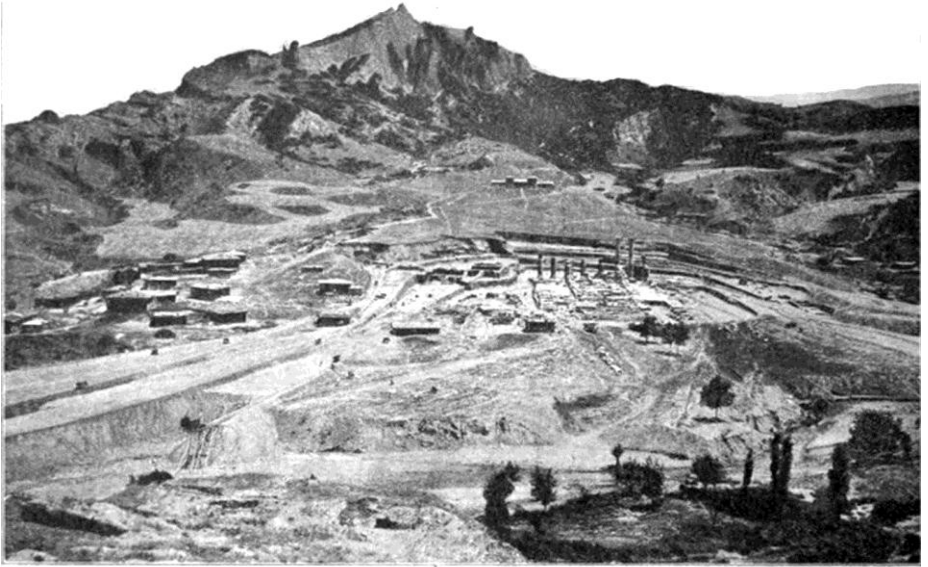
460 Hadrian, ‘Savior and Founder’ [128/129–132 C.E.]
 (Inscription on an Altar Block of White Marble at Sardis)

[*Sardis*, 374]⁶⁶⁹

For the Savior and Founder Imperator Hadrianus Olympios.

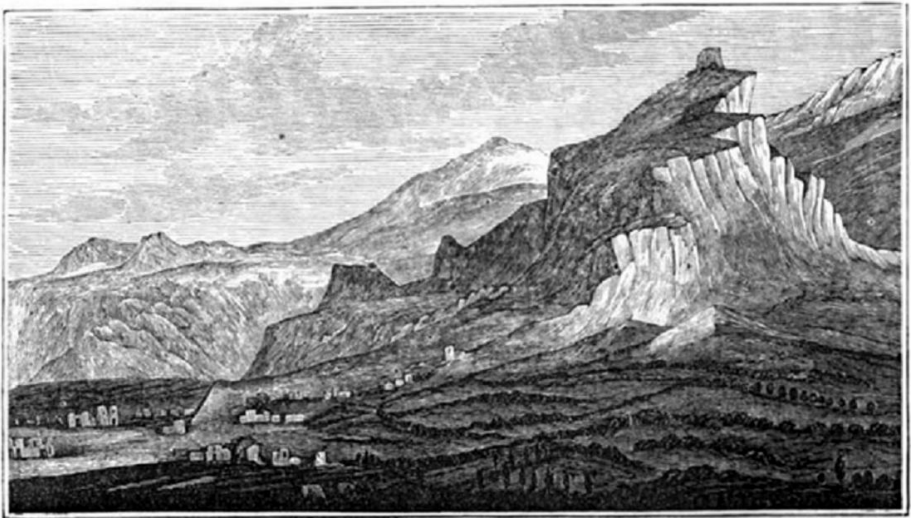
⁶⁶⁹ Petzl, *Sardis*, 66 [#374], with Greek text; the comment is appended, “This is the first altar dedicated to Hadrian that has come to light in Sardis.”

The Acropolis of Sardis, 1
(Butler, *Sardis*, I/1, 152)



Ill. 171. View of the Akropolis of Sardis; the Excavations at the End of the Season of 1914, from the West.

The Acropolis of Sardis, 2
(Barber, *Patmos, and the Seven Churches of Asia*, 208)



The hill of the Acropolis is seen in the background. The structures seen in front, are remains of comparatively modern habitations, rudely constructed.

c83 Coin of Sardis
(Butler, *Sardis, II, Part I*, 105)

[Butler, 105, notes this coin, which depicts the Temple of Artemis as completed, was minted under the emperor Elagabalus (reigned 218–125 C.E.), and bears a legend declaring, “Sardis, the first Metropolis of Asia, Lydia Hellas.”]



Ill. 105. Coin of Sardis.



c84 Coin Honoring Hadrian
(*London Ancient Coins, Ltd.*)⁶⁷⁰

OBVERSE:
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ.
‘Adrian.’ Figure of Hadrian.

REVERSE: Figure of naked Apollo holding laurel branch and resting on lyre.

c85 Coin Struck at Sardis
(*Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS)*)⁶⁷¹

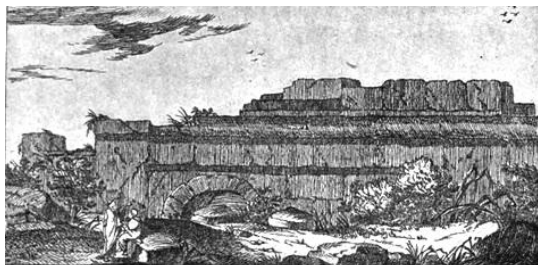
OBVERSE: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ. Bust of Hadrian, laureate and draped, facing right.



REVERSE: ΠΑΦΙΗ
CΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ. Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, in which conical xoanon with star and crescent above; to left and right, flaming torch and column; paved semicircular walled courtyard in front.

⁶⁷⁰ Image courtesy of *London Ancient Coins, Ltd.* (https://www.vcoins.com/en/stores/london_ancient_coins/89/product/hadrian_117138_lydia_sardis__r_apollo__very_rare/1473013/Default.aspx). Used by permission. RPC III, 2399.

⁶⁷¹ Coin image and description made available courtesy of *PAS* (<https://finds.org.uk>) under a Common Attributions 2.0 license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/legalcode>). The image has been cropped and changed to grayscale. The text description of obverse has been slightly edited for greater clarity. A *xoanon* (ξόανον) was a Greek cult image, here for Aphrodite.



Roman Remains at Sardis
(Butler, *Sardis*, I/1, 32)

461 Dedication of a Statue to Hadrian at Sardis [124(?) or 128(?) C.E.]

(Inscription on a Pillar of White Marble at Sardis)

[*Sardis*, 373]⁶⁷²

The Council and [the People] of the Sardians have dedicated the (honorary statue of) Imperator Caesar, son of divus Traianus Parthicus, grandson of [divus] Nerva, Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, father of his country, master of land and sea. The superintendents were Gaius [Iulius? M?]agnus, priest of Tiberius Caesar and chief strategos and his colleagues in office: Ulp[ius] Oino[maos] and Pyrrhos [- - -] and Andreas Se[-] and -[atias] Theodotos.

462 An Altar to Hadrian (Changed to Honor His Successor, Antoninus)

[Originally 128/129–132 (then, after 138) C.E.]

(Inscription on an Altar of White Marble at Sardis)

[*Sardis*, 375]⁶⁷³

[The People] and [the Council] (have dedicated this altar) to Hadrianus Olympios – Antoninus.

463 The “New Dionysos,” 1

(Inscription on Marble Slab in South Wall of the Acropolis at Sardis)

[*Sardis* 7,1 13]⁶⁷⁴

Resolution of the sacred Guild. Resolved by the Artists gathered out of the inhabited world, winners of prizes in sacred games and of crowns, whose chiefs are Dionysos and Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, the new Dionysos, and by their artist assistants: on motion of Labeo, son of Dorotheus, citizen of —, seconded by Alexandros, citizen of Sardis, high priest for the third time: . . .

464 The “New Dionysos,” 2

(Inscription Fragments at Sardis)

[*Sardis* 7,1 14; cf. *CIG* 3455, *IGR* IV, 1517]⁶⁷⁵

. . . we voted at first *to establish* a quadrennial competition . . .

. . . to Hadrianus Caesar, the New Dionysos . . .

⁶⁷² Petzl, *Sardis*, 65 [#373], with Greek text.

⁶⁷³ Petzl, *Sardis*, 66 [#375], with Greek text. There is a change of hand in the last line.

⁶⁷⁴ Buckler and Robinson, *SARDIS*, 32 (with Greek text, p. 31). The full Greek text can also be found at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/263124>).

⁶⁷⁵ Buckler and Robinson, *SARDIS*, 33 (with Greek text, p. 32).

EPHESUS

465 Thanks Rendered for Gifts to Ephesus [128/129 C.E.]

(Honorary Inscription at Ephesus)

[SIG³ 839=IEph 274]⁶⁷⁶

To Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus and Olympios, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland. The council and people of Ephesus (give thanks) to their own founder and savior for the incomparable gifts to Artemis; he gave to the goddess the right over inheritances and deposits, and her own laws, and grain shipments from Egypt, and he made the harbor navigable, diverting and hindering the river Caystros from the harbor by means of

466 Twice Neokorate Ephesus

(Honorary Inscription of Dedication)

[IG II² 3297]⁶⁷⁷

To Emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus Olympios The first and greatest metropolis of Asia, the city of twice *neokorate* Ephesus, to its founder, under the charge of Marcus Tigellius, when Tiberius Claudius Atticus was priest.

467 Artemis Ephesia and Hadrian Zeus Olympios [130/131 C.E.]

(Inscription of Dedication)

[IEph 430]⁶⁷⁸

To Artemis Ephesia and the Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus Zeus Olympios, and to the *neokoros* Ephesus *deme*. Gaius Claudius Verulanus Marcellus, *Asiarch*, with his wife Scaptia Firmilla, priestess of Asia, and Claudius Verenicianus, his son, dedicated the marble stoa motif. Done under proconsul Afranius Flavianus; Claudius Pisoninus, scribe.

⁶⁷⁶ Arnaud, "Municipal Authority," 309 n. 83, translates the last part as, "and he has sent corn from Egypt and made the ports navigable, and has even diverted the river Kaystros that caused damage to the ports." The Greek text can be viewed online at *Roman Law Library* (https://droitromain.univ-grenoble-alpes.fr/Constitutions/Ephesios2_.gr.html).

⁶⁷⁷ The Greek text also can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/5570?&bookid=5&location=1701>).

⁶⁷⁸ Greek text from *Die Inschriften von Ephesos, II*, 154 (Werner ed.). On *Artemis Ephesia* (and Ephesus itself), see Rogers, *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos*. Also see earlier in this volume on the journey to Ephesus during the travels of 123–125 C.E. see Immendörfer, *Ephesians and Artemis*, 111, remarks that with respect to Zeus Olympios, "It can be assumed, however, that Zeus never achieved a significant position in Ephesus due to the supremacy of Artemis." Also see Metcalf, "Hadrian, *IOVIS OLYMPIVS*," who discusses a coin (a cistophoric tetradrachm) bearing on its reverse the legend *IOVIS OLYMPIVS [EPHESI]*, which depicts Zeus on a throne, a scepter in his upraised left hand and in his extended right hand a small image of Artemis of the Ephesians.

468 Dedication to Hadrian by Council (*Boule*) and People (*Demos*)
[128/129 C.E.]

(Inscription)

[*IEph* 441]⁶⁷⁹

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus: the Council and *neokoros Dēmos* of Ephesus, friend of Augustus, established this when Lucius Lollianus was proconsul, by the designated citizen (*psēphisamenon*) Lucius Mindius, clerk of the *Dēmos* and of holy Artemis. . . .

469 ‘To the Chief Magistrates (Archontes) and Council (Boule) of Ephesus’ [128/129 C.E.]

(Inscribed Letter on Marble)

[*IEph* 1488]⁶⁸⁰

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divus Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divus Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the thirteenth time, thrice consul, pater patriae, to the archons and council of the Ephesians, greetings. Philokyrios claims to be a citizen of yours and to have sailed across the sea many times and to have made himself as useful to his fatherland as he possibly could from this occupation and to have transported the provincial authorities on each occasion. He has twice already sailed with me as I was moving from Ephesus to Rhodes, and now as I go from Eleusis to Ephesus. His prayer is to become councillor, and I for my part leave the examination in your hands. If he is in no way disqualified but [seems] worthy of honor, [I shall pay] whatever sum the councillors pay for the sake of election. Farewell.

470 Twice Imperator [135–138 C.E.]

(Honorary Inscription of Dedication)

[*IEph* 271D]⁶⁸¹

For the Imperator [Caesar, son of divus] Trajan [Parthicus, [grandson of divus] Nerva, [Trajan Hadrian] Augustus, [pontifex maximus], tribunician [power for the - - -] time, [twice] imperator, [thrice consul], pater patriae, [- - -].

⁶⁷⁹ The Greek text can be found in *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, II, 161 (Werner ed.). A *psēphisamenos* was a citizen asked by the Council to fund a project after a decision for such a project had been made. Lucius Hedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus (Lucius Lollianus) had been suffect consul under Trajan (114 C.E.).

⁶⁸⁰ Bier, *The Bouleuterion at Ephesus*, 90 (following the translation of J. H. Oliver), with Greek text. Cf. the Letter on behalf of Erastos in the chapter preserving letters of Hadrian. On the similarity of it and the one here, Bier, remarks, “Actually, the two texts are identical except for the name of the beneficiary (Philokyrios and L. Erastos, respectively).”

⁶⁸¹ Bier, *The Bouleuterion at Ephesus*, 96 (with Greek text, p. 95).

REGION OF PHRYGIA



c86 *Phrygian Coin Honoring Hadrian Augusta*
Bronze coin at Apamea in Phrygia
 (Courtesy of *ForumAncientCoins*
 (www.forumancientcoins.com) [RPC III 2586])

OBVERSE: AΔPIANOC KAIC CEB

REVERSE: AΠAMEΩN MAPCYAC KIBΩTOI;
 figure of Satyr Marsyas

c87 *Phrygian Coin*
 (Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 7 [Fig. 27])



c88 *Phrygian Coin Honoring Sabina Augusta: Bronze coin at Ancyra in Phrygia*
 (*ForumAncientCoins* (www.forumancientcoins.com))⁶⁸²



OBVERSE: CEBACΘ CABEINA: 'Augusta Sabina.'

REVERSE: ANKYPANΩN: 'Ancyra (Ankyra).' Figure of Artemis Ephesia.

⁶⁸² Courtesy of *ForumAncientCoins* (www.forumancientcoins.com). Used by permission. RPC III 2541.

471 Honored at Hierapolis in Phrygia

(Inscription at Hierapolis)

[SEG XXXIII.1131 (cf. 1130)]⁶⁸³

For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus. . . .

472 ‘Founding’ of Trajanopolis in Phrygia [Autumn, 119 C.E.]

(Dedication Inscription at Trajanopolis)

[Ramsay, II, #515]⁶⁸⁴

Good fortune! For Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Augustus Hadrian, holding tribunician power, benefactor and founder of the city of Trajanopolis, under the charge of Sōsthenes; a gift to Artemis from Menippus and Philanthus Sōsthenes. Year 204, month of *Deion*, second.

473 Notice to Aizanoi in Phrygia [128/129 C.E.]

(Bilingual (Latin and Greek) Boundary Stone Inscription at Aizanoi)

[MAMA IX, 8 (cf. IX, 1–4)]⁶⁸⁵

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, three times consul, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, has restored the territory to its founder Zeus and to the citizens of Aizanitis, which was given by the kings Attalos and Prusias, as measured by *primus pilus* Septimius Saturninus, just as set by King Prusias.

474 Settling a Boundary Dispute in Northwest Phrygia [c. 128/129 C.E.?]

(Inscription at Dorylaion (Dorylaeum; modern Eskişehir))

[MAMA V, 60]⁶⁸⁶

The border between the Dorians and the Nicaeans was fixed at the command of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, through his ambassador (πρεσβευτοῦ), assistant *Strategos* (ἀντιστρατήγου) Gaius Julius Severus.

⁶⁸³ The Greek text can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/272917?hs=125-140>).

⁶⁸⁴ The Greek text can be found in Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II, 611, who points out that Hadrian was in Rome at the time. He also notes, “The epimeletai of the erection are father and son” (The *epimeletai* were those “in charge of” something). Greek text also can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/271147?hs=189-202>).

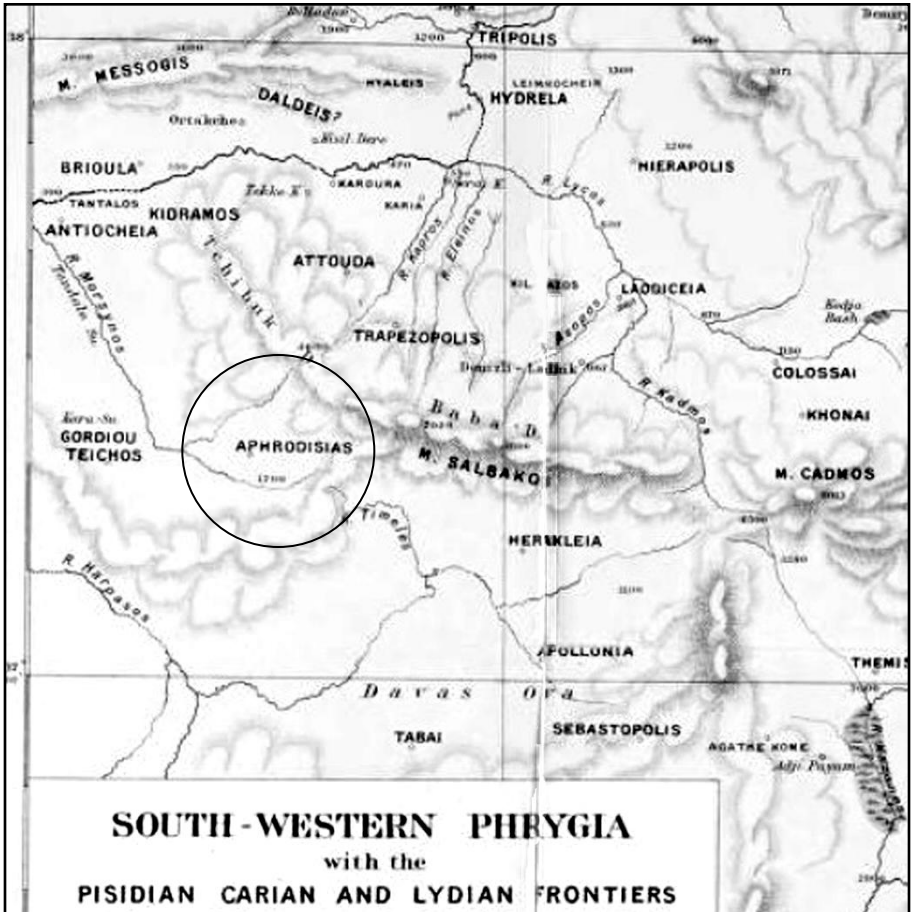
⁶⁸⁵ MAMA=Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua; see Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IX: Monuments from the Aezanitis, 5. Also see Burton, “The Resolution of Territorial Disputes in the Provinces of the Roman Empire.” Both the Latin and Greek texts may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/270352?hs=383-397>).

⁶⁸⁶ The Greek text may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/269845?hs=155-184>). Dorylaion, in Phrygia, became involved in a dispute with Nikaia (Nicaea), in Bithynia. The dispute, as Christol and Drew Bear, “D. Fonteius Fronto,” 412n.57, observe, was not merely between two cities, but between two provinces and establishing the border between them (“*bornage entre deux cites mais aussi entre deux province*”).

APHRODISIAS

Aphrodisias (Center left, in circle) in Phrygia

(Excerpted from Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, facing p. 1)



475 Hadrian—‘Savior *Olympios*’ [post 128 C.E.]

(Fragment of an Inscription on White Marble)

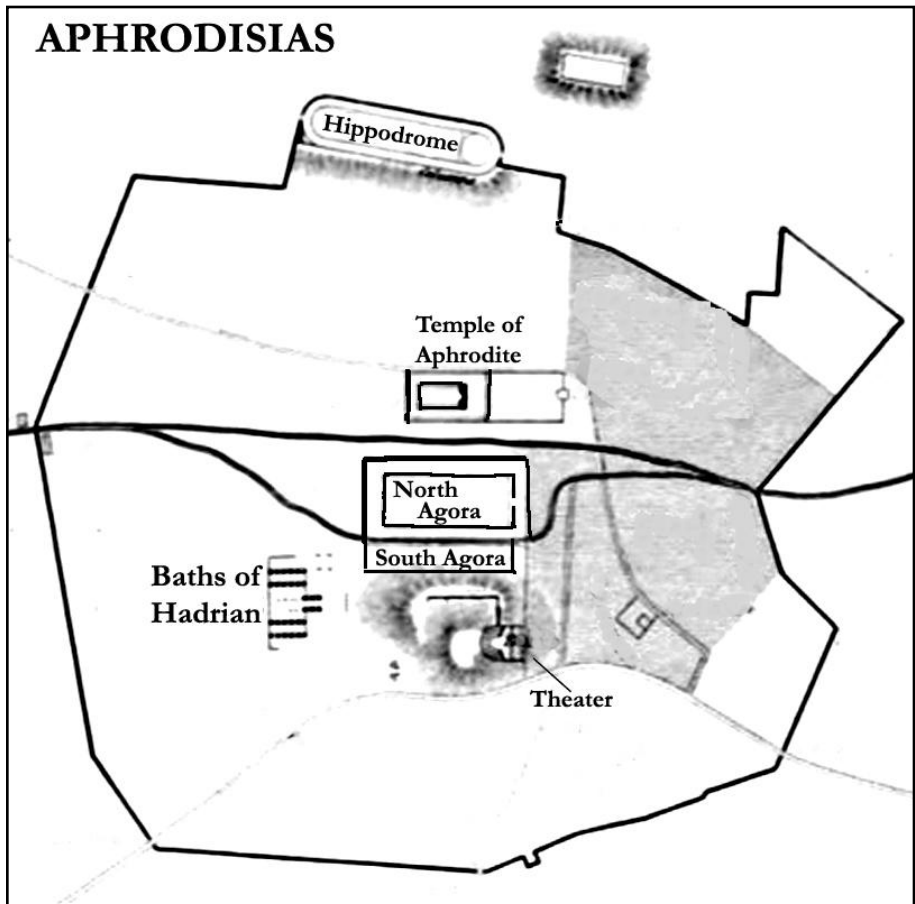
[*InsAph*2007 9.119]⁶⁸⁷

For Hadrian | Savior | Olympios

[See chapter 15 for letters of Hadrian to Aphrodisias.]

⁶⁸⁷ The Greek text transcription by Joyce Reynolds is available online at *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias Project* (*InsAph*) (<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph090119.html#edition>).

The Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias in Caria
 (Adapted from *Antiquities of Ionia*, Pt. III, Plate I)



476 To Aphrodite, Hadrian, and the People of Aphrodisias
 (Dedication Inscription on White Marble at the Hadrianic Baths)

[*InsAph2007* 5.208 (cf. 5.207)]⁶⁸⁸

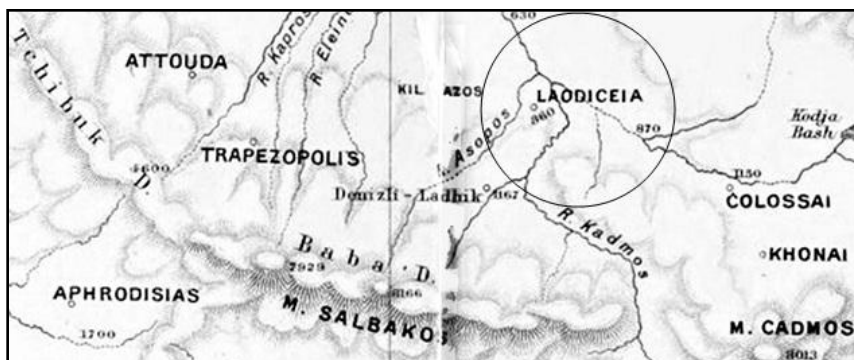
To the goddess Aphrodite, to the Emperor Hadrian Augustus son of the god Trajan, grandson of the god Nerva, to the People: Pereitas Attalos son of Zenon the son of Zenon dedicated the ?decoration of the doorway at his own expense.

⁶⁸⁸ Charlotte Roueché and Gabriel Bodard, with Greek text; both available at *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias Project* (*InsAph*) (<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph050208.html#edition>).

LAODICEA

Laodicea (Laodikeia) ad Lycum in Phrygia (circled)

(Excerpted from Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, facing p. 1)



477 Dedication to Hadrian and Sabina [123–135 C.E.]

(Dedication Inscription at the Gymnasium in Laodicea)

[IK *Laodikeia am Lycos* 14]⁶⁸⁹

For Emperor Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus and Sabina Augusta, by the council and citizens of Laodicea during the proconsulship of Gargilius Antiquus, established at the *gymnasium*.

c89 Bronze Coin of Laodicea

(Image courtesy of Classical Numismatics Group (www.cngcoins.com))⁶⁹⁰



OBVERSE: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟC: ‘Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Olympus.’ Bust of Hadrian, facing right, laureate with slight drapery.

REVERSE: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ: ‘Laodikea.’ Zeus Laodiceus standing, facing left, holding scepter and eagle.

⁶⁸⁹ The Greek text can be found in Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, 72; Ramsay notes, “Gargilius Antiquus is not otherwise known.” Ramsay, 47, also remarks about the gymnasium, “The date of its erection is given by inscri. 1, a dedication to Hadrian and Sabina, in the proconsulship of Gargilius Antiquus. The dedication is probably connected with a visit of Hadrian to the city. Hadrian was at Laodicea about November, A.D. 129; but, if the dedication were as late as that, it would in all probability have contained some title indicating his identification with Zeus, which by that time had become a standing formula. But it is probable that Hadrian had already visited the city in A.D. 123.” The text also can be viewed at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/271998?hs=61-72>), which adds at the end βαλανείον? (baths).

⁶⁹⁰ “Any of our photographs may be reproduced as long as credit is given to CNG as the source of the photographs.” (<https://www.cngcoins.com/Frequently+Asked+Questions.aspx>)

BOSPORUS AND REGION OF PONTUS

Panticapaeum



478 Dealing with the Ruler of Bosphorus (Bosphorus), 2 [133 C.E.]

(Also see entry in *Travels* of 123–125)

(Inscription on a Stone Base at Panticapaeum)

[IGR I, 877=CRIB 47]⁶⁹²

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, benefactor of the Bosphorus and one's own creator, Tiberius Julius, King Rhoimetalkes, friend of Caesar and friend of Rome, a devout and grateful man . . . has written . . . has raised up [this statue] . . . of Hadrian . . . year 430 and the month of Apellaaios.

479 Dedication in Pontus to Hadrian [131/132 C.E.]

(Inscription at Trapezous (Trabzon) in Pontus)

[JRS 64 (1974) 160, 1]⁶⁹³

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, holding tribunician power for the 15th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, by the City of Trapezous.

⁶⁹² For an alternative English translation see Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 155 [#154c], who renders the somewhat more expansive text of *CIRB* 47. The Greek text can be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Pertinentes* I/1, 289–90 [#877]. The text of *CIRB* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosphorani*) 47 is also available online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/182762?&bookid=231&location=1684>). “One’s own creator” (ἰδίον κτίστην) acknowledges that the King was indebted to Hadrian for having established him on the Bosphoran throne.

⁶⁹³ *JRS*=*Journal of Roman Studies*. The Greek text can be seen at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.Packhum.org/text/265326?hs=112-137>).

ASIA: OTHER PLACES

c90 Coin of Cilicia, 1

(Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Plate X [#18];

Legend and description from p. 60)

[Bronze Coin (Reverse) of Claudiopolis (Mut) in Cilicia]



OBVERSE: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΤΡ[Α] ΔΑΔΙΑΝΟC CEB: 'Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus.'

Head of Hadrian, r., laureate.

REVERSE: ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩ: 'Claudiopolis.'

Tyche standing l., wearing kalathos⁶⁹⁴, and holding in r. hand rudder, in l. cornucopiae.

c91 Coin of Cilicia, 2

(Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Plate XI [#10];

Legend and description from p. 65)

[Bronze Coin (Reverse) of Coropissus in Cilicia]



OBVERSE: ΔΑΔΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ: 'Hadrian, Caesar.'

Head of Hadrian, r., laureate.

REVERSE: ΚΟΡΟΠΙC C_ _: 'Coropissus.'

Male head, r., bare, sceptre on shoulder; before it, a tree.

⁶⁹⁴ The *kalathis* here is a small cylindrical crown; the word in general refers to a wooden basket.

HADRIAN AS ZEUS OLYMPIOS

Asia Minor, 2

(Excerpted from *The Cambridge Ancient History*, XI, 571)



HADRIAN THE OLYMPIAN.
COIN STRUCK AT CYZICUS.

Samos Halikarnassos Ephesus Aphrodisias
c92 Honored at Cyicus in Mysia

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 366)

480 Zeus *Olympios* at Ephesus, 1 [c. 128/129 C.E.]

(Inscription of Dedication)

[*IEph* 269=*AE* 1982.880; cf. *AE* 1975.804=*SEG* XXVI.273 and *IEph* 271A]⁶⁹⁵

Good fortune! Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Zeus *Olympios*.

481 Zeus *Olympios* at Ephesus, 2 [c. 128/129 C.E.]

(Inscription of Dedication)

[*IEph* 1009]⁶⁹⁶

Good fortune. For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, Zeus *Olympios*, both savior and founder.

482 Zeus *Olympios* at Chios (an Island in the Aegean Sea) [post 132 C.E.]

(Inscription)

[*SEG* XV.530=*Chios* 166]⁶⁹⁷

. . . the citizens to Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian, new Dionysus, *Olympios*, Panhellenios.

483 Zeus *Olympios* at Samos (an Ionian Island)

(Inscription on an Altar)

[*Samos* 194=*IG* XII⁶ 1 505; cf. *IG* XII 6.1 506]⁶⁹⁸

With good fortune, to Caesar Hadrian, Zeus *Olympios* appearing!—savior and founder.

484 Zeus *Olympios* at Halikarnassos

(Two Inscriptions at Halikarnassos)

[See *Halikarnassos* 57 (for II)]⁶⁹⁹

[I] For Hadrian, the new Zeus *Olympios*!

[II] For emperor Caesar Hadrian, Zeus(?) *Olympios*.

485 Zeus *Olympios* at Aphrodisias in Asia [post 128 C.E.]

(Inscription of Dedication of an Altar)

[*InsAph*2007 8.708]⁷⁰⁰

For Hadrian Savior Zeus *Olympios*.

⁶⁹⁵ Cf. *IEph* 267=*AE* 1982.881 (Αὐτοκράτορι | [Κα]ίσαρι Τραια| νῶ Ἀδριανῶ | [Σ]εβαστῶι· Δι[ι] | · Ὀλυμπίωι.); *IEph* 268=*AE* 1982.882 (Αὐτοκράτορι | Ἀδ[ριανῶ] Καίσαρ[ι] | Δι[ι] Ὀλυμπίωι.); and *IEph* 270=*AE* 1982.879 (Αὐτοκράτορι | Καίσαρι Ἀδρια| νῶ Διῖ Ὀλυν| πίωι.).

⁶⁹⁶ The Greek text is available online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/248727?bookid=490&location=1688>).

⁶⁹⁷ The Greek text is available at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/246555?hs=127-138>).

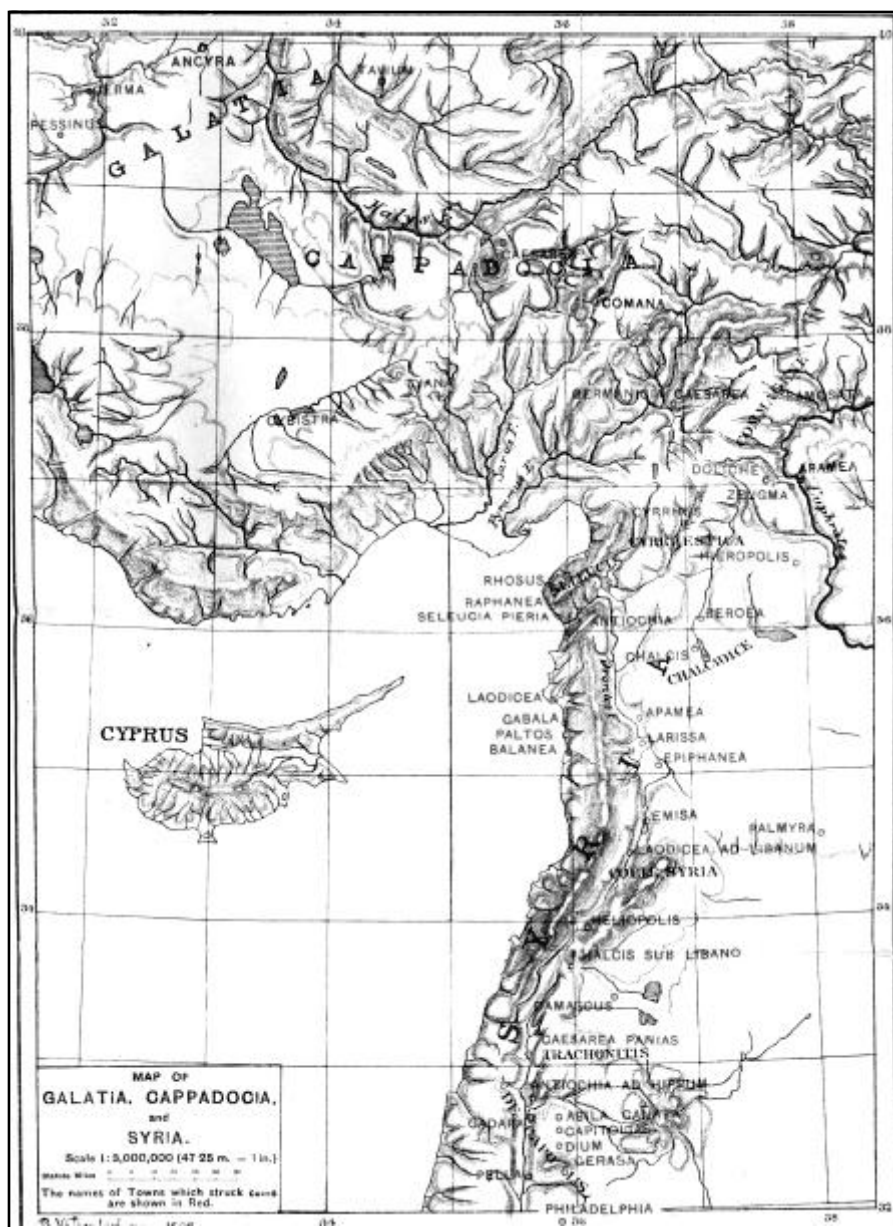
⁶⁹⁸ The Greek text can be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII, 6. *Inscriptiones Chii et Sami cum Corassii Icariaque*; also online at *Inscriptiones Graecae Digitale Edition* (<http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/digitale-edition/inschrift/IG%20XII%206,%201,%20505>). Also see *IG* XII 6.1 517 and 522.

⁶⁹⁹ The Greek texts can be found in Isager and Pedersen, “Hadrian, Sabina and Halikarnassos,” 97 (1st one) and 98 (2nd one), or at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions*. The first is on an Altar at the Maussolleion Terrace; the second is a dedication.

⁷⁰⁰ Both Greek text and translation can be found at *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias Project* (*InsAph*) (<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph080708.html#edition>).

GALATIA & CAPPADOCIA

Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria
(Wroth, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Frontpiece)



GALATIA

c93 Coin of Galatia

(Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Plate I [#7];

Legend and description from p. 4)

[Bronze Coin of Iconium (Konya) in Lycaonia, Southern Galatia]⁷⁰¹



OBVERSE: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ: ‘Hadrian, Caesar.’

Bare head of Hadrian, l., drapery on neck.

REVERSE: ΚΛΑΥΔΕΙΚΟΝΙΕΩΝ: ‘Claudiconium.’

Perseus, nude, standing to front, head r., in raised r. hand head of Gorgon, in l. hand harp; chlamys over l. arm.

486 Dionysiac Artists of Angora

(Excerpts from an Inscription on Limestone Statue Base at Angora, Galatia)

[SEG VI.59=*LAnkya*M 141=*AGRW* 212]⁷⁰²

Good fortune! (Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.)

A resolution of the global (association of) professionals (τεχνειτῶν) near Dionysius and Emperor Trajan Hadrian Augustus Caesar, the new Dionysos, (which includes) those who wear the sacred crowns, as well as the other contestants, and they who serve the sacred assembly (in other ways). . . .

Therefore, it has been decided, in order to attend carefully to the honors for the Emperor and Dionysos, and preserve the competition for the city, to honor the man with a statue established in the most public site in the metropolis, and for the other competitors one (placed) in the theater as an exemplar to spectators of virtue.

⁷⁰¹ The emperor Claudius (reigned 41–54 C.E.) lent his name in 41 C.E. to the town, which became known as ‘Claudiconium’; it was raised to the status of a colony by Hadrian (c. 130 C.E.), after which it was officially *Colonia Aelia Hadriana Augusta Iconesium*.

⁷⁰² The entire Greek text and an alternative (and complete translation) can be found online at Philip Harland’s *Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (<http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/honorary-decree-by-performers-for-ulpius-aelius-pompeianus-128129-ce/>). See Faconnier, “The Organization of Synods of Competitors in the Roman Empire,” esp. 444–45.

CAPPADOCIA

c94 Cappadocian Coin (left)

(Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 7 [Fig. 25])



FIG. 25. — CAPPADOCE.

c95 Silver Coin of Caesarea in Cappadocia

Honoring Hadrian (left)

(Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins*, Plate X)



OBVERSE: ΑΔΙΑΝΟC ΕΒΑΚΤΟC:
'Hadrian Augustus.'

REVERSE: ΥΠΑΤΟC Γ ΠΑΤΗΡΠΑΤ:
'Consul three times, Father of the Fatherland.'

(Pictured) Naked male figure on summit of Mount Argaeus, holding globe in right hand and sceptre in left hand.

c96 Silver Coin of Caesarea in Cappadocia

Honoring Hadrian (right)

(Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins*, Plate X)



OBVERSE: ΑΔΙΑΝΟC
ΕΒΑΚΤΟC: 'Hadrian Augustus.'

REVERSE: (ΥΠΑΤΟC Γ ΠΑΤΗΡ
ΠΑΤΡΙ): 'Consul three times, Father of the Fatherland.'

Figure of Tyche, wearing chiton, peplos, and modius, rudder in right hand, cornucopiae in left hand.

487 Road Building, 1 [128/129 C.E.]

(Milepost near modern Güngörmez)

[RRMAM 3³, 36=RRMAM 3⁸, p. 5]⁷⁰³

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, emperor for the 13th time, Father of the Fatherland. The road from Amasia to the border of Galatia, 42 miles.

⁷⁰³ RRMAM=*Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. The Latin text can be seen at EDCS (EDCS-60100034).

488 Road Building, 2 [128/129 C.E.]

(Milepost near Nicopolis Armeniae)

[CIL III, 6057= CIL III, 12154=RRMAM 2¹, 929=RRMAM 3³, 48]⁷⁰⁴

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland. To the city of the Nicopolitans, 7 miles.

489 Slaves from Cappadocia [Late Summer, 129 C.E.?)

(HA: *Vita Hadriani*)⁷⁰⁵

13.7 Next, he received slaves from the Cappadocians for service in the camps.

c97 Hadrian's Review of the Cappadocian Troops (Late Summer, 129 C.E.?)

(Rare coin in Francis Hobler collection [#683] no image)⁷⁰⁶

OBVERSE: HADRIANVS. AVG. COS. III. P. P.: 'Hadrian Augustus, Consul three times, Father of the Fatherland.' The laureate head of the emperor to the right, shoulders draped

REVERSE: EXER. CAPPAD[OCIVS]=*Exercitus Cappadocius* (Disciplined Cappadocia).⁷⁰⁷ The emperor, bare-headed and on horseback, standing to the right; his right hand raised, addressing soldiers who stand before him, each of them bearing a standard, the one first in line has his sword on the left side.

490 Dedication to Hadrian and Sabina [129 C.E.]

(Inscription on Limestone at Colonia Archelais)⁷⁰⁸

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland; Rosianus Geminus, governor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*), has restored the temple with the money of the priests, by means of Lutatius Julianus and Scalponius Julianus, the two man magistrate board (*duoviri*), for quaestor Casius Julianus.

491 Hadrian Inscription

(Inscription at Ohtap)

[RRMAM 3³, 51]⁷⁰⁹

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian . . .

⁷⁰⁴ The Latin text can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-60100034). On the Nicopolitans, see Dio, *Roman History*, XXXVI.50 (on Pompey the Great founding the city). Also see *Ancient World Online* (<http://ancientworldonline.blogspot.com/2012/09/british-institute-at-ankara-online.html>).

⁷⁰⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 43. The XII Fulminata legion was stationed near the upper Euphrates River, at Melitene in Cappadocia.

⁷⁰⁶ The Latin text and description come from Hobler, *Records of Roman History*, I, 340 [#683].

⁷⁰⁷ The Latin *exercitatus* can be rendered in various ways according to context. My translation favors the well-known emphasis of Hadrian on discipline in the troops..

⁷⁰⁸ The Latin text can be found in French, "Latin Inscriptions from Aksaray (Colonia Archelais in Cappadocia)," 247.

⁷⁰⁹ The Latin text can be viewed at *EDCS* (EDCS-60100047).

492 Settling Affairs in the East [Late Summer, 129 C.E.?

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁷¹⁰

13.10 Furthermore, as he went about the provinces he punished procurators and governors as their actions demanded, and indeed with such severity that it was believed that he incited those who brought the accusations.

PARTHIA

Parthia, 2

(Map excerpted from *Cambridge Ancient History*, XI, 105)



493 Settling Affairs with Parthia [Late Summer, 129 C.E.?

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁷¹¹

13.8 To petty rulers and kings he made offers of friendship, and even to Osdroes, king of the Parthians. To him he also restored his daughter, who had been captured by Trajan, and promised to return the throne captured at the same time.⁷¹²

13.9 And when some of the kings came to him, he treated them in such a way that those who had refused to come regretted it. He took this course especially on account of Pharasmanes, who had haughtily scorned his invitation.

⁷¹⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 43.

⁷¹¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 43. Osdroes=Osroes.

⁷¹² On issues involved with this account, see Doležal, "Did Hadrian Ever Meet a Parthian King?"

SYRIA, ARABIA & JUDEA

Possible Route and Places Visited (c. 129/130 C.E.)



494 Governing Syria [c. 132 C.E.]

(Inscription)

[Excerpt, *CIG* 4034=*IGR* III, 175; cf. *IGR* III, 174=*CIG* 4033=*ILS* 8826]⁷¹³

Severus . . . commander of Legio IV Scythia and running things (διοικήσαντα . . . πράγματα) in Syria, when Publicius Marcellus was sent from Syria to deal with the Jewish revolt.

⁷¹³ Key portion: Σεουήρον . . . διοικήσαντα τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ πράγματα, ἥνικα Πουβλίκιος Μάρκελλος διὰ τὴν κείνησιν τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν μεταβεβήκει ἀπὸ Συρίας. The Greek text and some brief comments can be found in Harrer, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria*, 26; the work also provides a larger context. The similar inscription (*CIG* 4033) is given in the next chapter. This present one is rarely rendered into English because *CIG* 4033=*IGR* III, 174 is more complete. The revolt, subject of the next chapter, broke out in 132 C.E. See entry #738 (p. 452) for a more complete inscription.

ANTIOCH

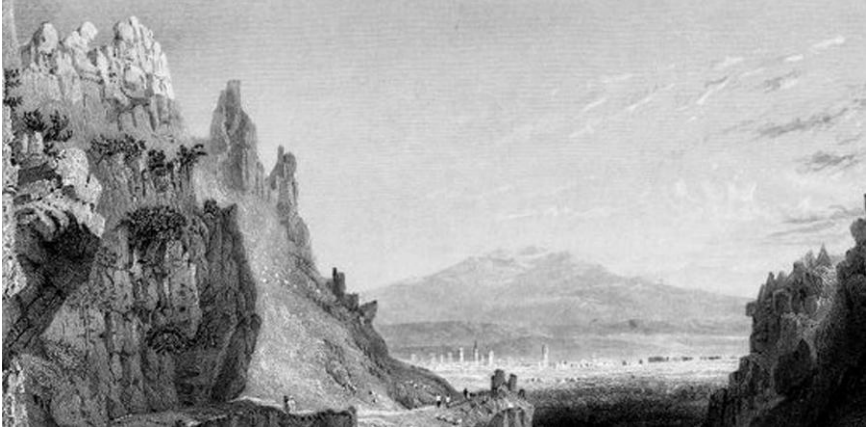
495 Hadrian's 'Hatred' of Antioch

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁷¹⁴

14.1 In the course of these travels he conceived such a hatred for the people of Antioch that he wished to separate Syria from Phoenicia, in order that Antioch might not be called the chief city of so many communities.

Approaching Antioch (from Aleppo)

(Carne, *Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor &c.*, facing p. 70)



496 Antioch and Elsewhere in Syria

(Epiphanius, *On Weights and Measures*)⁷¹⁵

14 (54b) And, approaching other places in order from that of the Romans, he must inspect them, for he was a man who loved to see places. So he passed through the city of Antioch and passed through [Coele-Syria] and Phoenicia. . . .

497 'To Gaius Valerius Eudaemon'

(Honorary Inscription at Ephesus)

[*CIL* III, 431=*CIL* III, 7116=*CIL* III, 13674]⁷¹⁶

To ____ the procurator of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus for the administration of Alexandria; procurator of the Greek and Roman libraries; Secretary of Greek correspondence (*ab epistulis graecis*); procurator of Lycia, Pamphylia, Galatia, Paphlagonia, Pisidia, Pontus; procurator of the inheritance tax and procurator of the province of Asia; procurator of Syria; by Hermes, freedman of Augustus, his assistant, for merit (*honoris causa*).

⁷¹⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 43.

⁷¹⁵ Epiphanius, *Epiphanius' Treatise*, 30 (Dean's ed.)—English translation of Syriac version. The Greek text can be found in Baker, "Hadrian's Journey," 164 (following Moutsoulas' 1973 ed.).

⁷¹⁶ The Greek text and some brief comments can be found in Harrer, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria*, 68; also online at EDCS (EDCS-26600018). Though not named, it has been concluded the inscription is to Gaius Valerius Eudaemon, procurator in Syria 129/130 C.E.

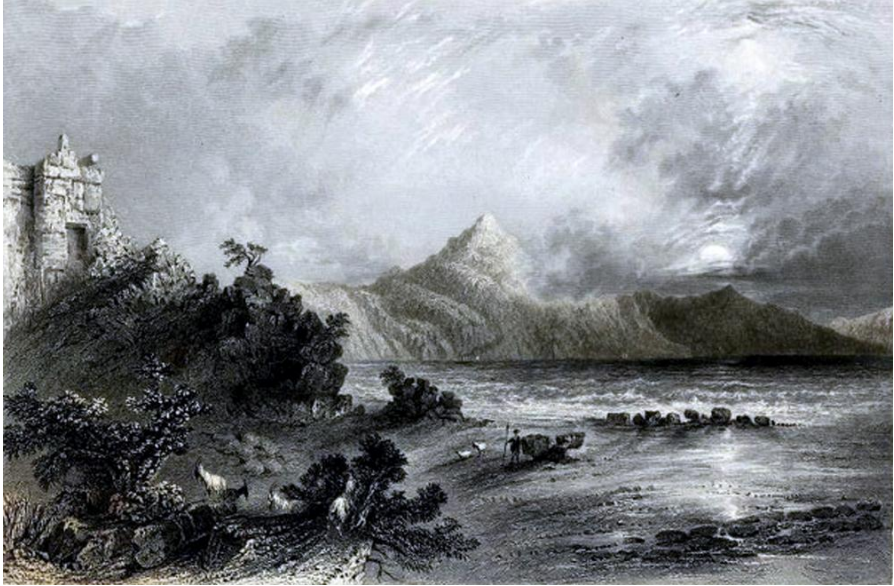
498 Incident on Mt. Casius [129/130 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁷¹⁷

14.3 As he was sacrificing on Mount Casius, which he had ascended by night in order to see the sunrise, a storm arose, and a flash of lightning descended and struck both the victim and the attendant.

Mt. Casius, Syria

(*Carne, Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor &c, facing p. 17*)⁷¹⁸



⁷¹⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 45. Footnote 2 (p. 44) invites a comparison to Dio, XLIX.2.1 (concerning Hadrian's dream in 117 shortly before becoming emperor).

⁷¹⁸ Mount Casius (elevation 5,318 feet) sits at the mouth of the Orontes River. Post, "The Chains of Cassius and Amanus," 94, writes, "Mount Cassius itself (called in Arabic el Jebel el Aqra', the Bald Mountain) is a limestone cone on the igneous base which underlies the range all the way from Antioch to Wady Qondil. It is easily accessible on horseback from its eastern, northern, and southern sides, but breaks away very steeply and in places precipitously, to the sea on the west." The appeal of such a climb at night was to witness sunrise while the land below remained in darkness. The deity involved in this so-called 'lightning miracle' appears to be of ancient Hittite origin. Bouchier, *Syria as a Roman Province*, p. 82, observes, "The shrine on the Casian Mount dedicated to Zeus Casius is clearly an old Semitic open-air altar, similar to the oracular shrine on Mount Carmel, and the centre of a periodical festival attended from Antioch. The god was a weather deity, and sunrise was eagerly watched for from this exalted spot. When Hadrian made his offering, rain and lightning were important signs. . . ." Later, (p. 282), he writes, "The primitive Semitic shrine would be an altar or sacred column on the top of a hill, sometimes with an enclosing wall, but no roof. Such lofty situations were closely associated with the deity, who, indeed, often takes his name solely from the hill—the 'god of Casius,' 'of Carmel,' or 'of the mountain.'" This experience may well have figured in Hadrian's contributions in Pelusium to its temple of Casian Zeus. (A smaller *Casius Mons* is found near Pelusium.) Cf. Hadrian's early experience during Trajan's reign (and the epigram he composed to Casian Zeus [entry #46]).

499 A Syrian Procurator [135 C.E.]

(Forest Inscription of Mount Lebanon at Berytus)

[IGLS 8³ 5096=CIL III, 180c=AE 1947.137]⁷¹⁹

Of the Emperor Hadrian Augustus. Gaius Umbrius, guard, procurator of Augustus, when (Hadrian) as *Imperator* was saluted for the second time, placed this.

500 Hadrian's Caretaking of the Forests of Lebanon, 1

(Boundary Marker, Forest Inscription of Mount Lebanon)

[IGLS 8³ 5186]⁷²⁰

Boundary [marker] no. 12 of the forests of the Emperor Hadrian Augustus, (placed) by the procurator Quintus Vetius Rufus.

501 Hadrian's Caretaking of the Forests of Lebanon, 2

(Forest Inscription Notice on Mount Lebanon)

[IGLS 8³ 5157; cf. 5158 and 5162]⁷²¹

Under the Emperor Hadrian Augustus, the limit of the forests. Four species [of trees reserved]. The others for private individuals.

c98 Coin of Samosata in Syria [128–136 C.E.]

(Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, III/Pt. II. Plate 291 [#7942];

Legend and description from p. 749)

[Bronze Coin of Samosata in Syria]

OBVERSE: ΔΔΙΑΝΟC CEBACTOC: 'Hadrian Augustus.'

Bust of Hadrian to r., laureate, wearing cuirass.

REVERSE: ΘΑΑ CAMO MHTPO KOM:

'Flavia Samosata, main city of Commagene.'

Inscription within wreath.



7942

⁷¹⁹ The Latin text can be found in *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, vol. 8, part 3. For more on the inscriptions of Mount Lebanon, see Abdul-Nour, "Les Inscriptions Forestières." The Latin inscription also can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/245470>).

⁷²⁰ The Latin text can be found in *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, vol. 8, part 3. It also can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/245560?bookid=478&location=1676>).

⁷²¹ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 178. He adds the comment: "In this case the four types of forbidden tree were probably those destined for naval shipyards, such as cedar and juniper, and perhaps oak and spruce." #5158 reads: *a(rborum) g(enera) IV, c(etera) p(rivata) | Imp(eratoris) Had(riani) [Aug(usti)] | d(e)j(initio) [s(ilvarum)]*. "Four species (reserved), the rest private, by (order of) Emperor Hadrian Augustus. #5162 reads: *[Imp(eratoris) Ha]d(riani) Aug(usti). a(rborum) g(enera) IV, c(etera) [p(rivata)]*. "By (order of) Emperor Hadrian Augustus. Four species (reserved), the rest private." The Latin text can be found in *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, vol. 8, part 3. The Latin inscription also can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/245536?bookid=478&location=1676>).

The Region of Southern Syria, Judea, and Arabia



c99 Coin of Arabia

(Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, III/Pt. II. Plate 300 [#8149];

Legend and description from p. 749 (cf. #8148))

[Bronze Coin]

OBVERSE: ΑΥΤΟΚΡ[ΑΤ ΚΑΙ]ΑΡ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC: 'Emperor

Caesar Trajan Hadrian.'
Head of Hadrian to r.,
laureate: border of dots.

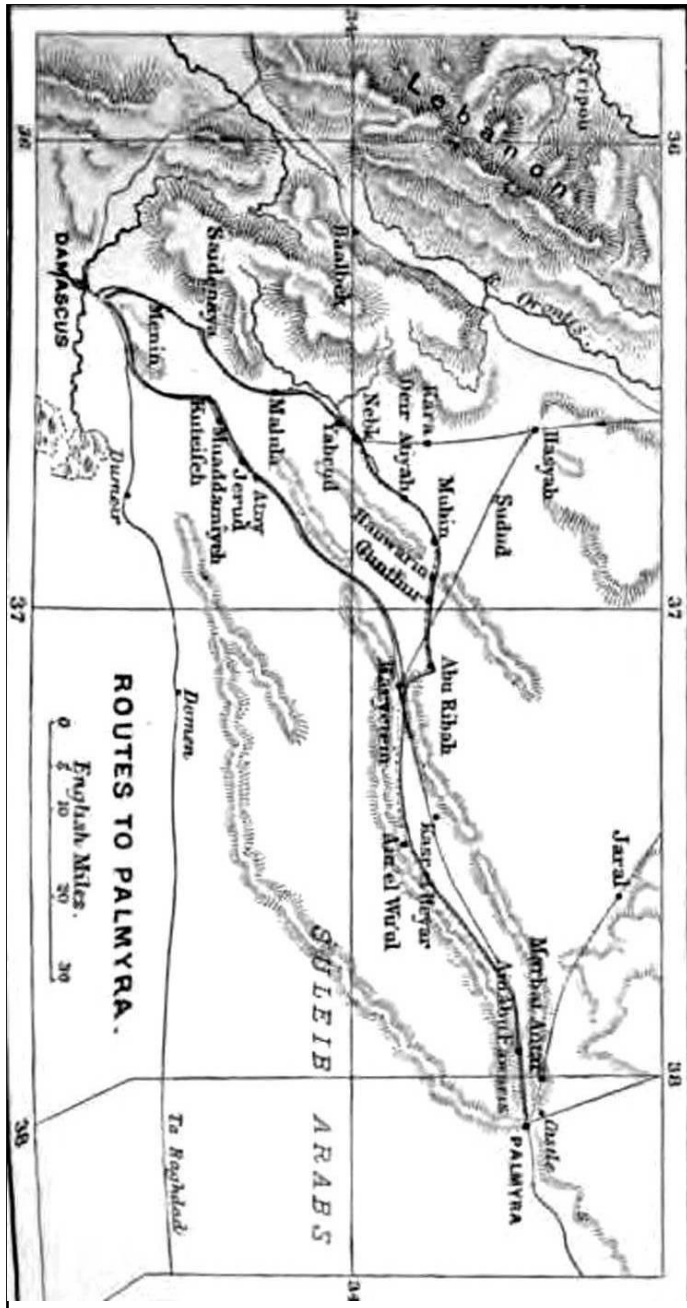


REVERSE: ΑΡΑΒΙΑ:
'Arabia.' Bust of Arabia
to r., wearing turreted
crown, with two children
at her breast: border of
dots.

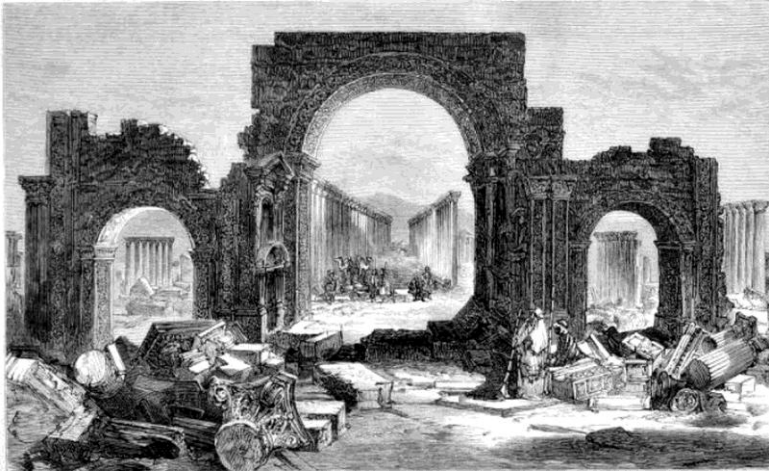
PALMYRA

Routes to Palmyra

(Wright, *An Account of Palmyra and Zenobia*, 1)



Palmyra Ruins
(Myers, *Remains of Lost Empires*, Frontpiece)

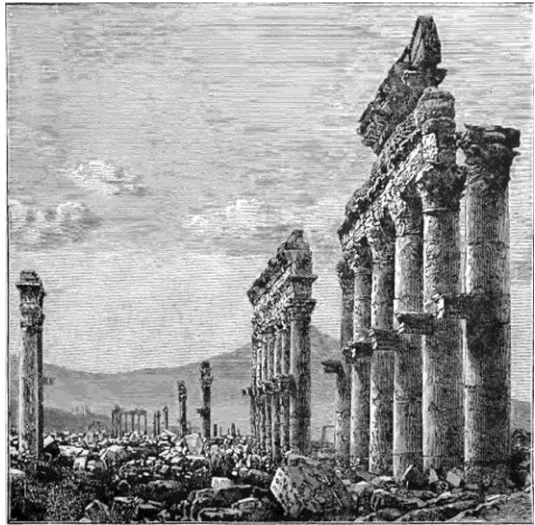


c100 Palmyra Coin (below)
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 368)



COIN OF PALMYRA.

Palmyra Ruins (Remains of the Colonnade) (right)
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 373)



502 A Palmyran at Rome [134 C.E.]

(Inscription on Marble Altar in Rome's Transtiberim)

[IGR I, 33]⁷²²

For the safe-keeping of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Lucius Licinius Hermias, dedicated to the ancestral god Arsû (=Ares) who listens, on the 8th day of the month *Shabatu* (*Saëdikos*) in the year 445.

⁷²² The Greek text can be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, I/1, 24 [#33]; for the text and some brief notes on the context, see Fowlkes-Childs, "Palmyrenes in Transtiberim," 200. The Greek σωτηρίας, "salvation," has the sense here of "safe-keeping" or "well-being." The year in the Palmyrene calendar (which starts with the year 312 B.C.E.) corresponds to 134 C.E.

503 At Palmyra (Tadmor) [c. 129/130 C.E.]⁷²³

(Inscription on Stone at a Temple in Palmyra)

[IGR III, 1054=PAT 1423=CIG 4482]⁷²⁴

The Boule and] the *People* | (honor) Males also known as Agrippa, | (son) of Iaraaios, (grandson) of Rhaaios, secretary | for the second time || during the visit of the god Hadri|anus, providing oil| for guests and citizens, | in all matters being of service | for the army's || entertainment, [and he ----] the temple | of the god *with* its fro|nt hall [and with its] other [roofed colonnades at] *his own expense* [----]

504 The Temple of Baal Shamin Attests Hadrian's Presence [c. 131 C.E.]

(Inscription in Greek and Palmyrene)

[BS 44]⁷²⁵

(Greek.) The Senate and People to Male, called Agrippa, son of Yarhai son of Raai, who became Secretary for a second time and, at the time the divine Hadrian stayed at (Palmyra), gave oil to the strangers and to the citizens, fully providing for the hospitable reception of the troops, and (built) the temple of Zeus with the pronaos ... at his own expense.

(Palmyrene.) By decree of the Senate and People, this is the statue of Male (Agrippa) son of Yarhai (son of) Lishamsh Raai, who was Secretary for a second time and, when our lord the divine Hadrian came [p. 21] gave oil to the citizens, to the troops, and to the strangers that came with him, taking care of the encampment in everything. And he built the temple and the pronaos, and the entire decoration at his own expense, to Baal Shamin and Durahlun and to the [Fortune] of the Bene Yedi'ebel. In the month ..., the year 442 (130/131).

⁷²³ Andrade, *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World*, 177, comments, "The Greek civic order of Palmyra surely appeared eccentric or illegitimate to Hadrian. . . . While the Palmyrenes expressed affinity for their emperor, Hadrian had little in common with them. The Palmyrenes' adaptation of classical Greek and Italian forms, which they interwove with Near Eastern idioms, produced cultural expressions deviating from Hadrian's classical ideals." In his view (p. 197), Palmyrenes saw themselves as citizens of a Greek city by the 2nd century C.E. For an indepth discussion of Hadrian and Palmyra, see his chapter 6 (pp.171–210).

⁷²⁴ Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 150. The Greek text can be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, III, 388. The Palmyrene text, Greek text, and another English translation can be found in Cooke, *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions (NSI)*, 281–82. Male, son of Yarhai, was a member of the Raai (or Ra'ai) family, whose roots have been traced back into the 1st century B.C.E. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, 100, remarks, "After his visit in A.D. 130 Hadrian granted special favours to Palmyra, and in 137 the dues were revised and a new tariff was pro- mulgated cancelling the old system of taxation by custom and having for its object the prevention of disputes between collectors and merchants; the collecting was done by the town, but all dues valued at more than one denarius were to be paid in Roman coin and the modius was to be the measure of quantity." For more on Hadrian and Palmyra, see Andrade, *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World*, 171–210. Some place the visit in 129 C.E.

⁷²⁵ Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra*, 20–21 (with Greek and Palmyrene texts). On the temple of Baal Shamin (or Baalshamin), see *The Temple of Baalshamin* (<https://archeologie.culture.gouv.fr/palmyre/en/temple-baalshamin>).

BOSTRA

505 A Centurion of the Bostra Legion, III Cyrenaica [130 C.E.?)

(Inscription on a Tombstone at Bostra in Arabia)⁷²⁶

[*IGLS* 13¹ 9188]⁷²⁷

For Titus Quintius Petrullus, centurion of *Legio III Cyrenaica*, from Britain, who lived 30 years and. . .

HELIOPOLIS

506 A Dedication to Jupiter at Heliopolis

(Inscription at Heliopolis (Baalbek), in Syria)

[*AE* 1928.84=*AE* 1989.738]⁷²⁸

For the safe-keeping of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland; to Jupiter Best-and-Greatest of Heliopolis; Fabius Maximus, son of Spurius, a centurion of the *Legio III Gemina* paid his vow gladly.

SEBASTE

(SAMARIA)

507 A Salute from the Troops [after 128 C.E.]

(Honorary Inscription at Sebaste in Samaria (Roman Palestine)

[*CIL* III, 13589=*CIL* III, 12080a=*AE* 1894.131=*AE* 1896.54]⁷²⁹

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, by *legio X Fretensis* and cohorts I.

508 Hadrian Builds a Town on Mt. Gerizim

(*Samaritan Chronicle*)⁷³⁰

47 And God moved his heart to pity, and he dealt kindly with it, and with those who led the troops in Nâbulus; and he built there a town on Mount Gerîzîn, and called it Saqarus, after the name of his father. And the doors that were on Beit el-Muqaddas were of yellow brass, plated with silver and ornamented with gold, which Sulaiman had made, the like of which no one, though strong of hand, could ever make, and he (Hadrian) carried these away and placed them on the door of the dome which he had built on the ridge of the mountain that is over against Nâbulus.

⁷²⁶ Bowersock, "A Report on Arabia Provincia," 231, contests the notion that Petra was the provincial capital and asserts that Bostra was the seat of Roman administration and where the legionary headquarters existed.

⁷²⁷ Birley, "*Viri Militares*," 68 (with Latin text); he notes Petrullus may have become a centurion in Arabia when Sextus Julius Severus came from Britain, or perhaps came East as a soldier in legion IX Hispania before being offered the position in III Cyrenaica.

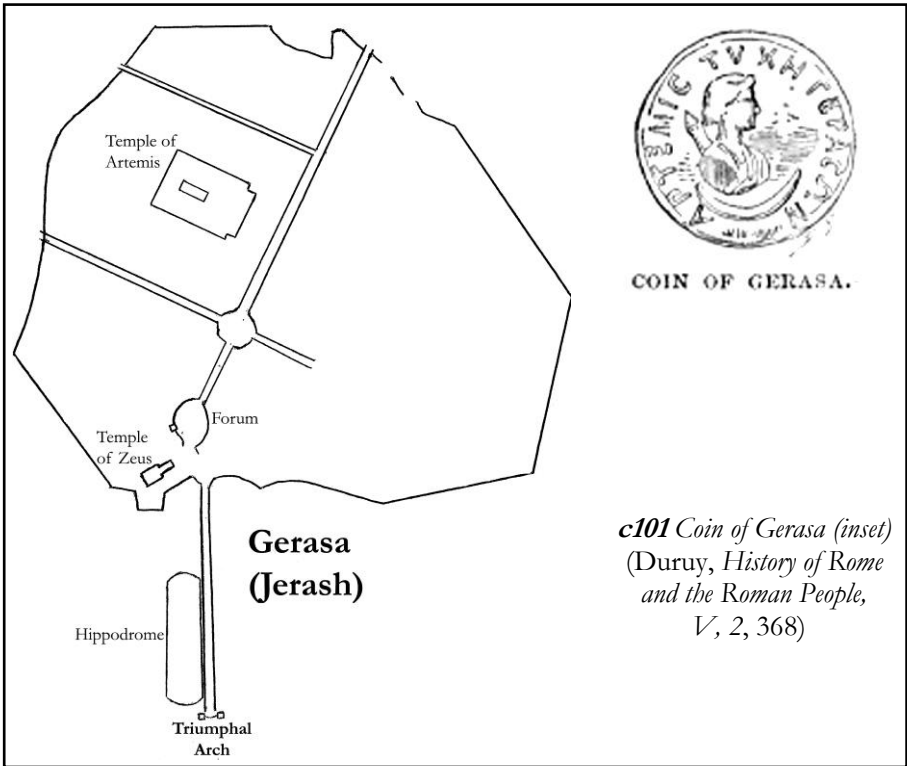
⁷²⁸ The Latin text can be seen at *EDCS* (*EDCS*-16200733).

⁷²⁹ The Latin text can be viewed online at *EDCS* (*EDCS*-31400019). See the note at #524.

⁷³⁰ *The Samaritan Chronicle* (Crane trans.), 124. In the *Chronicle* this is placed after the destruction of Jerusalem in the Bar Kokhba war. Hall, "From John Hyrcanus," 51, notes, "The dating of Hadrian in the Samaritan Chronicles illustrates the chronological confusion in these documents."

GERASA

Gerasa (Simplified)



Hadrian's Triumphal Arch
(Image Adapted
from Public
Domain)



509 Hadrian's Triumphal Arch [130 C.E.]
(Inscription on the Triumphal Arch at Gerasa)
[*Gerasa Inscriptions* #58=*AE* 1935.96]⁷³¹

Good fortune!

For the safe-keeping of Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 14th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland: both fortune and the continuance of your entire household!—the city of Antioch on the Chrysoroas, previously known as Gerasa, by the will of Flavius Agrippa, offers this arched monument of triumph at the gate. In the year 192.⁷³²

510 Hadrian Honored at Gerasa, 1 [130 C.E.]
(Honorific Inscription at Gerasa)
[*AE* 1903.333]⁷³³

Good fortune! To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 14th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, the good lord; by the city of Antioch on the Chrysoroas, previously known as Gerasa.

511 Hadrian Honored at Gerasa, 2 [130 C.E.]
(Honorific Inscription on Upper Part of a Round Pedestal at Gerasa)
[*AE* 1930.99=*Gerasa Inscriptions* #145]⁷³⁴

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 14th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, the good lord; by Solon and Paulinus, sons of Moiragenes, at the city of Antioch on the Chrysoroas, previously known as Gerasa.

⁷³¹ The Greek text can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-78700111), or found in Welles, “The Inscriptions,” in Kraeling, *Gerasa*, 402 [#58, noting but not remarking on textual issues]. Welles writes, “The original text of the transcription was erased after in line 4. . . . The most natural assumption would be that the name of the provincial governor had been removed because he had fallen from the Emperor’s favor. . . .” This view is no longer widely endorsed. The text can also be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/304991?hs=192-214>). I have rendered *σὺν θριάμβῳ* as “arched monument of triumph” as the Greek expression could on occasion accompany such. The Greek *σωτηρίας*, “salvation” or “deliverance,” here has the sense of “safe-keeping” or “well-being.” Kraeling (p. 49), recounting the history of Gerasa, remarks that Hadrian’s visit “was a protracted one, covering part at least of the winter of 129/130 A.D.” For more on Gerasa, including maps, see Lichtenberger and Raja, “Antioch on the Chysorrhoas.”

⁷³² In our calendar, 130 C.E. The local Gerasan calendar started from the founding of the province of Syria.

⁷³³ The Greek text can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-77500203).

⁷³⁴ The Greek text can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-77500203).

512 Hadrian Honored at Gerasa, 3 [130 C.E.]

(Inscription on Circular Pedestal at Gerasa)

[*Gerasa Inscriptions* #143; cf. #144 (entry #515)]⁷³⁵

Good fortune!

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 14th time, Father of the Fatherland, the good Lord, the city of Antioch-on-the-Chrysoroas, previously known as Gerasa [[____]]

513 Dedication to Hadrian by Some of His Soldiers [130 C.E.]

(Dedication at Temple of Artemis at Gerasa)

[*Gerasa Inscriptions* #30=AE 1915.42=Smallwood #332]⁷³⁶

For the well-being of our Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, to Augustan Diana; from his Imperial Horse Guard, which have spent the winter at Antioch-on-the-Chrysoroas, which is also (named) Gerasa the sacred and a sanctuary and autonomous; acting under the supervision of Marcus Calventius Viator, centurion of legion V Macedonica, these eight squadrons: of Flavius Titus, of Statilius Romanus, of Valerius Bassus, of Canus Augustinus, of [...] Paternus, of Ulpus Festus, of Ulpus Victor, and of Ulpus Agrippinus, have discharged their glad votive offering for his merits, out of respect, and on account of loyalty.

514 Syrian Legion Brought by Hadrian to Arabia [130 C.E.?]

(Recut Block as Base of a Column at Gerasa)

[*Gerasa Inscriptions* #171=AE 1983.937]⁷³⁷

... prefect of cohort, military tribune of legion X Pia Fidelis, procurator of the province of Arabia, soldier of legion VI Ferrata, Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus holding tribunician power for the 14th time, three times Consul. ...

⁷³⁵ The Greek text can be found in Welles, “The Inscriptions,” in Kraeling, *Gerasa*, 424 [#143]. The Greek text is also available online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/305078?bookid=751&location=1601>).

⁷³⁶ The Latin text can be found in Welles, “The Inscriptions,” in Kraeling, *Gerasa*, 390 [#30]. He notes (p. 390–91), “Some of the *decuriones* may be identified with men in the discharge lists *CIL* VI, 31140–31152, from the end of the reign of Hadrian and the beginning of that of Antoninus, notably Valerius Bassus.” For text and an alternative translation online, see the *Database of Military Inscriptions and Papyri of Early Roman Palestine* (<https://armyofromanpalestine.com/%C2%A751-marcus-calventius-viator>). The Imperial Horse Guard (*Equites Singulares Augusti*) were a special cavalry detail formed in the time of the early empire (see entry #338 and fn. 501). See Campbell, “The *Equites Singulares Augusti*.” Gerasa was also known as ‘Antioch-on-the-Chrysoroas (river),’ as witnessed in the entries (#s 509–513) found here. On Marcus Calventius Viator, also see the inscription in Smallwood, *Documents*, 74 [#192]. He is discussed in Speidel, *Riding for Caesar*, 47–48, who notes, “Viator was a centurion and drill master, and very likely also commander, of the governor’s horse guard in the Dacian capital of Sarmizegethusa.” He later notes (p. 102), that Calventius Viator served Hadrian for 13 years.

⁷³⁷ The Latin text can be found in Welles, “The Inscriptions,” in Kraeling, *Gerasa*, 435 [#171], or viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-08500622).

515 Games to Honor Hadrian [130 C.E.]

(Inscription at Gerasa)

[*Gerasa Inscriptions* #144=*AE* 1927.252.2; cf. *AE* 1927.148]⁷³⁸

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 14th time, Father of the Fatherland, the good Lord, the city of Antioch-on-the-Chrysoroas, previously known as Gerasa, on account of the whole of his time of residence, sat in assembly and determined . . .

Superintendent of games Flavius Flaccus . . . having been directed by vote to bring in . . .

PHILADELPHIA⁷³⁹

516 Road Building, 1 [129/130 C.E.]

(Milestone Inscription near Philadelphia (Amman))

[Thomsen (1917), #110]⁷⁴⁰

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, three times Consul, repaired it; mile 2.

517 Road Building, 2 [129 C.E.]

(Milestone Inscription near Philadelphia (Amman))

[*CIL* III, 14168=*AE* 1895.172]⁷⁴¹

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus.

⁷³⁸ The Greek text can be found in Welles, “The Inscriptions,” in Kraeling, *Gerasa*, 425 [#144]. He notes, “This inscription provides the positive evidence that Hadrian visited Gerasa in the winter of A.D. 129/130, and combined with 30 indicates that he passed at least part of the winter there.” The Greek text is also available online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/305079?hs=330-336>). The *agónothetes*, ‘Director of Contests,’ exhibited games in honor of the emperor.

⁷³⁹ Rosenmüller, *The Biblical Geography of Asia Minor, Phoenecia, and Arabia*, 158, writes, “During the rule of the Egyptian Ptolemies over Syria, it received the name of Philadelphia, (no doubt from Ptolemy Philadelphus), yet continued to be most commonly designated by the ancient name of Rabbat-Amāna. Josephus calls it *Rabbatha*, Eusebius and Jerome, *Amman*; but, on the coins from Titus to Commodus, it is styled *Philadelpheia*. It was at that period one of the most important cities of Arabia, and the district in which it lay was named from it Philadelphian Arabia.” Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 95, notes that with the incorporation of Arabia, Philadelphia—along with Gerasa—was a city of the Decapolis now included in the new province. The Roman road built under Trajan (*via Nova Traiana*) stretched north-west from Philadelphia to Bostra; afterwards it extended south as far as Petra. Millar, 411, also notes the Greek inscriptions of Philadelphia are few.

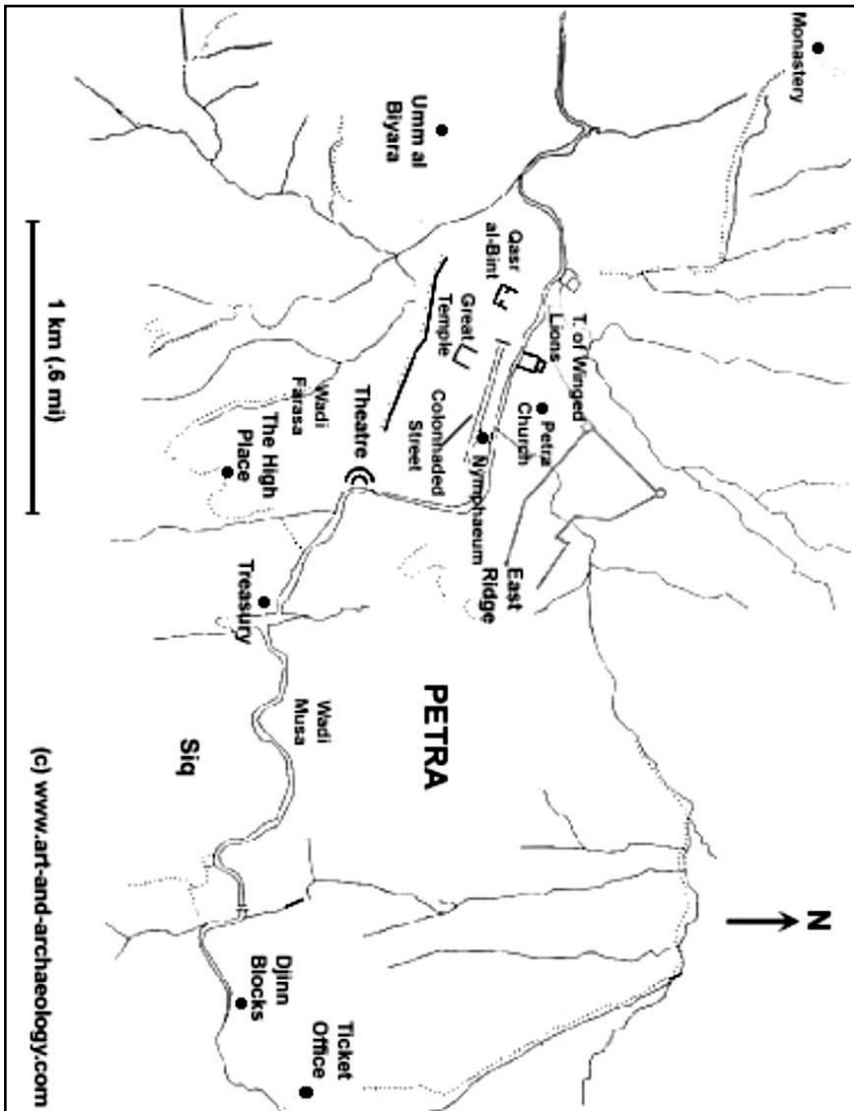
⁷⁴⁰ Thomsen, “Die römischen Meilensteine,” 46–47; cf. the Latin text at *EDCS* (EDCS-73600 198).

⁷⁴¹ The Latin text can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-30000324).

PETRA

*Petra*⁷⁴²

(Map courtesy of Michael D. Gunther @ art-and-archaeology.com)⁷⁴³



⁷⁴² Petra was granted status as a metropolis in the 2nd century, when, as Gitler, “A Group of 120 Clay Bullae,” 188, notes, such a grant was a rare occurrence and accorded to the most important urban center in a province.

⁷⁴³ The map, © Michael D. Gunther, is made available under the Creative Commons Share-Alike 3.0 License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>),

Petra, 1 ⁷⁴⁴
 (Forder, "Arabia," 1040)



THE ROCKY DEFILE, OR THE SIQ, WHICH WAS THE ENTRANCE TO PETRA

Petra, 2 →
 (Kennedy, *Petra*, Fig. 111, &
Petra, 3, Fig. 131
 ↓

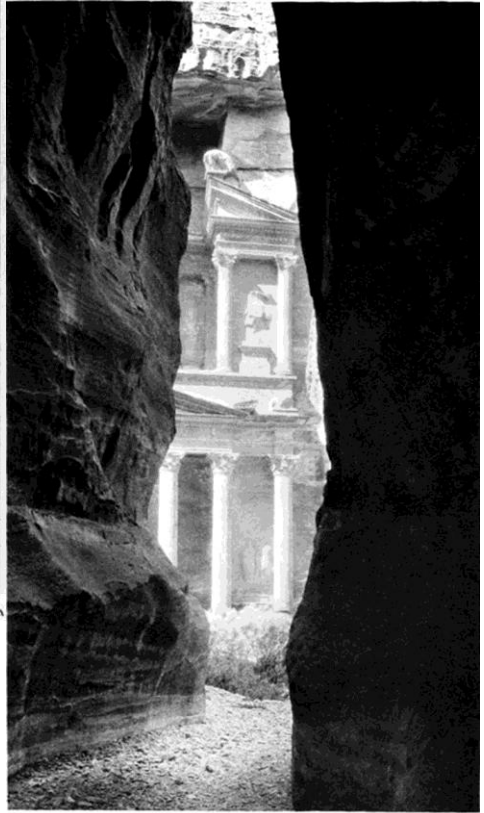


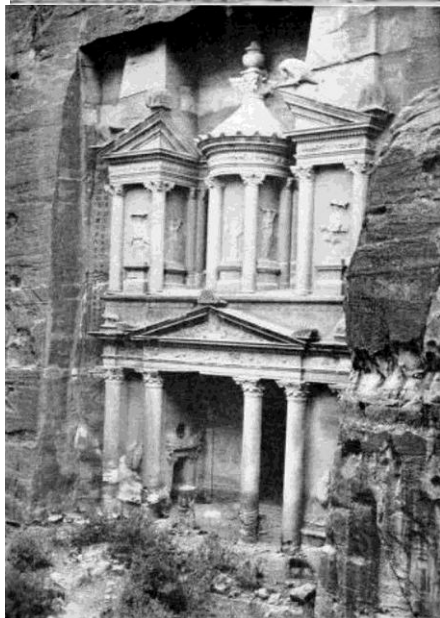
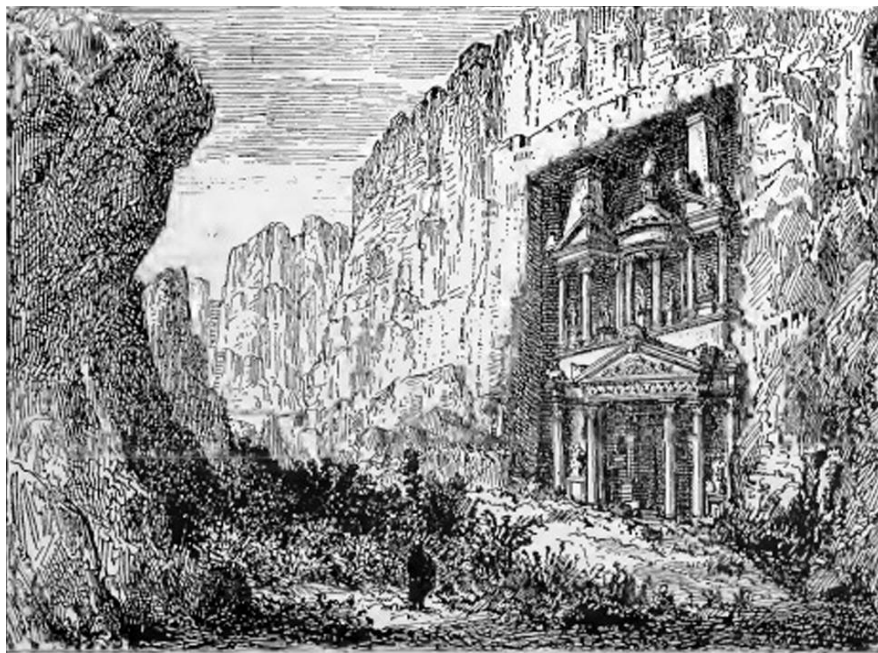
FIG. III. KHAZNA IN THE SIQ.



FIG. 131. ROMAN THEATRE.

⁷⁴⁴ For a general historical survey of the area, see Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*. On Hadrian's travels in the region during the period 129–130 C.E., see Bowersock, 110–11.

Petra, 4
 (Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 375)



PHARAOH'S TREASURY: PETRA

Petra, 5
 ← (Forder, "Arabia," 1041)

Petra, 6
 (Erskine, *The Vanished Cities of Arabia*,
 facing
 p. 47)



Petra, 7a–b

(Erskine, *The Vanished Cities of Arabia*, facing p. 69 and p. 71)



THE TEMPLE OF THE URN, PETRA



VIEW FROM THE COLONNADE OF THE TEMPLE OF THE URN, PETRA



COIN OF PETRA,
STRUCK AT
DAMASCUS.

c102 Petra Coin

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*,
V, 2, 368)

518 ‘Hadriana Petra’ [c. 130 C.E.]

(Inscription Noting City Name, at Petra)

[“Les inscriptions du téménos,” p. 52=
IGLS 214 46]⁷⁴⁵

For ____, legate (πρεσβευτήν) of Augustus, assistant
Strategos (ἀντιστρατήγον), Consul designate, at the
metropolis of Hadriana Petra, for merit (τειμῆς
χάριν).

⁷⁴⁵ The Greek text, a French translation (*A . . . légate d’Auguste, consul désigné, Adriana Pétra la métropole, pour l’honorer*), and comments can be found in Starcky and Bennett, “Les inscriptions du téménos,” 52. The Greek text also can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/246266?hs=125-133>). A *temenos* is a designated space (e.g., sacred enclosure or for official use only). Al-Nasarat and Twissi, “The Titles of Petra,” 211, comment, “The designation of a city as a metropolis required formal sanction by the Roman emperor and senate. In contrast, a city could apparently add the honorific Hadriane or Hadrianopolis to its name without external authorization. . . .”

519 A Roman Governor, Headquartered at Petra [c. 127–130 C.E.]

(Inscription Honoring Aninius Sextius Florentinus, at Petra)

[*CIL* III, 14148, 10]⁷⁴⁶

Titus Aninius Lucius Sextius Florentinus, son of Papirius: one of the three man board charged with minting gold and silver; military tribune of legion I Minerva; quaestor in the province of Achaia; tribune of the plebs; legate of legion IX Hispania; proconsul of the province of Narbonensis; legate with *pro praetorian* authority of the province of Arabia; to his most devoted father, in accordance with his will.

520 Titus Haterius Nepos, 1: Governor in Arabia

(Successor to Florentinus) [134 C.E.]

(Honorific Inscription)

[*SEG* XLVI.2058=*AE* 1996.1599]⁷⁴⁷

Titus Haterius Nepos, consul. Marcus Ulpus Philippus honors his benefactor.

521 Titus Haterius Nepos, 2: Administering the Law [Nov. 17, 130 C.E.]

(Excerpt from a Papyrus of the Babatha Archive, Found in Judea/Palestine)

[*P. Yadin* 23=*p.babatha.23*]⁷⁴⁸

[Summons] Before the attending witnesses Besas son of Jesus, En-gedian, guardian of the orphans of Jesus son of Eleazar Khthousion, summoned Babatha a Maozene woman, daughter of Simon, to meet him before Haterius Nepos, legatus pro praetor, in Petra or elsewhere in his province. . . .

522 Titus Haterius Nepos, 3: Decorated for War Service [134–138 C.E.]

(Inscription at Fulginium, Italy)

[*CIL* XI, 5212]⁷⁴⁹

Titus Haterius Nepos Atinas Probus Publicius Matenianus, consul, high priest, honored by triumphal decorations.

⁷⁴⁶ The Latin text can be viewed online at EDCS (EDCS-21200156). The *IIIviro auro argento flando* also is known as the *triumviri monetalis*, the ‘three men of the mint.’

⁷⁴⁷ For both the Greek text and comments, see Gatier, “Gouverneurs et Procurateurs à Gêrasa,” 48–49 (Greek text in Fig. 2), accessed through *Persée* (https://www.persee.fr/doc/syria_0039-7946_1996_num_73_1_7500). See text, translation, and commentary at *Judaism and Rome* (<https://www.judaism-and-rome.org/haterius-nepos-arabia-and-bar-kokhba-revolt>). This Platorius Nepos, of consular rank (suffect consul in 134 C.E.), is to be distinguished from the Platorius Nepos of equestrian rank who was prefect of Egypt.

⁷⁴⁸ Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 103, (with Greek text). The Greek text can be found online at *Papyri.info* (<https://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.babatha;23>). The Babatha Archive is a major find by Yigael Yadin that has helped inform about life in the region of Syria, Arabia, and Judea in the late 120s–early 130s C.E. Babatha was from Maoza, a port village in the Arabian administrative district of Zoara, at the southern end of the Dead Sea. Also see Polotsky, “The Greek Papyri from the Cave of the Letters.”

⁷⁴⁹ The Latin text is available online at EDCS (EDCS-22901154). On Haterius Nepos’ award, see Eck, “Kaiserliche Imperatorenakklamation und ornamenta triumphala,” 226–27. On the presumed role of Haterius Nepo in the Bar Kokhba War, see Eck, “The Bark Kokhba Revolt,” 84–86, 89.

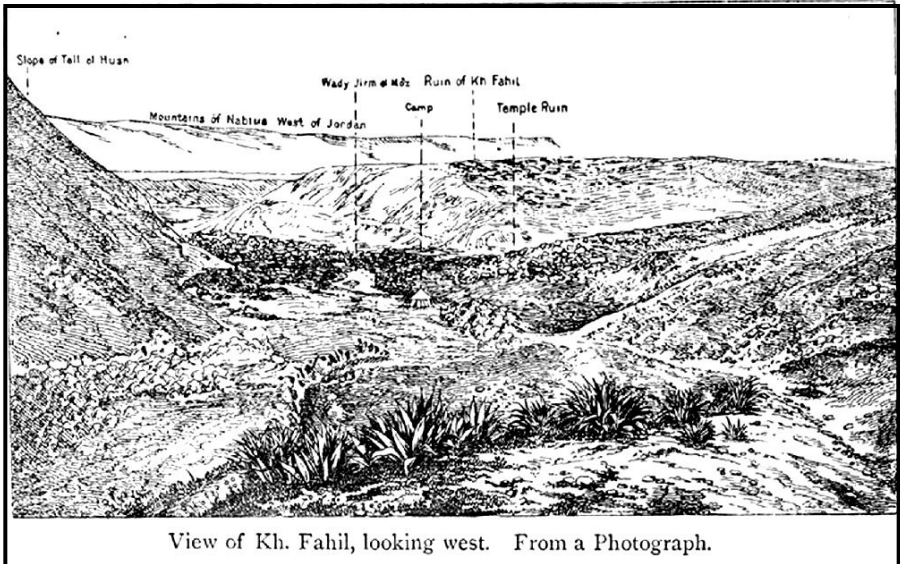
PELLA

523 Road Building Near Pella [129/130 C.E.]

(Inscription near Pella)

[*AE* 2005.1586]⁷⁵⁰

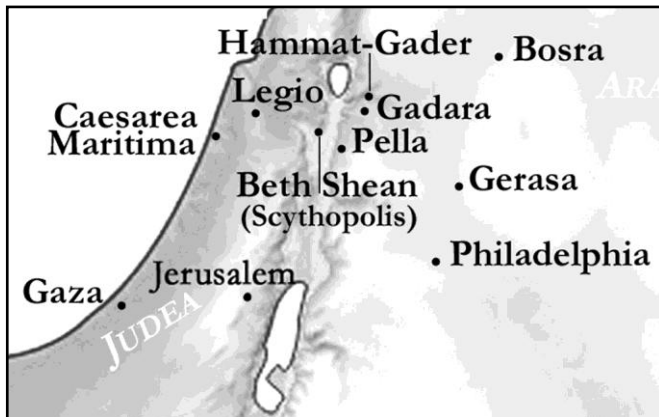
Caesar Hadrian, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, three times Consul—mile one from . . .



View of Kh. Fahil, looking west. From a Photograph.

FROM ARABIA INTO JUDEA

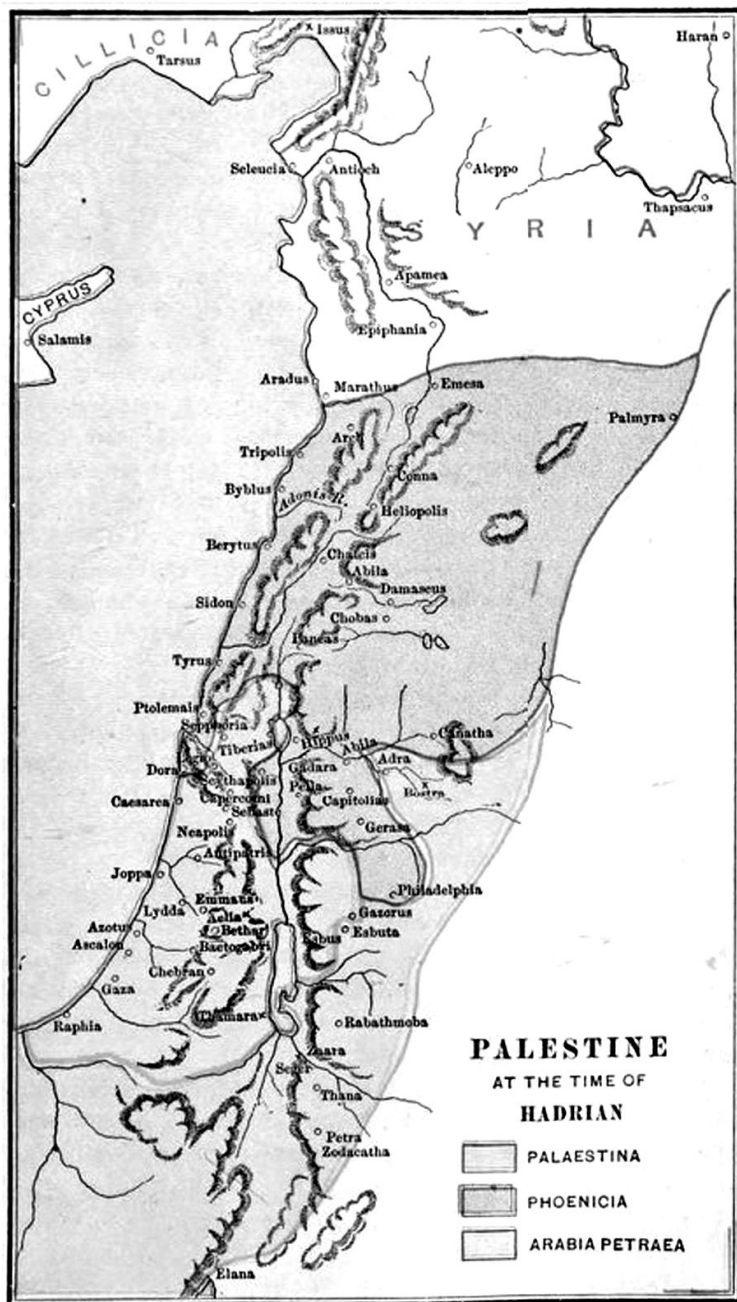
Petra to Gerasa to Pella to Beth Shean



⁷⁵⁰ The Latin text is available online at *EDCS* (EDCS-38301827).

JUDEA (PALESTINA)

Judea
(MacCoun, *The Holy Land, II*, Plate 129)





c103a *Adventus Coin, 1*
(Adapted from Bury, *The Student's Roman Empire*, 456)



c103b *Adventus Coin, 2*
[130–133 C.E.]

(Münzkabinett Wien;
Dupondius, As)⁷⁵¹

OBVERSE: HADRIVS
AVG(ustus) CO(n)S(ul) III
P(ater) P(atria): Head of
Hadrian, laureate, right |
Head, right | Head, left |

Bust of Hadrian, draped, right, viewed from rear or side.

REVERSE: ADVENTVI AVGVSTIVDAEAE || S(enatus) C(onsulto) (in
exergue): Hadrian standing right, raising hand and holding scroll; facing him,
Judea standing left, holding patera and incense box; between them, altar,
usually with bull at the base; at Judea's feet, two or three children.

BETH SHEAN (SCYTHOPOLIS)

524 Hadrian at Beth Shean (Scythopolis) [130 C.E.]

(Inscription of Dedication on a Statue Base at Beth Shean)

[CIL III, 14155.14=CIL III, 13589=AE 1894.31=AE 1896.54]⁷⁵²

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, by
Legio X Fretensis, cohorts I.

⁷⁵¹ The image (© Münzkabinett Wien) is made available by Creative Commons (CC by 3.0) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/legalcode>); the image has been transformed to grayscale. The image, with the text, can be viewed at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Judea>). The image has been changed from color to grayscale and text abbreviations expanded, but some descriptive text omitted. *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 1770–1773.

⁷⁵² The Greek text can be seen online at EDCS (EDCS-31400019). The Greek text also can be found in Mor, “What Does Tell Shelem Have to Do with the Bar Kokhba Revolt?” 89, where he points out (fn. 49) that the inscription when published as *CIL* III, 13589 was attributed to Samaria (see entry #507); I have included it in two places in this volume given the variant locations (and leave to the reader to decide after more research which is to be preferred). Mor also wonders if the legate of the legion deputed the 1st Cohort to welcome Hadrian. Mor, 88, traces Hadrian's journey as proceeding from Antioch to Palmyra, then through Damascus into Arabia province, to Bosra. Then he has him along the *Via Nova Traiana* through Philadelphia in the Decapolis to Petra, and afterwards along the *Via Nova Traiana* to Gerasa. He suggests that Hadrian continued through the Decapolis and somewhere along the Jordan near Pella crossed into Judea. “Scythopolis,” he writes, “was apparently the emperor's first stop.”

525 A Soldier Remembered

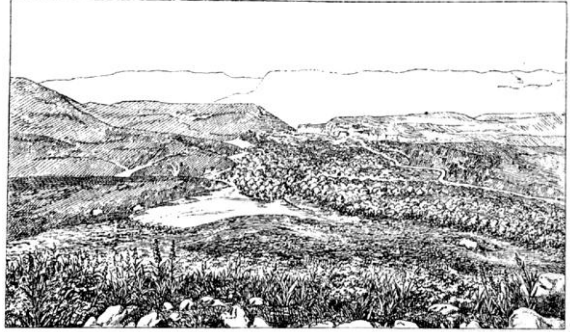
[c. 132–135 C.E.]

(Sepulchre Inscription)

[*AE* 1938.158=*AE*

2016.1777]⁷⁵³

In memory (*Dis manibus*) of Publius Aelius Capito, of the Macedonian people, a soldier of Legio XI Claudia; he lived 34 years, served for 10 years, and rightly made Dolanus his well-deserving heir.



View from Tell el-Husi looking West. From a Photograph.

526 Judea

(Epiphanius, *On Weights and Measures*; cf. *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed., 476))⁷⁵⁴ 14 (54b *cont.*) So he passed through the city of Antioch and passed through [Coele-Syria] and Phoenicia and came to Palestine—

(54c) which is also called Judea—forty-seven years after the destruction of Jerusalem. And he went up to Jerusalem, the famous and illustrious city which Titus, the son of Vespasian, overthrew in the second year of his reign. And he found the temple of God trodden down and the whole city devastated save for a few houses and the church of God, which was small, where the disciples, when they had returned after the Savior had ascended from the Mount of Olives, went to the upper room. For there it had been built, that is, in that portion of Zion which escaped destruction, together with blocks of houses in the neighborhood of Zion and the seven synagogues which alone remained standing in Zion, like solitary huts, one of which remained until the time of Maximona the bishop and Constantine the king, “like a booth in a vineyard,” as it is written. Therefore Hadrian made up his mind to (re)build the city, but not the temple. And he took the Aquila mentioned above, who was a Greek interpreter, since Hadrian also was a Greek—|

(54d) now Aquila was related to the king by marriage and was from Sinope in Pontus—and he established him there in Jerusalem as overseer of the work of building the city. And he gave to the city that was being built his own name and the appellation of the royal title. For as he was named Aelius Hadrian, so he also named the city Aelia.

⁷⁵³ The Latin text is available online at *EDCS* (EDCS-15800459). Images from Schumacher, *Pella*, pp. 23 and 58, respectively.

⁷⁵⁴ Epiphanius, *Epiphanius' Treatise* (Dean's ed.), 30. The Syriac text can be found in Baker, “Hadrian's Journey,” 164 (following Moutsoulas' 1973 critical edition). On the passage many have commented; for one commentary, see Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age*, 442–44.

Road System of Judea/Palestine ⁷⁵⁵

The map depicts the region around Jerusalem, showing major cities, roads, and geographical features. Key locations include:

- Cities and Towns:** Caesarea, Scythopolis, Pella, Neapolis, Bethoron, Lydda, Jamnia, Jericho, Bethlehem, Hebron, Gaza, and others.
- Rivers and Water Bodies:** Jordan River, Dead Sea (Mare Mortuum), and the Mediterranean Sea (Mare Mediterraneum).
- Roads and Paths:** Numerous roads are shown connecting the major cities and towns.
- Geographical Features:** The map shows the coastline of the Mediterranean Sea to the west and the Jordan River to the east.

The map is oriented with North at the top.

⁷⁵⁶ See Thomsen's volume for a listing of milestones known to him in the early 20th century.

527 A Roman Road Restored

(Mile 6 Inscription on Scythopolis-Jericho Road)

[IMC 310=Roll (1983), p. 154]⁷⁵⁷

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the ___ time. . . .

528 Road Building: Mile Marker, 1 [120 C.E.]

(Mile Marker Near Legio on Legio-Sepphoris Road)

[AE 1962.268=AE 1979.629]⁷⁵⁸

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the 4th time, Consul three times; 5 miles from Diocaesarea.

529 Road Building: Mile Marker, 2 [130/131 C.E.]

(Mile Marker Outside Bethar on

Jerusalem-Eleutheropolis/Beth Gabra Road)

[CIL III, 13596=AE 1894.165= IMC 97=Thomsen (1917), #282]⁷⁵⁹

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the 14th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland; 8 miles.

530 Road Building: Mile Marker, 3

(Mile Marker Outside Neapolis)

[Roll and Ayalon, p. 119]⁷⁶⁰

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, grandson of the deified Nerva; 18 miles.

531 Road Building: Mile Marker, 4 [130/131 C.E.?]

(Mile Marker Outside Jerusalem)

[CIL III, 13591=IMC 130=Thomsen (1917), #296]⁷⁶¹

. . . three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, 6 miles.

⁷⁵⁷ IMC=Israel Milestone Committee; see *Roman Roads and Milestones in Judaea/Palaestina* (<https://milestones.kinneret.ac.il/en/info-about-milestones/inscriptions-on-milestones/>). The Latin text can be seen in Roll, “The Roman Road System in Judea,” 154.

⁷⁵⁸ The Latin/Greek is in Isaac and Roll, “Judea in the Early Years of Hadrian’s Rule,” 56, who remark, “Both milestone and inscription are of finer quality than any other seen by us in this country.” They note (p. 63, n. 50) the Greek phrase was added later. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 307, writes, “The milestones that appear under Hadrian should be seen as declarations of loyalty by an army to an emperor who had an interest in military construction of which road building was an aspect, who travelled much in the provinces, and was fond of declarations of loyalty.”

⁷⁵⁹ The Latin text is in Thomsen, “Die Römischen Meilensteine,” 80 [#282]. Thomsen, 14, writes, “Hadrian hat Damaskus mit Heliopolis verbunden . . . und ist in Palfistina weiter südlich gegangen, vielleicht nach Eleutheropolis . . . und nach Hebron . . .” (“Hadrian connected Damascus with Heliopolis . . . and went further south in Palestine, perhaps to Eleutheropolis . . . and to Hebron.”)

⁷⁶⁰ See text and discussion in Roll and Ayalon, “Roman Roads in Western Samaria,” 119.

⁷⁶¹ The Latin text can be viewed at EDCS (EDCS-73600491).

JUDEA: ROMAN OFFICIALDOM

532 A Roman Official of Judea Early in Hadrian's Reign

(Inscription on Stone at Albintimilium in Liguria)

[*AE* 1915.58]⁷⁶²

Marcus son of Bassus, of the tribe Falerna, Prefect of the 1st Cohort of Antioch; Prefect of the 1st Cohort of Britain; Prefect of *Alae* Mosia; for Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus the Procurator for collecting the tax of the fortieth part in Gaul; in charge of collecting the inheritance tax at Pontos, and the same at Bithynia; official in charge (*Epistrategus*) at Pelusium, and the same for Thebes; Procurator of the province of Judea—this testament having been set down by his order.

533 Favored Officers (*beneficarii*) under Tineius Rufus [c. 131 C.E.]

(Inscription at Caesarea Maritima)

[*AE* 2003.1807=*CIIP* II, 1276]⁷⁶³

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 14th(?) time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, from *beneficarii* of Tineius Rufus, legate with propraetorian power.

534 Another Official of Hadrian's Reign [119–138 C.E.]

(Inscription of Dedication in Raetia)

[*CIL* III, 5776]⁷⁶⁴

Claudius Paternus Clementianus procurator of Augustus for the provinces of Judea, Sardinia, Africa, and Noricum; prefect of the cavalry Siliana, comprised of Roman citizens; military tribune of legion XI Claudia; prefect of the 1st cohort of the fleet.

535 Gargilius Antiquus, Governor of Syria-Palestine [130? Or 138? C.E.]

(Stone inscription in Greek at Dor Honoring Gargilius Antiquus)

[Gera and Cotton, p. 260]⁷⁶⁵

(In honour of) Marcus Paccius | son of Publius, | of the tribe Quirina, Silvanus Quintas | Coredius Gallus Gargilius | Antiquus, legatus Augusti | propraetore (i.e., governor) of | the Province of Syria.

⁷⁶² The Latin text used is the reconstruction of Lacey, *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian*, 19 (#42); cf. the text in *AE* 1900 (p. 14). The XXXX *Gallica* referred to was, as Lacey puts it, the “procuratorship *ad quadagesimam Galliarum*,” or the 2.5% tax collected on trade. See France, *Quadragesima Galliarum*. Pelusium and Thebes were cities in Roman Egypt. Mor, *The Second Jewish Revolt*, 29, notes, “Before the war, the procurators of Judea were of equestrian rank and were assisted only by auxiliary troops recruited from among the citizens of Caesarea and Sebaste, which included five infantry cohorts, one cavalry squadron, and three thousand soldiers.”

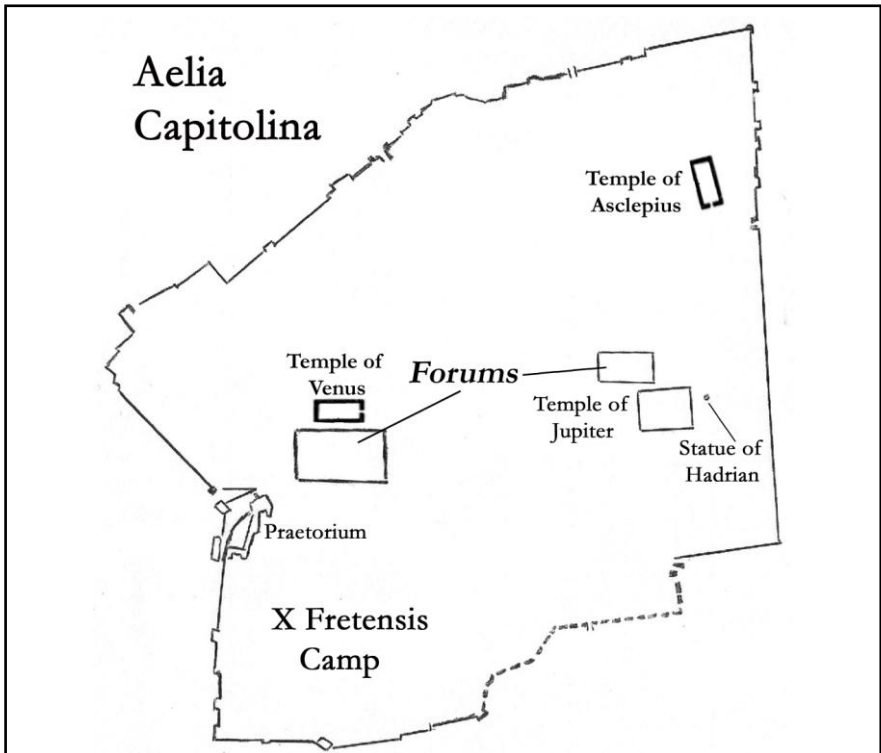
⁷⁶³ The Latin text can be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-30100040). On Rufus, see next chapter.

⁷⁶⁴ The Latin text can be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-27100293). Cf. *CIL* III, 5775.

⁷⁶⁵ Gera and Cotton, “A Dedication from Dor,” 260 (with Greek text). They observe (p. 265) that enough uncertainty exists for a date of either 120–130 (which they support), or 138 C.E. On the discovery of the inscription, see Bohstrom, “Divers Find Unexpected Roman Inscription.”

JERUSALEM (AELIA CAPITOLINA)

Aelia Capitolina (formerly Jerusalem), 1⁷⁶⁶



c104 Hadrian—Friend of Judea (left) | **c105** Founding a New City (right)
(Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 3 [Fig. 3 (left) and 4 (right)])



⁷⁶⁶ Cf. the more detailed map on p. 418 below. For a collection of maps, see Patrich, “On the Lost Circus of Aelia Capitolina.”

536 Hadrian Writes a Letter from Jerusalem [130 C.E.]

(Excerpt from a Letter to Hierapolis)

[SEG LV.1416 = AE 2004.1424]⁷⁶⁷

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the 14th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, to the magistrates, council, and assembly of Hierapolis, Greeting.

...

from Jerusalem.

537 Hadrian Decides to Rebuild Jerusalem

(*The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* 40.9–13 (Fol. 117); cf.

Chronicon Paschale (Dindorf ed., 476))⁷⁶⁸

40.9 This Hadrian was a man with a great thirst for knowledge. He therefore wanted to see for himself all the lands under his rule.

40.10 When he arrived at Jerusalem and found the city utterly desolate, he was angry with the Jews

40.11 and seized them and took them to the market in Hebron where he sold them as slaves at the price of four for a measure of barley.

40.12 Hadrian began to build the city and its walls, but not the Temple.

40.13 He took Aquila, a pagan, and entrusted to him the task of rebuilding the city.

c106 First Minted Coin for Aelia Capitolina (Reverse of RPC 3964)

(Stevenson, Smith, and Madden, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins*, 15)



Legend reads: COL(onia) AEL(ia) KAPIT(olinia) [C]OND(ita)—“Colony Aelia Capitolina founded.”⁷⁶⁹

Hadrian ploughing a field (see following coin description).

⁷⁶⁷ The Greek text and an accompanying discussion can be found in Bernini, “New Evidence for Colonia Aelia Capitolina,” 561. Only the first few lines and the last fragment indicating where it was written from are presented here. The text is badly corrupted and fragmentary.

⁷⁶⁸ Alon, *The Jews in Their Land*, 445–46 (but not in a continuous order as he breaks it up for commenting upon). The Greek text can be found in Conybeare, “The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila,” 91. Alon’s “a pagan” in 40.13 paraphrases “being a Greek, even as Hadrian himself lived as a Greek.” Cf. Varner, *Ancient Jewish-Christian Dialogues*, 233, who has at 40.12, “Then he began to build the city and its walls—indeed also the temple.” The account is dubious at best. The founding of Aelia Capitolina may have been in 130 C.E., or after visiting Egypt, in 132 C.E.

⁷⁶⁹ *Roman Provincial Coin (RPC)* 3964. Hadrian is depicted as the founder (*conditor*), in priestly garb, plowing the ground with a team of oxen and establishing the city’s *promerium* (sacred boundary). A *vexillum* (military standard) is in the background; it signifies the colony was initially peopled by veterans of the Roman military. See Eshel, “Aelia Capitolina—Jerusalem No More.”

538 Commemoration by X Fretensis Legion of Hadrian's Visit to Jerusalem [129/130C.E.]

(Inscription at Jerusalem)

[IAA 2014-2306; cf. *CIP* I.2, 715]⁷⁷⁰

(1st hand) To the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, son of the deified Traianus Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, high priest, invested with tribunician power for the 14th time, consul for the third time, father of the country (dedicated by) the 10th legion Fretensis

(2nd hand) Antoniniana.

539 Dedication of an Altar, Made by a Former Centurion of X Fretensis

(Inscription at Fort of Maryport, Britain)

[*RIB*¹ 814]⁷⁷¹

To August Jupiter, Marcus Censorinus, son of Marcus, (in the) Voltinia (voting-district), Cornelianus, centurion of the Legion *X Fretensis*, prefect of the First Cohort of Hispani, from the province of Narbonensis, his home Nemausus, paid his vow willingly and deservedly.

540 Hadrian Builds at Jerusalem/Aelia Capitolina

(*Paschal Chronicle* (*Chronicon Paschale*))⁷⁷²

[224th Olympiad] And when he had destroyed the Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem, he constructed two public bathhouses (δύο δημόσια), the theatre, the building with three vaulted halls (τὸ τρικάμαρον), the fountain of four porticos (τὸ τετράνυμφον), and the gate of twelve entrances (τὸ δωδεκάπυλον), which was previously called the 'ascension' (ἀναβαθμοί), and the square (τὴν κώδραν).⁷⁷³ He divided the city into seven districts (ἄμφοδα), and set up men as local magistrates (ἀμφοδάρχας), and to each district he assigned a magistrate, and to this day each district is called by the name of its magistrate. He gave his own name to the (entire) city, calling it Aelius, because Aelius was the family name for Hadrian.⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁷⁰ The Latin text can be found in Ecker and Cotton, "The *Legio X Fretensis* Welcomes the Emperor," 59. The inscription has been given the identifier IAA 2014-2306 (Israel Antiquities Authority). The Latin text is also available at the Terra Sancta Museum (in Jerusalem) website (<https://www.terrasanctamuseum.org/en/the-emperor-adrianos-inscription-is-back-in-the-flagellation-convent-in-jerusalem/>), or at EDCS (EDCS-54900616). The inscription was uncovered in 2014 by an expedition under the auspices of the Israel Antiquities Authority. The English translation also is by Hebrew University scholars Avner Ecker and Hannah Cotton. Legion X Fretensis had a dozen auxiliary units attached to it.

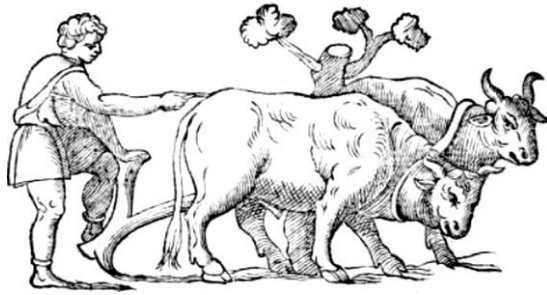
⁷⁷¹ Birley, "*Viri Militares*," 65 (with Latin text). The Latin text can be found online at *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (<https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/814>). The *RIB* has *prae[positus]* instead of *prae[fectus]*. At the end, [*v.*] *s.l.m.* = [*v(otum)*] *s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

⁷⁷² The Greek text can be found in *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed.), I, 474.

⁷⁷³ On these various structures, see Patrich, "On the Lost Circus of Aelia Capitolina," 175–77. On the theater, see Patrich, "Herod's Theater in Jerusalem," 231, who notes that "Hadrian's theater might have been just a restoration of Herod's theater, but there is no certainty about it." On ἄμφοδα and ἀμφοδάρχας, see Buck, "Greek ἄμφοδος," 114–16.

⁷⁷⁴ καὶ ἐπέθηκε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει, Αἰλίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας, ἐπειδὴ Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς ἐλέγετο.

Ploughing
(Fabretti, *De Columna Traiana Syntagma*, 152)



c107 Coin Commemorating Founding of Aelia Capitolina [130 C.E.]
(Public domain; Sestertius)



OBVERSE: [IMP(erator)] CAES(er) TRAIANO [HADRIANO AVG(ustus) P(ater) P(atriae)]: ‘Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland.’ Hadrian ploughing a field with ox and cow to establish the *pomerium* (sacred boundary).

REVERSE: COL(onia) AEL(ia) KAPIT(olinia) [C]OND(ita): ‘Colony Aelia Capitolina founded.’

541 A Professional Notice [130/131 C.E.]

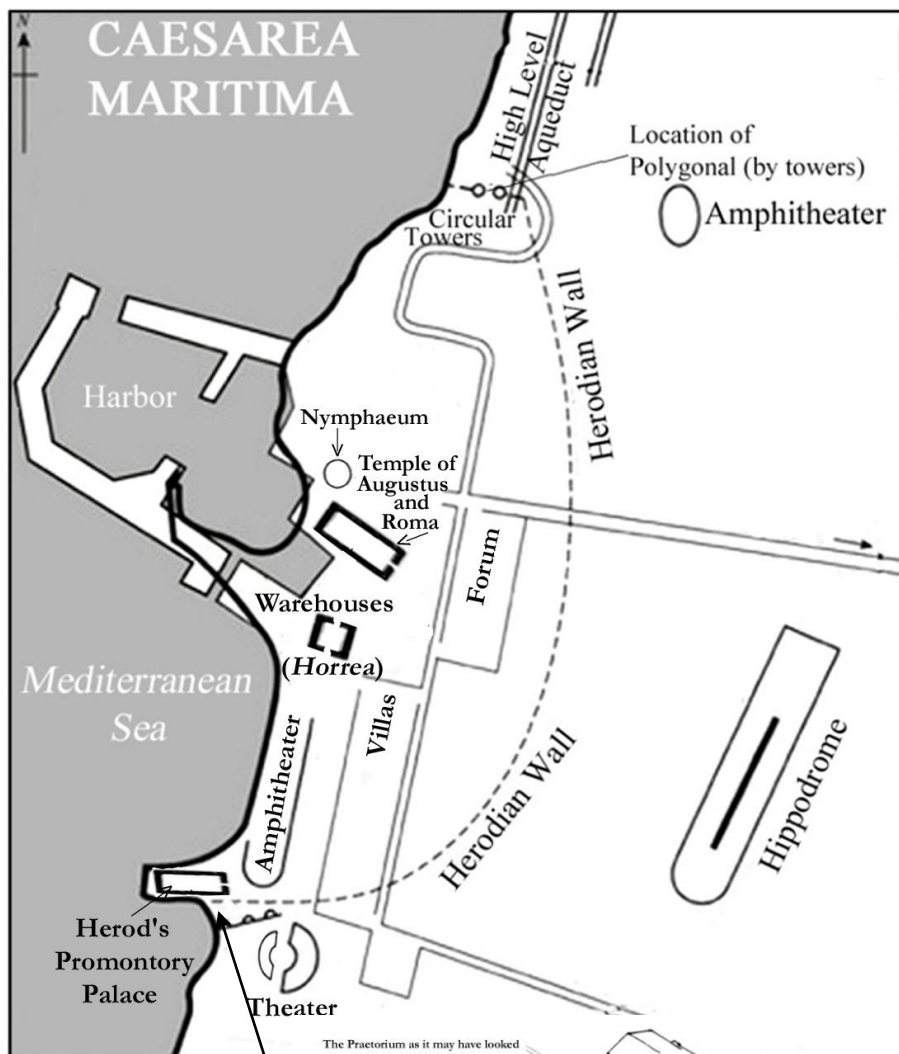
(Inscription from Judea/Palestina)

[AE 2002.1564]⁷⁷⁵

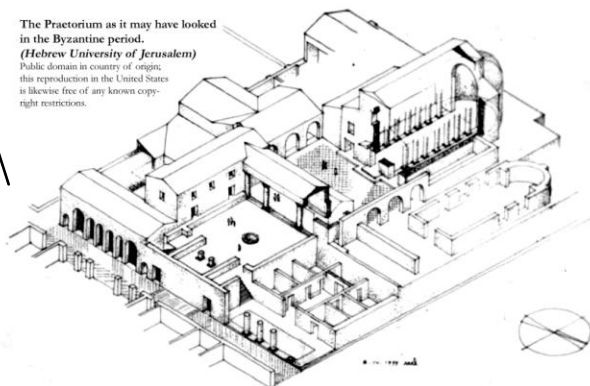
Year 14 of Trajan Hadrian. Theodoros *Agoranomos*.

⁷⁷⁵ The Greek text can be viewed at *EDCS* (EDCS-67200372). The office of *Agoranomos* (ἀγορανόμος)—from ἀγορά (the Agora, or principal public meeting area in a city)+ νόμος (a word with many shades of meaning)—sometimes rendered as ‘clerk of the market,’ was both a familiar and important official. Sperber, “On the Office of Agoranomos in Roman Palestine,” details the duties, which included supervision of the weights and measures used in the marketplace, control of prices, quality inspection of goods being sold, assuring an adequate supply of basic goods such as wheat and bread, controlling imports, and being involved in enforcement of regulation through cooperation with law officers and city controllers (ἀστυνόμοι; *Astynomoi*).

CAESAREA MARITIMA



The Praetorium as it may have looked in the Byzantine period.
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
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*High Level Aqueduct at
Caesarea Maritima
(Courtesy of Carole
Raddato, Following
Hadrian⁷⁷⁶)*

**542 Caesarea Maritima:
High Level Aqueduct,
1 [c. 130 C.E.]**
(Inscription on
Limestone)
[ICM 52 (cf. 51, 53)]⁷⁷⁷

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus made (the aqueduct) through a detachment of Legio X Fretensis.

543a–b Caesarea Maritima: High Level Aqueduct, 2–3 [c. 130 C.E.]

(Inscriptions on Limestone)

[ICM 47 and ICM 49 (cf. #54)]⁷⁷⁸

[ICM 47] A detachment of Legio II Traiano Fortis (made this) (under) Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus.

[ICM 49] A detachment of Legio VI Ferrata (made this) (under) Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus.

544 Caesarea Maritima: Tetracylon

(*Expositio totius mundi et gentium* [4th cent.])⁷⁷⁹

XXVI So Caesarea, too, like them (Antioch and Tyre), is quite a pleasant city, and rich in everything, and remarkable in many ways in terms of its urban plan. Indeed, its *tetracylon* is famous everywhere because it presents a special and extraordinary look.

⁷⁷⁶ Photo by Carole Raddato at *Following Hadrian* (<https://followinghadrian.com/2015/01/05/the-hadrianic-aqueduct-of-caesarea-maritima-israel/>), is made available under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>). This work has been modified by transforming from color to grayscale. Lehman and Holum, “The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima,” 1, observe, “After visiting Caesarea in 130, Hadrian added a second channel (45–54) to its earlier aqueduct, likely built under Herod or Vespasian, that increased the flow to a generous 2,458 (or so) liters a day, or 650 U.S. gallons, for each man, woman, and child, if the population numbered 25,000.”

⁷⁷⁷ ICM = *Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima*. Lehman and Holum, “The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima,” 76 [#52] (with Latin text). See pp. 71–77 for related inscriptions.

⁷⁷⁸ Lehman and Holum, “The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima,” 73 [#47] and 74 [#49] (both with Latin text). See *Corpus Inscriptionum* (Ameling et al. ed.), II, 132–42 [#1200–09].

⁷⁷⁹ Patrich, *Studies*, 52 (with Latin text; following Leah Di Segni). Patrich, 51, explains, “A *tetracylon* is an urban monument ordinarily located at the intersection of two thoroughfares.” He adds, 53, “It is quite possible that the *tetracylon* under discussion was built to commemorate the visit of emperor Hadrian to the Roman province of Judea in 130 CE, or even beforehand.” Under Hadrian Caesarea was greatly expanded; a *stoa* (roofed colonnade for public use) was also built.

545 Caesarea Maritima: Hadrianeum

(Inscription (5th or 6th cent.))

[CIIP 1262=ICM 58]⁷⁸⁰

At the time of Flavius Eulpidios, most magnificent *comēs*, and Helios, most excellent father of the city, the basilica with the facing of marble, and the mosaic, and the steps of the Hadrianeum were done in the first indiction. Good fortune.

546 Nicopolis and Caesarea Experience Earthquake

[attributed to c. 128 C.E.]

(Jerome, *Chronicle*)⁷⁸¹

227th Olympiad

a Nicopolis and Caesarea were ruined in an earthquake.

ELSEWHERE IN THE REGION

547 Tyre Made a Metropolis

(*Suda*)⁷⁸²

802:25 Paul of Tyre. An orator. He flourished at the time of Philo of Byblos. Having been sent as an ambassador to the Emperor Hadrian, he secured the status of Metropolis for the city of Tyre.

548 A Hadrianeum at Tiberias

(Testimony of Josephus of Tiberias (4th cent.) in Epiphanius, *Panarion*)⁷⁸³

Book I: Anacephalaecosis II.30

12.2 And so he began to build in Tiberias. There was a very large temple in the town already, I think they may have called it the Adrianeum. The citizens may have been trying to restore this Adrianeum, which was standing unfinished, for a public bath.

⁷⁸⁰ The Greek text can be found in Saliou, “Espace urbain et mémoire,” 12 [#22]. The text and an alternate translation can be seen in Lehmann and Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima*, 81 [#58], or Raban and Holum, *Caesarea Maritima*, 386. A *comēs* was a high ranking official (like an English “Count”). Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, 165, notes of the Greek *plakōseōs* (πλακώσεως) that it is “a word usually translated ‘facing with marble.’ However, in an unpublished inscription from the South Church at Isbeita (dated 640) it appears to refer to a stone pavement likewise.” An *indiction* was a fifteen year fiscal period, part of a 4th century system.

⁷⁸¹ Roger Pearse et al. at the Tertullian Project (http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm). The Latin text can be found in Jerome, *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones*, 279–83. Cf. Elias of Nisibis, *Chronographia* (early 11th cent.), who dates it to c. 126–127 C.E. Nicopolis was south of coastal Caesarea in Roman Palestine (Judea). For more, see Russell, “Earthquake Chronology,” 40–41. Russell, 39 [Table 1], dates it to c. 113–114 (Trajan’s reign).

⁷⁸² Baumgartner, *The Phoenecian History of Philo of Byblos*, 31. The key Greek text: ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως πρεσβεύσας μητροπόλιν τὴν Τύρον ἐποίησεν. See Geiger, “The Bar-Kokhba Revolt,” 509.

⁷⁸³ Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis* (William’s trans.), I, 140. The Greek text can be found in Epiphanius, *Epiphanius, Bände 1* (Holl’s ed.). A Hadrianeum is temple to the deified Hadrian. The ruins of the one in Tiberias were discovered in 2004. See Hirschfeld and Meir, “Tiberias-2004” (http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=337&mag_id=111), in which they state their belief the temple was started but never completed.

549 Hadrian Encounters a Jewish Girl

(Midrash)

[*Tannaim=Midrash Ha-Gadol on Deuteronomy XXVI.19*]⁷⁸⁵

It is said that once, when Hadrian was traveling up the ascent to Hamath-Gader, he saw a young girl on the top of a cliff. He asked her, “Who art thou?”

She answered, “I am a daughter of Israel.”

Immediately, he alighted from his carriage and bowed low to her. His suite, the high commanders of the Empire, were angered at this, and said, “Why didst thou humiliate thyself and bow to this despicable, soiled, and filthy one?”

He replied, “Fools! Indeed, in the future, all the nations of the world will bow to them.”

550 A Question Put by Hadrian (אֲדְרִיאָנוֹס)

to R. Eliezer and R. Joshua (בְּרַבִּי אֱלִיעֶזֶר וְרַבִּי יְהוֹשֻעַ)

(Midrash)

[*Bereshit Rabbah (Genesis Rabbah) 13.9; cf. Ecclesiastes Rabbah 1.7.3*]⁷⁸⁶

R. Eliezer and R. Joshua were once travelling on the great sea, when their ship entered a nonflowing stretch of water. Said R. Eliezer to R. Joshua: “We have come here simply for a test.” Thereupon they filled a barrel of water from there. When they arrived in Rome, Hadrian asked them, “What is the nature of the water of the Ocean [i.e. the Mediterranean]?” “It is water that absorbs other water,” replied they. “Show [i.e. prove] it to me,” he demanded. [They filled] a flaskful of that and poured more [ordinary] water therein, and the former absorbed it.

551 Hadrian (אֲדְרִיאָנוֹס) and R. Joshua b. Ḥanina (יְהוֹשֻעַ בֶּן חֲנִנְיָא), 1

(Midrash)

[*Tanchuma, Toledot §8 (45a-46b)*]⁷⁸⁷

Hadrian said to R. Joshua: “Great indeed must be the lamb, Israel, that can exist among seventy wolves.” He replied, “Great is the Shepherd who rescues and protects her.”

⁷⁸⁴ Renan, “The Emperor Hadrian and Christianity,” 501, remarks, “The Talmud is full of Hadrian’s conversations with celebrated rabbis, conversations which are certainly fictitious, but which are in harmony with the emperor’s character as a wit, a converser, an inquirer. . . .”

⁷⁸⁵ Vilnay, *Legends of Galilee, Jordan, and Sinai*, 93 [ch. VII, §12]. *Midrash Tannaim* collects a series of exegeses on Deuteronomy, all attributed to rabbis of the Mishnaic period. For an alternate translation, see Dvorjetski, “Roman Emperors at the Thermo-Mineral Baths,” 571–72. Dvortjetski argues that this anecdote can be linked to the reality of Judea at the time of Hadrian’s visit. There were mineral baths at Hamath-Gader.

⁷⁸⁶ *Midrash Rabbah: Genesis*, I, 104 (Freedman trans.). The text can be found online at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Bereishit_Rabbah.13?lang=bi), among other places. A critical edition of the text including this portion, with commentary, is available in the public domain by Theodor, *Bereschit Rabba*. Cf. Cohen, *Everyman’s Talmud*, 363.

⁷⁸⁷ Montefiore and Lowe, *A Rabbinic Anthology*, 63 [#172]. Cf. Horne, *Medieval Hebrew*, 18.

552 Hadrian and R. Joshua b. Ḥanina, 2

(Midrash)

[*Ecclesiastes Rabbah* 12.5.1 [114.3]; cf. *Genesis Rabbah* 28.3; *Leviticus Rabbah* 18.1]⁷⁸⁸

Hadrian (whose bones may they be ground, and his name blotted out) once asked Rabbi Joshua ben Chanania, “From what shall the human frame be reconstructed when it rises again?” “From Luz in the backbone,” was the answer. “Prove this to me,” said Hadrian. Then the Rabbi took Luz, a small bone of the spine, and immersed it in water, but it was not softened; he put it into the fire, but it was not consumed; he put it into a mill, but it could not be pounded; he placed it upon an anvil and struck it with a hammer, but the anvil split and the hammer was broken.

553 Hadrian and R. Joshua b. Hananiah, 3

(Midrash)

[*Pesikta Rabbati*, 21.2]⁷⁸⁹

Hadrian—may his bones crumble—asked R. Yehoshua ben Ḥanayah and said to him: The Holy One bestowed great honor on the nations of the world when He gave the [first] five Commandments to Israel and [the other] five to the nations of the world. In the [first] five Commandments given by the Holy One, His name is merged with the Commandments, so that if Israel sins, God shouts at them, but in the last five commandments, which He gave the nations of the world, His name is not merged with [the Commandments] so that when the nations of the world sin, He does not shout at them.

554 Hadrian and R. Joshua b. Hananiah, 4

(Midrash)

[*Pesikta Rabbati*, 21.3]⁷⁹⁰

[R. Yehoshua] said to him: Come and walk with me through the city. He went and walked with him through the city. In every place where R. Yehoshua took him, [Hadrian] saw an image of himself set up. [R. Yehoshua said to him:] What is this? [Hadrian] said: It is an image of myself. [R. Yehoshua said to him:] And this, what is this? [Hadrian] said: It is an image of myself. [R. Yehoshua] drew him further away until he took him to a toilet, and he said: My lord king, I see that you are ruler everywhere in the city, but you are not ruler of this place. [Hadrian] said to him: Why? [R. Yehoshua said to him:] Because in every place I saw an image of you set up, [but in this place there is none]. [Hadrian] \said to him: And you are a Sage among the Jews? Would such be the honor due to a king that an image is set up\ in a location that is filthy?

⁷⁸⁸ *Hebraic Literature*, 245. For an alternative translation, see *Midrash Rabbah: Genesis* (Freedman trans.), I, 224–25, or *Midrash Rabbah: Ecclesiastes* (Cohen trans.), 301. The text also can be found online at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Bereishit_Rabbah.28?lang=bi), among other places.

⁷⁸⁹ Ulmer, *A Bilingual Edition of Pesikta Rabbati*, I, Chapters 1–22, 595.

⁷⁹⁰ Ulmer, *A Bilingual Edition of Pesikta Rabbati*, I, Chapters 1–22, 595.

555 Hadrian and R. Joshua b. Hananiah, 5

(Midrash)

[*Lamentations Rabbah*], 3.21–23.8]⁷⁹¹

Hadrian—may his bones rot!—said to R. Joshua ben Hananiah, “You say that each day the Holy One, blessed be He, creates a new band of angels, who sing a new song before Him, then pass away.” “Yes.” “Where do they go?” Hadrian asked. “They return to where they were made.” “And where is that?” “The river of fire,” R. Joshua ben Hananiah told him. Hadrian asked, “And what is its nature?” “It is like the Jordan River—it flows both day and night.” . . . Hadrian asked, “Where does this river of fire come from?” R. Joshua ben Hananiah replied, “From the sweat of heavenly beings (*bayyoth*) from their labor bearing the divine throne.”

556 Hadrian and R. Joshua b. Hananiah, 6

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Hullin* 59b (§9–10)]⁷⁹²

Cæsar once said to Rabbi YOSHUA ben Chananya, “This God of yours is compared to a lion, as it is written (Amos iii . 8), ‘The lion has roared, who will not fear?’ Wherein consists his excellency? A horseman kills a lion.” The Rabbi replied, “He is not compared to an ordinary lion, but to a lion of the forest *Ilaei*.” “Show me that lion at once,” said the Emperor. “But you cannot behold him,” said the Rabbi. Still the Emperor insisted on seeing the lion; so the Rabbi prayed to God to help him in his perplexity. His prayer was heard; the lion came forth from his lair and roared, upon which, though it was four hundred miles away, all the walls of Rome trembled and fell to the ground. Approaching three hundred miles nearer, he roared again, and this time the teeth of the people dropped out of their mouths and the Emperor fell from his throne quaking. “Alas! Rabbi, pray to your God that He order the lion back to his abode in the forest.”

557 Hadrian and R. Joshua b. Hananiah, 7

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Hullin* 59b–60a]⁷⁹³

On another occasion the Emperor said to Rabbi Joshua in a scoffing tone: “Show me this God, of whom you talk so much. I don’t believe He exists at all.” “Raise your eyes to the sky,” replied the Rabbi, “and I will first show you

⁷⁹¹ For a different rendering, see *Midrash Rabbah: Lamentations* (Cohen trans.), 201–02.

⁷⁹² Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, 249. I have modernized the English (e.g., “hath” to “has,” “thou canst not” to “you cannot,” and “thy” to “your”). *Sefaria* presents both the original text and the English translation from the *William Davidson Talmud* (<https://www.sefaria.org/Chullin.59b?lang=bi>). Note: *Hullin* is also transliterated *Chullin* or *Hullin*.

⁷⁹³ Myers, *Stories of the Rabbis*, 32. An expanded version is in Bialik and Ravnitski, *The Book of Legends*, 228 [#116]. For an alternate translation, see Epstein, *A Treasury of Jewish Anecdotes*, 114. A very paraphrastic rendering is found in Goldin, *The Family Book of Midrash*, 57. Also see the story preceding this one in *Hullin* 59b.

one of His ambassadors.” The Emperor raised his eyes. But, at this moment, the sun poured its rays upon the earth, and the dazzling light soon caused Hadrian to cast his eyes downwards. Thereupon Rabbi Joshua said to him: “What! Would you see the Master, when you have not the power to look one of His servants in the face?”

558 Hadrian and R. Joshua b. Hananiah, 8

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Berakoth* 56a]⁷⁹⁴

One day the Emperor said to Rabbi Joshua: “You all boast you are very clever. See if you can tell me what I am going to dream about tonight.” The Rabbi replied: “You will dream that the Parthians have conquered your country and taken you captive, and made you a driver of pigs with a golden staff.” Hadrian, as it happened, was very much afraid of the Parthians, because they had raided the eastern borders of the Roman Empire and were the only people who had not been overcome by the Romans. What Rabbi Joshua had told him, therefore, weighed upon his mind, and he thought about the matter all day. People often dream at night about things they have been thinking about during the day, and the Emperor Hadrian thus dreamt about the Parthians when he fell asleep at night, just as Joshua had foretold.

559 Hadrian and R. Joshua b. Hananiah, 9

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Hullin* 60a]⁷⁹⁵

The same Caesar said to R. Joshua ben Hananiah, “I wish to prepare a banquet for your God.” R. Joshua: “You cannot do so.” “Why not?” “Because His attendants are too numerous.” Caesar: “Nevertheless, I wish to do it.” “Then go and prepare it on the banks of the river Revita, where there is ample room.” Accordingly, Caesar spent the six months of summer in making preparations, but then a tempest arose and swept everything into the sea. So he spent the six months of winter in making new preparations, but then the rains came and again everything was washed into the sea. “What is the meaning of this?” demanded Caesar. R. Joshua replied, “These are but the sweepers and sprinklers that march ahead of Him!” In that case, Caesar concluded, “I admit I cannot do it.”

⁷⁹⁴ Myers, *Stories of the Rabbis*, 34.

⁷⁹⁵ Bialik and Ravnitzky, *The Book of Legends*, 228 [#117]. Cf. the rendering in Myers, *Stories of the Rabbis*, 32–33. Another story featuring a banquet is told by Reiger, “The Foundation of Rome in the Talmud,” 231–32, which begins, “The Emperor spoke to Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah: ‘If you are wiser than the old men of Athens, then overpower them and bring them to me.’ R. Joshua asked: ‘How many are there?’ The Emperor answered: ‘Sixty men’. Whereupon R. Joshua said: ‘Then build me a boat of sixty rooms and place sixty beds therein.’ The Emperor did so. When R. Joshua arrived there (he held a debate with them)... ‘It is good, the Rabbi said, ‘if you vanquish me, you may do with me as you please, but if I vanquish you, you must dine with me on my boat.’ (He vanquishes them.)” They then depart and are presented to Hadrian, etc.

560 Hadrian and R. Joshua b. Hananiah, 10

(Midrash)

[*Ecclesiastes Rabbah* 2.8.2]⁷⁹⁶

The accursed Hadrian asked R. Joshua ben Hanniah, ‘It is written in the Torah, *A land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it* (Deut. VIII, 9). Are you able to bring me three things if I ask for them?’ ‘What are they?’ he asked. He replied, ‘Pepper, pheasants, and silk.’ He brought him pepper from Nizhana, pheasants from Zidon (others say, Akbrin), and silk from Gush Heleb.

561 Hadrian and R. Joshua b. Hananiah, 11

(Midrash)

[*Ruth Rabbah* XXI.i.10 (to Ruth 1:17); cf. *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* 9.4.1]⁷⁹⁷

- A. Hadrian—may his bones rot!—asked R. Joshua b. Hananiah, saying to him, “I am better off than your lord, Moses.”
- B. He said to him, “Why?”
- C. “Because I am alive and he is dead, and it is written, ‘For to him who is joined to all living there is hope; for a living dog is better than a dead lion’ (Qoh. 9:4).”
- D. He said to him, “Can you make a decree that no one kindle a fire for three days?”
- E. He said to him, “Yes.”
- F. At evening the two of them went up to the roof of the palace. They saw smoke ascending from a distance.
- G. He said to him, “What is this?”
- H. He said to him, “It is a sick noble. The physician came to him and told him he will be healed only if he drinks hot water.”
- I. He said to him, “May your spirit go forth [drop dead]! While you are still alive your decree is null.
- J. “But from the time that our lord, Moses, made the decree for us, ‘You shall not burn a fire in your dwelling place on the Sabbath day’ (Ex. 35:3), no Jew has ever kindled a flame on the Sabbath, and even to the present day, the decree has not been nullified.
- K. “And you say you are better off than he?”

⁷⁹⁶ *Midrash Rabbah: Ecclesiastes* (Cohen trans.), 59; cf. Rapaport, *Tales and Maxims*, 179–80.

⁷⁹⁷ Neusner, *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature*, 504. For a different rendering, see Myers, *Stories*, 32, or Bialik and Ravnitski, *The Book of Legends*, 228 [#119], or *Midrash Rabbah: Ruth* (Rabinowitz trans.), 42–43. R. Joshua b. Hananiah is a towering figure in Rabbinic Judaism. He was a disciple of Rabban Yohanan b. Zakkai, himself a disciple of the famed Hillel. Among his own famous students was R. Akiba. A needle-maker by trade, he nevertheless gained the attention of prominent men both at Alexandria in Egypt and at Rome when he served the Jewish people as an ambassador. For more on him, see Bader, *The Encyclopedia of Talmudic Sages*, 205–16.

562 A Debate between R. Joshua b. Hananiah and a Christian

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Hagigah* 5b]⁷⁹⁸

R. Joshua ben Hananiah was standing in the house of Caesar. A certain Min showed him [in pantomime] a nation whose Lord hath turned away His face from them. He [R. Joshua] showed him His hand stretched out over us. Caesar said to R. Joshua, "What did he show you?" "A people whose Lord hath turned away His face from them, and I showed him His hand stretched out over us."

563 Hadrian's Conversation with an Old Planter

(Midrash)

[*Vayikra Rabbah* (*Leviticus Rabbah*) 25.5; cf. *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* II.20.1]⁷⁹⁹

Hadrian, (his bones be ground to dust!), once passed along the paths leading to Tiberias and saw an old man standing and digging trenches to plant shoots of fig trees. He said to him: "Greybeard, greybeard! If you had got up early to do the work you would not have had to work late!" He answered him: "I have worked early and am working late, and let the Lord of Heaven do as it pleases Him." He said to him: "By your life, old man! How old are you this day?" "A hundred years old," he answered. He said to him: "So you are a hundred years old, and yet are standing and digging trenches to plant shoots of fig-trees! Do you ever hope to eat of them?" He replied: "If I am worthy I shall eat, and if not, then as my forebears have worked for me so will I work for my children." He said to him: "On your life! If you are privileged to eat of them, let me know." In the course of time the trees produced figs. He said: "Now it is time to let the king know." What did he do? He filled a basket with figs and went and stood at the gate of the palace. He was asked: "What is your business here?" He answered: "I want to come before the king." When he came in the latter asked him: "What is your business?" He answered him: "I am the old man whom you passed by as I was digging trenches to plant shoots of fig-trees, and you said to me: 'If you are privileged to eat of them, let me know.' See, I have been so privileged and have eaten of them, and these figs are some of the fruit." Thereupon Hadrian exclaimed: "I command that a chair of gold be set down and that he sit upon it." He further said: "I command that you empty this basket of his and fill it with denarii." His servants said to him: "Will you show all this honour to that old Jew?" He answered them: "His Creator honours him, and shall not I honour him too?"

564 Aquila, the Famed Translator

(Jordanes, *On the Governing of Rome (Romana)*)⁸⁰⁰

270 During his reign Aquila Ponticus translated the Hebrew Scriptures.

⁷⁹⁸ Graetz, *History of the Jews*, II, 406. Another translation is in Streane, *A Translation of the Treatise Chagigah* 22. See Helfgott, *The Doctrine of Election*, 66, who provides commentary.

⁷⁹⁹ Bazzana, "The Bar Kokhba Revolt," 105, citing *Midrash Vayikra Rabbah* (Margulies trans.).

⁸⁰⁰ The Latin text can be found in Jordanes, *Iordanis Romana et Getica* (Mommmsen's ed.), 35.

565 Hadrian and Aquila, 1: Aquila's Desire to Convert

(Midrash)

[*Shemot (Exodus) Rabbah*] 30.12]⁸⁰¹

Another explanation of NOW THESE ARE THE ORDINANCES. It is written, *He declareth His word unto Jacob* (Ps. CXLVII, 19). Aquilas once said to the Emperor Hadrian, 'I wish to be converted and become an Israelite.' The reply was: 'After this people do you hanker? See how I have degraded it, and how many thereof I have slain. You wish to ally yourself to the lowliest of peoples; what do you see in them that you now wish to become converted?' He replied: 'The least among them knows how God created the world and what was created on the first and second day, and how long it is since the world was created and on what the world is founded. Moreover, their law is one of truth.' He then said to him: 'Go and study their law, but do not be circumcised.' To which he retorted: 'Unless he be circumcised, even the wisest in thy kingdom, and even a grey-beard of a hundred years old, cannot study their Torah, for so it is written, *He declareth His word unto Jacob, His statutes and His ordinances unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation.*'—except with the children of Israel.

566 Hadrian and Aquila, 2: Hadrian Gives Advice

(Midrash)

[*Tanbuma Yelammedenu Mishpatim* 6.5]⁸⁰²

Aquila the convert, Hadrian's nephew, desired to be converted to Judaism, but he feared his uncle's wrath. He told his uncle: "I want to engage in business." "If you need to do so," his uncle replied, "silver or gold is available to you." Aquila responded: "I want to go into business in other lands in order to become acquainted with other [p. 481] people and need only your advice on how to do so." He responded: "Whatever merchandise you trade in that you find low in price because it is ignored, deal in it, for it will ultimately rise in price and you will profit from it." Then he went to Israel and studied the Torah.

Sometime later R. Eliezer and R. Joshua met him and noticed that his countenance had changed. They said to each other: "Aquila must be studying the Torah." When he drew near them, he asked numerous questions which they answered. Later he returned to his uncle, Hadrian, who asked him: "Why has your countenance changed? I am inclined to think that your business was

⁸⁰¹ *Midrash Rabbah: Exodus* (Lehrmann trans.), 360. The original text can be viewed online at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Shemot_Rabbah.30?lang=bi). Wilken, "The Christians as the Romans (and Greeks) Saw Them," 103, paraphrases the account and remarks, "Whether the story is historical or apocryphal is incidental. What it does indicate is that proselytes were attracted to Judaism because of the scriptures and the teaching about God as creator, but that in attempting to embrace Jewish teaching they met resistance from Jewish law."

⁸⁰² *Midrash Tanbuma-Yelammedenu*, 479–81 (Berman trans.). The original text and Berman's translation can be found at *Sefaria* for *Tanbuma Mishpatim* 5 (https://www.sefaria.org/Midrash_Tanchuma%2C_Mishpatim.5.1?ven=Midrash_TanhumaYelammedenu_trans_Samuel_A_Berman&vhe=Tsel_Midrash_Tanchuma&lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en). Note: *Tahuma* is also transliterated *Tachuma* or *Tanhuma*.

unsuccessful or that some person oppressed you.” (He answered) “That is not so. You are my relative, and no man would dare oppress me.” Hadrian continued asking him: “But why has your countenance changed?” “I have studied the Torah,” he replied, “and I was also circumcised.” “Who advised you to do that?” he asked. “You did,” he answered. “When did I do that?” “When I told you I desired to engage in business, you said: ‘Whatever merchandise you find low, that is worthless, and lying on the ground because it is ignored, do business in it, for it will finally rise in value.’ I have traveled among the nations and have found nothing so low and so cast down as Israel, and it is destined to rise, as Isaiah said: *Thus saith the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel, His Holy One, to him who is despised of men, to him who is abhorred of nations, to a servant of rulers: ‘Kings shall see and arise; princes, and they shall prostrate themselves; because of the Lord that is faithful, even the Holy One of Israel, who hath chosen thee’* (Isa. 40:9). His advisor said to him: “Are these the ones about whom you spoke—will a king arise before them in the future, as it is said: *Kings shall see and arise?*” Hadrian struck him (the advisor) upon his cheek and shouted: “Now go dress that wound. If they saw just one [p. 482] legionary they would be unable to rise up against him, yet you dare say of them: *Kings shall see and arise before them.*”

567 Hadrian and Aquila, 3: Hadrian Gives Advice (another version)

(Midrash)

[*Tanhuma Yelammedenu* Mishpatim 6.5]⁸⁰³

Onkelos, or Aquila, the nephew of Hadrian, being anxious to become a Jew, and yet being afraid of his uncle, told Hadrian that he wished to embark on a certain enterprise. When Hadrian offered him some money, he refused to accept it, but said that he wanted instead his uncle’s advice, as he was inexperienced in the ways of the world. “Purchase goods,” replied Hadrian, “which do not at present command a high price, and are not favourites in the market, but for which there is reason [p. 34] to believe a demand at higher prices will eventually arise.” Aquila betook himself to Palestine, and gave himself up to study. Rabbi Joshua helped him with his studies, and generally befriended him.

On his return home, he again visited his uncle Hadrian. The Emperor, noticing that his nephew did not look as well as was his wont, inquired whether he had met with any losses in his new enterprise, or had been injured in any way. “I have met with no loss of money,” said Aquila, “and, as your nephew, I am not likely to be hurt by any one.” Being further pressed as to the reason for his poor looks, Aquila told his uncle they were due to his excessive studies. “And who told you to do such a thing?” asked Hadrian. “I acted on your advice,” replied Aquila. “I have acquired a thing that stands at a low price just now, but will eventually rise in value. I found no nation in such low esteem, and so sure to rise in value, as Israel.” Aquila will be remembered not only as one of

⁸⁰³ Myers, *Stories of the Rabbis*, 33–34. Note: *Tachuma* or *Tanhuma*.

the most notable converts to Judaism of whom we have record, but as the translator of the Bible into Greek. For this purpose he is said to have had assistance from Rabbi Joshua and other Rabbis.

568 Hadrian and Aquila, 4: Hadrian Asks a Question, 1

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Hagigah* 2.1]⁸⁰⁴

[II.T] R. Judah bar Pazzai in the name of R. Yosé b. R. Judah: “Hadrian asked the proselyte Aquila, ‘Is it true that you [Jews] say that the world is suspended on air?’ ‘Yes,’ said Aquila.”

[U] Hadrian said to him, “How will you prove it to me?”

[V] Aquila said to him, “Bring me young camels.” He brought him young camels. He loaded and raised them up. He made them sink down, took them and strangled them.

[W] He said to Hadrian, “See your camels, raise them up!”

[X] Hadrian said, “After you have strangled them!”

[Y] Aquila said to him, “What do they lack except the air that has gone out of them?”

569 Hadrian and Aquila, 5: Hadrian Asks a Question, 2

(Midrash)

[*Tanchuma-Yelammedenu*, Bereshit 5]⁸⁰⁵

Hadrian asked Aquila: “What causes the world to survive?” “It is the spirit,” he replied. “If you desire this to be proved, let a camel be brought here.” The camel was brought and Aquila placed a load upon its back. He shouted at the animal: “Stand,” and it stood; “Sit down,” and it sat down. Then he placed an additional load upon it and tied a halter about its neck. He asked Hadrian to assist him in pulling the camel to its feet. One of them pulled from one side, and the other from the other side, until the animal was strangled. Then Aquila said to Hadrian: “Now command the camel to rise.” Hadrian retorted: “You have choked it to death, how can it stand?” Aquila asked: “Did I slaughter it, or does it lack one of its vital organs?” “You have forced its breath out of it,” he answered. Thereupon Aquila responded: “If a camel is unable to exist or bear the load upon its back unless breath is in it, surely nothing but the spirit of the King of Kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, can make the world endure.” Hadrian was silenced.

⁸⁰⁴ *The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, 20: *Hagigah* (Hayman trans.), 42. Aquila=Aquila; the translation has *Aqiba* in [Y] rather than *Aquila*.

⁸⁰⁵ *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu* (Berman trans.), 16–17. Cf. Horne, *Medieval Hebrew*, 25–26. Also about Aquila of Sinope, see *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed.), I, 476. The names ‘Aquila’ and ‘Onkelos’ seem to be interchanged in Talmudic texts and may refer to the same person, though some argue for them being different translators—Aquila rendering into Greek and Onkelos into Aramaic. In *Song of Songs Rabbah* 11.1.3 (to Song of Songs 1:11), we read, “Another interpretation of ‘We will make you ornaments of gold’: this refers to the Torah, which [Simon] Onkelos, the nephew of Hadrian, learned” (Neusner trans.), I, 122.

570 Addendum, 1: A Cautionary Tale to Romans

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Avodah Zarah* 10b]⁸⁰⁶

There was a Caesar who disliked the Jews, and he asked the advice of his officers: Should he who has a fibre in his foot cut it off and be at ease, or should he leave it and be afflicted? And the advice of them all was, that he should cut it off and remain at rest. K'tiha, however, who was one of them, objected, saying: First you cannot get rid of all the Jews, as it reads [Zech. ii. 10]: "For as the four winds of the heaven have I spread you abroad, says the Lord." And secondly, your kingdom will be considered mutilated, and one that kills its own subjects. The king then said: Your advice is true, but there is a law that he who defeats the king, must be thrown into the furnace. When they took him to be slain, he said: I bequeath all my property to R. Akiba and his colleagues. A heavenly voice was then heard: K'tiha b. Shalum has a share in the world to come. Rabbi then wept and said: Here we have a man who has bought his world in one moment, while another one has to work for it all his life.

571 Addendum, 2: A Cautionary Tale to Jews

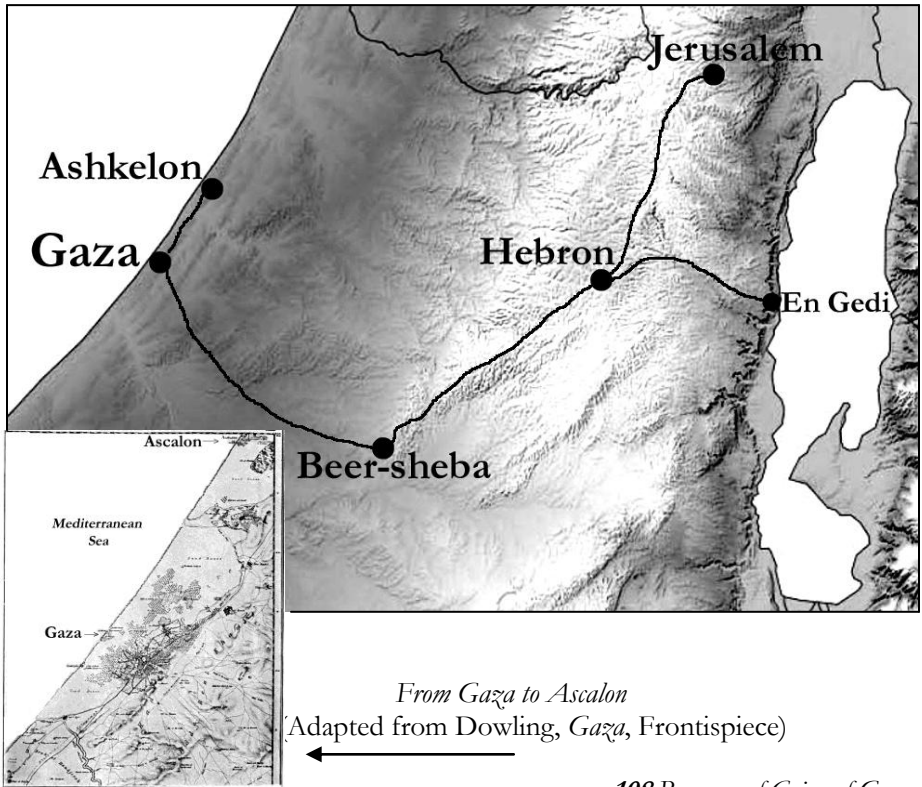
(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Me'ilah* 17a (and see 17b)]⁸⁰⁷

Once the Roman Government issued a decree that the Israelites should neither observe the Sabbath nor circumcise their sons and שִׁבְעֵלוּ בְּעֵלוֹ הַנְּדוּת. Thereupon Reuben the son of Istrubli trimmed his hair as a Gentile, and went among the Roman senators and plied them with wise remonstrance. "If one," said he, "has an enemy, does he wish him to be poor or rich?" "To be poor," was the reply. "Then," he argued, "won't he be poorer if you prohibit him from working on the Sabbath?" "It is well said," observed the senators; and they at once abolished their decree respecting the Sabbath. Again he asked, "If one has an enemy, does he wish him to be weak or strong?" "Why, weak, to be sure," was the inevitable answer. "Then," said he, "let the Jews cir[p. 65]cumcise their children, then will they be weakened." "The argument is good," said they, and the decree against circumcision was rescinded. Again he asked, "If one has an enemy, does he wish him to increase or decrease?" "To decrease, of course," said they. "Then," argued he, "לֹא יִבְעִלוּ נְדוּת." The decree against catamenia was accordingly abolished. When, however, they found out that he was a Jew, they at once reenacted the decrees they had cancelled.

⁸⁰⁶ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Avodah Zarah* (Rodkinson trans.), 18; I modernized the language. The notion is Jews, like a troublesome growth on one's foot, should be cut away for the benefit of the whole body (i.e., all other peoples). K'tiha b. Shalum is termed here a Roman who converts to Judaism at this extreme moment in his life. The *Koren Talmud Bavli Noe Edition at A.Z.* 10b (p. 56 column note) identifies him with Flavius Clemens (reign of Domitian (81–96 C.E.)).

⁸⁰⁷ Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, 64–65. I have retained the original text as presented. The first phrase refers to the Romans urging Jewish men to have sexual intercourse with their wives during menstruation. The second phrase refers to the same, only that it should *not* (לֹא) be permitted.



c108 *Reverses of Coins of Gaza*
 [131/132 C.E.]
 (Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*, Plate XIV;
 descriptions, 146, 147)

[#10 dated 133/134; #11 dated 135/136; #12 dated 131/132 C.E. Obverses all show bust of Hadrian facing right with legend 'Hadrian' or 'Emperor Hadrian Augustus' (#12). Reverse of 10 and 11 show Temple with Artemis (right) faced by Marna, deity of Gaza; both holding a bow. Reverse of 12 shows Io (left) and city goddess joining right hands, with legend identifying Gaza and date.]

⁸⁰⁸ Meyer, *History of the City of Gaza*, 58, writes, "Gaza in particular was favored by the emperor; and during his second visit a new local era, the Hadrianic, was instituted (cf. infra); thus 1 anno Hadrianis=190 anno Gazae=129 A.D." Meyer, 161, later remarks on Hadrian's founding of games at Gaza: "The Hadrianic games (παινηγυρις Ἀδριανῆ) were instituted at Gaza by the emperor Hadrian on the occasion of his visit to the city in 130. Being a patron of the old culture, it was his ambition to found centers from which such influence might emanate, and to strengthen those which were already in existence. Gaza, being the most completely Hellenized city of Palestine, offered itself as a likely field for his endeavors."

c109 Coin of Gaza [131/132 C.E.]

(Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, III/Pt. II. Plate 299 [#8121];

Legend and description from p. 799)

[Bronze Coin of Gaza in Syria]⁸⁰⁹



OBVERSE: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑ
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CE: ‘Emperor
Caesar Trajan Hadrian August-
us.’

Bust of Hadrian to r., laureate,
wearing *paladumentum* and curi-
ass: border of dots.

REVERSE: ΕΙΩ ΓΑΖΑ ΓΕΙΗ Β4Ρ: ‘Ione Gaza, in the year 3=192 (=131/132).’
Goddess Io and the City-Goddess (Tyche) joining r. hands; Io, on l., stands r.,
wearing long chiton and peplos; Gaza, on r., stands l., holding in l. hand cornu-
copia; between them ♀.

572 Hadrian and Gaza

(*Paschal Chronicle (Chronicon Paschale)*)⁸¹⁰

[224th Olympiad] During the time of these consuls was a rebellion of the Jews.
Hadrian came to Jerusalem, and took Jewish prisoners of war, then went down
to what is called ‘Terebinthus,’⁸¹¹ putting all of them on horses and taking them
to Gaza, where he set up a feast, and slew them. To this day the feast is called
‘the feast of Hadrian.’

573 An Official at Gaza [130/131 C.E.]

(Inscription at Gaza)

[*Gaza* 42/11]⁸¹²

The year 191 (αpp’). Apollonius, *Agoranomos*.

⁸⁰⁹ Dowling, “Notes on Gaza Coins,” 98, writes that the Roman imperial coins from Augustus to Gordian can be divided into two eras—the first commencing in 63 B.C.E. and the second with Hadrian’s visit to Gaza. See preceding note on date. The *paladumentum* was a cloak fastened at the shoulder, typically worn by Roman military officers. The *curias* was a soldier’s breastplate.

⁸¹⁰ The Greek text can be found in *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed.), I, 474. Prefacing this is an erroneous pairing of Hadrian as Consul for the 2nd time alongside Dasumius Rusticus; he was Consul for the 3rd time alongside Rusticus in January–February, 119 C.E.

⁸¹¹ Terebinthus is ‘the place of the Terebinth tree,’ which is often misleadingly rendered as ‘oak,’ as in the ‘oaks of Mamre’ (Genesis 18:1). The ‘Terebinthus’ referred to here is the grove of Mamre (modern Rāmat al-Khalīl), famed for where Abraham hosted three angels. It is located a bit more than 2 miles (3.5 km) NE of Hebron. See Heyden, “Construction, Performance, and Interpretation of a Sacred Place.”

⁸¹² The Greek text can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/319101?bookid=823&location=1657>). See the note preceding page on date. The office of *Agoranomos*—regulator of the marketplace (*agora*)—is discussed in an earlier footnote.

EGYPT

574 Into Egypt, 1 [130 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)⁸¹³

LXIX.11.1b After this he passed through Judaea into Egypt and offered sacrifice to Pompey, concerning whom he is said to have uttered this verse:

“Strange lack of tomb for one with shrines o’erwhelmed!”

And he restored his monument, which had fallen in ruin.

575 Into Egypt, 2 [130 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁸¹⁴

14.4 He then travelled through Arabia and finally came to Pelusium, where he rebuilt Pompey’s tomb on a more magnificent scale.

576 Hadrian’s Verse for Pompey [130 C.E.]

(Hadrian, Epigram)

[*Greek Anthology* IX.402=*AP* IX.402]⁸¹⁵

In what sore need of a tomb stood he who possessed abundant temples!

577 Backstory to the Restoration of Pompey’s Tomb

(Appian, *The Civil Wars*)⁸¹⁶

The Civil Wars II.12.86 The servants of Pothinus cut off Pompey’s head and kept it for Caesar, in expectation of a large reward, but he visited condign punishment on them for their nefarious deed. The remainder of the body was buried by somebody on the shore, and a small monument was erected over it, on which somebody else wrote this inscription:

— “What a pitiful tomb is here for one who had temples in abundance.”

In the course of time the monument was wholly covered with sand, and the bronze images that had been erected to Pompey by his partisans at a later period near Mount Casius had been degraded and removed to the secret recess of the temple, but in my time they were sought for and found by the Roman emperor Hadrian, while making a journey thither, who cleared away the rubbish from the monument and made it again conspicuous, and placed Pompey’s images in their proper places.

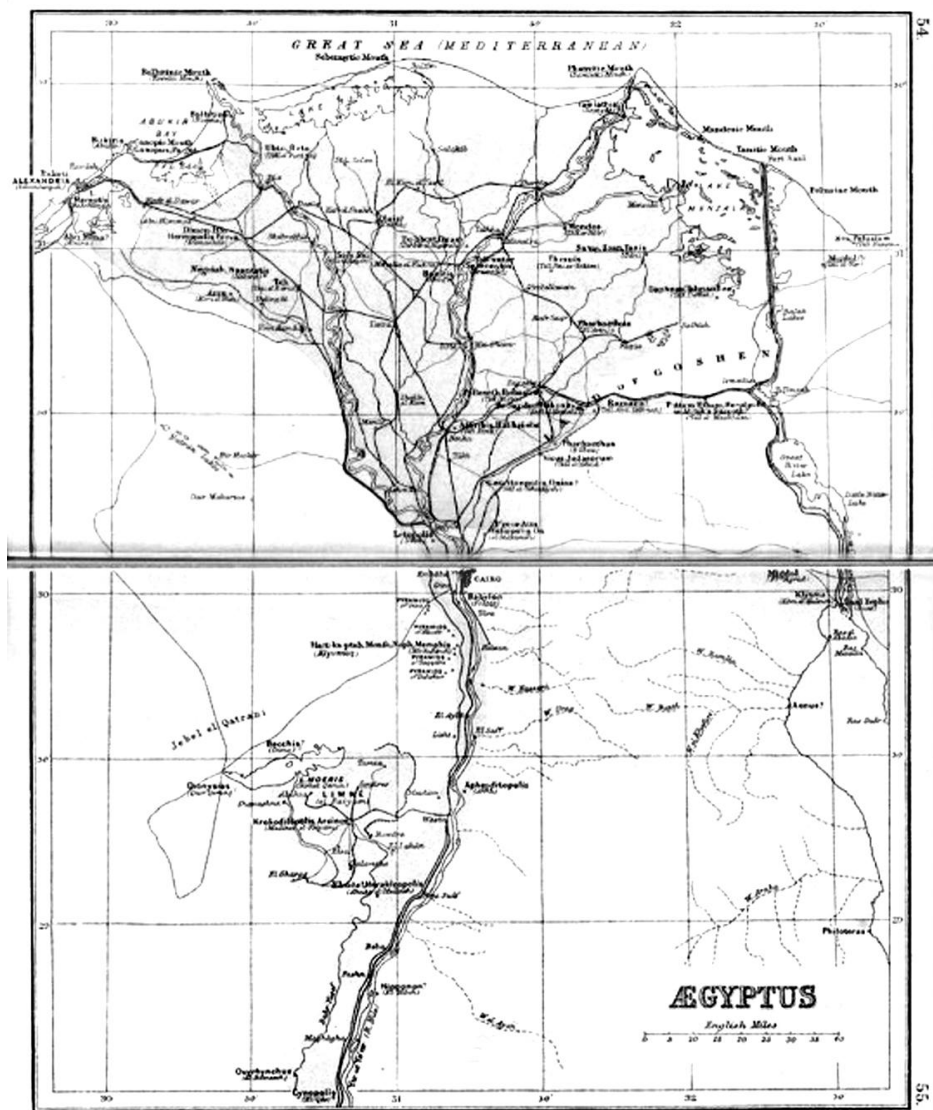
⁸¹³ Dio Cassius’ *Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 445.

⁸¹⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 45. Pelusium is the city in Egypt that Hadrian arrived at when “he passed through Judaea into Egypt.” It was located roughly 2½ miles from the coast along the portion of the Nile known as the *Ostium Pelusiacum*. This ancient city was called in the Hebrew Bible “the stronghold of Egypt” (Ezekiel 30:15) and was a prominent fortress city.

⁸¹⁵ *The Greek Anthology* (Paton trans.), III, 223 (Greek text on p. 222).

⁸¹⁶ Appian, *The Roman History of Appian* (White’s trans.), II, 153 (*Appian’s Roman History*, III, 385 in Loeb ed.) The Greek text can be found also in Appian, *The Civil Wars*, Mendelssohn’s edition (Loeb, Vol. III, 384). Pothinus was an Egyptian eunuch who served as regent to the boy pharaoh Ptolemy XIII Theos Philopater. He was executed by Julius Caesar’s order in 48/47 B.C.E. The phrase “condign punishment” means punishment well deserved.

Egypt, 2
(Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography)





c110 *Coin of Egypt, 1*
[133/134 C.E.]

(Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, III/Pt. II.

Plate 308 [#8329];

Legend and description from p. 869 (cf. #8328)).

[Billon (Alloy) Coin; Tetradrachm]

OBVERSE: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ CEB: 'Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus.' Head of Hadrian to l., laureate: border of dots.

REVERSE: ΛΕΩΝΕΑΚΑ: 'Year 17.'

God Nilus recumbent to l., *himation* (a Greek wool outer garment) over lower limbs, crowned with lotus, holds reed in r., and cornucopia in l.; beneath him, crocodile to r.

c111 *Coin of Egypt,*
2 [134/135 C.E.]

(Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, III/Pt.

II. Plate 308

[#8322];

Both legend and description from p. 868).

[Billon (Alloy) Tetradrachm]



8322

OBVERSE: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ CEB: 'Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus.'

Head of Hadrian to l., laureate: border of dots.

REVERSE: ΛΕΩΝΕΑΚΑ: 'Year 19.'

God Serapis to r., wears taenia and modius.

c112 *Coin of Egypt, 3*

(Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 4 [Fig. 5]) →



578 Hadrian Goes to Egypt [130 C.E.]

(*Paschal Chronicle (Chronicon Paschale)*)⁸¹⁷

And at this time Emperor (ὑπάτοις) Hadrian came into Egypt and founded for Antinous a city of the Thebiad the third day before the Kalends of November.

⁸¹⁷ The Greek text (*Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed.), I, 475): Τούτοις τοῖς ὑπάτοις Ἀδριανὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀίγυπτον παρεγένετο, καὶ κτίζει τὴν Ἀντινόου τῆς Θηβαΐδος πρὸ γ' καλανδῶν νοεμβρίου.

579 Illness Proposed as a Reason for Going to Egypt

(Epiphanius, *On Weights and Measures*)⁸¹⁸

14 (54b) For this Hadrian, when leprosy⁸¹⁹ appeared in his body and he had summoned the whole multitude of the physicians under his dominion before him, demanded of them healing for his body. And when they had labored much and done many things and availed nothing, they were scorned by him. He wrote an abusive letter concerning them, assailing their art as devoid of knowledge. But as a result of the illness that befell him he went on a journey to the land of Egypt.

580 Requisitions for Hadrian's Visit [c. 130 C.E.]

(Ostrakon from Egypt)

[Rijksmuseum van Oedheden, F 97/6, 584]⁸²⁰

Apollodorus(?) and his fellow-superintendents for barley for the maintenance of the Augustus Hadrianus the Lord on behalf of N.N., son of N.N., grandson of [Janaros(?)] 11 | 3 1 | 8 (artaba) barley. In the 15th(?) year of Hadrianus the Lord, the 5th Payni. I, Phanes(?), have signed. 11 | 3 1 | 8 (artaba) barley.

581 Military Presence in Egypt: Record of a Soldier [131 C.E.]

(Papyrus at Gerze (Philadelphia) in Egypt)

[AE 1927.87=AE 1927.175=AE 1938.1=BGU 1690]⁸²¹

[Latin] Epimachus, son of Longinus, soldier of Cohors II of Thebans, century of Octavius Alexander: a daughter, Longinia, has been born to him on the most recent 7th day before the Kalends of January, of Arsus, daughter of Lucius, his hostess (*hospitae*). He has therefore declared that he has made this testimony because of his presence being required elsewhere by the military. At Philadelphia, in the winter quarters of Cohors II of Thebans on the 7th day before the Kalends of January, in the consulship of Sergius Octavius Laenas Pontianus and Marcus Antonius Rufinus, in the 16th year of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, on the 30th day of the month Choiak.

[Greek] I, Epimachus, son of Longinus, the soldier named above, affirms the testimony that a daughter, Longina, has been born as declared above.

⁸¹⁸ Epiphanius, *Epiphanius' Treatise* (Dean's ed.), 29–30. The Syriac text can be seen in Baker, "Hadrian's Journey," 164 (following Moutsoulas' 1973 critical edition).

⁸¹⁹ Dean, 29 n. 116, notes that the Syriac version adds in the margin, "I.e., he became lionlike" (leprous; Greek *λωβηθεές*).

⁸²⁰ Sijpesteijn, "A New Document," 116 (with Greek text). N.B., the article's reproduction of the Greek also indicates the few places where letters are indistinct by a dot beneath them. The number F 97/6, 584 is the inventory number in the Rijksmuseum van Oedheden in Leyden, Holland. An ostrakon is a potsherd used for writing upon, like a notepad. Cf. O. Strassb. 452 for a similar ostrakon for barley for Hadrian's visit.

⁸²¹ Alternate translations can be found in Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 153–54 [#256], or Sherck, *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian*, 187 [#244]. In a footnote, Sherck offers that *hospitae* should be understood in the sense of *focaria* ('kitchen-maid' or 'housekeeper'). The Latin text can be seen at EDCS (EDCS-15900041). Pontianus and Rufino were consuls in 131 C.E., but Hadrian's 16th year would be 132/133 C.E.; the naming of the consuls decides in favor of 131 C.E.

Region of Alexandria
(Baedeker, *Egypt*, beside p. 222)



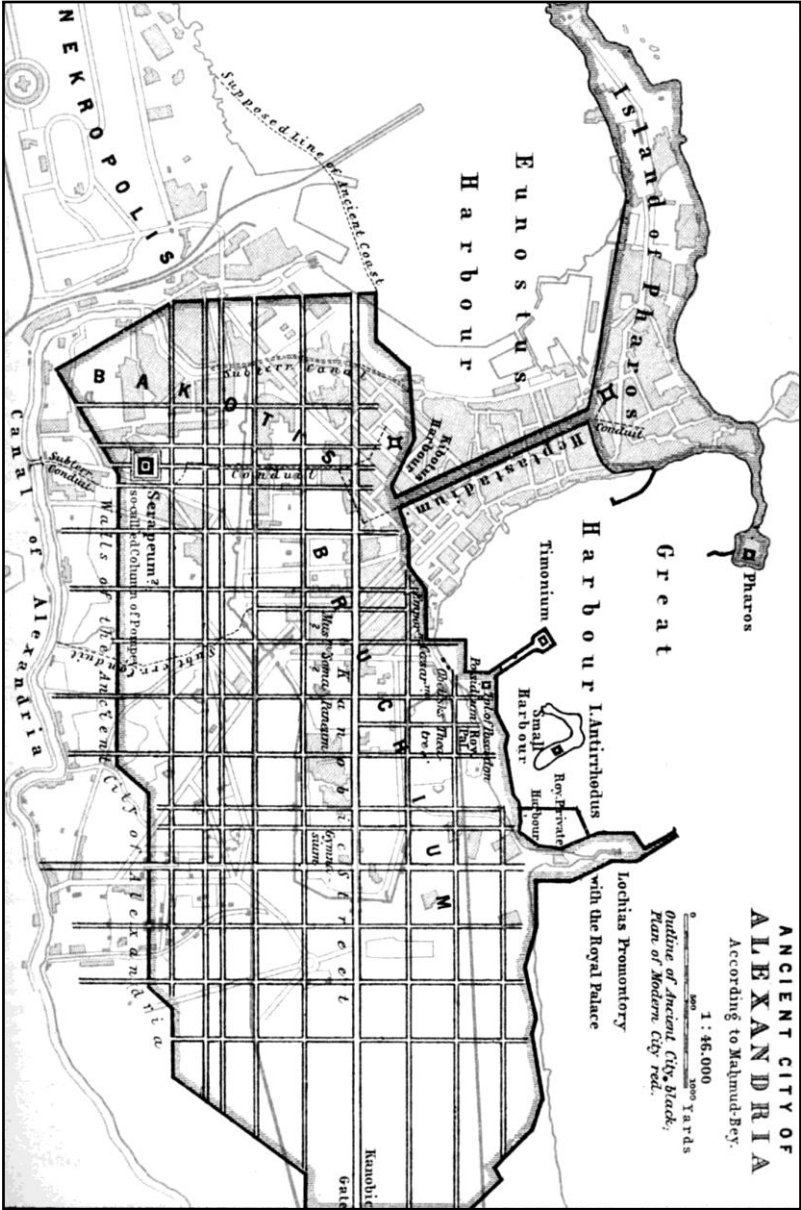




FIG. 49.—Hadrian approach-
ing Alexandria.
(British Museum.)



FIG. 50.—Hadrian greeted
by Alexandria.
(British Museum.)

c113 Coin of Egypt, 4
(Milne, *History of Egypt*
under Roman Rule, V,
60 [Fig. 49 and Fig.
50])

c114 Coin of Egypt, 5
[130/131 C.E.]
(Forrer, *The Weber*
Collection, III/Pt. II. Plate
308 [#8340];
Legend and description
from p. 871)
[Bronze Coin]



8340

OBVERSE: AY T KAI TRAI AΔPIA CEB: 'Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus.' Head of Hadrian to l., laureate: border of dots.

REVERSE: L. IE: 'Year 15.' Emperor standing to l., laureate, holding scepter in l., which he extends to Alexandria, who kisses it; she wears peplos and chiton, and holds in l., corn: border of dots.

c115–c117 Coins of Alexandria
(Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 4 [Fig. 6]; 7 [40]; 10 [41])⁸²²



FIG. 6. — ALEXANDRIE.



FIG. 40.
ALEXANDRIE (LE PHARE).



FIG. 41.
ALEXANDRIE
(ANTINOÛS-MERCURE).

⁸²² Stevenson, Smith, and Madden, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins*, 35, describe the coin this way: "On the first and second brass of Hadrian, the city of Alexandria is personified by a woman seated on the ground, holding ears of corn in her right hand. Near her left arm rises a vine branch, and her elbow rests on a vase, near which is a bunch of grapes. At her feet also are three ears of wheat, indicative of the generally abundant harvests of Egypt."

c118 *Coin of Egypt, 6*
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman*
People, V, 2, 381)



COIN COMMEMORATIVE OF
HADRIAN'S VISIT TO EGYPT.

582 Hadrian at Alexandria [130 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁸²³

20.2 In the Museum at Alexandria he propounded many questions to the teachers and answered himself what he had propounded.

583 Hadrian's Chief Administrative Assistant

(Inscription on a Marble *Stele*, in Rome (on *via Ostiensis*))

[*IGR* I, 136=*IG* XIV 1085=*IGUR* I, 62=*SEG* XL.867]⁸²⁴

To the High Priest of Alexandria and all Egypt, Lucius Julius Vestinus, in charge of the *Museum* and the Roman and Greek libraries (*a bibliothecis*), special counsel (*a studiis*) to Emperor Hadrian and also his Secretary of Correspondence (*ab epistulas*). . . .

584 Prayer for Hadrian

(Inscription in the Great Serapeum at Alexandria)

[*IGR* I⁵, 1049]⁸²⁵

To Zeus Helios (Διὶ Ἡλίῳ) the great Serapis (μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι), and the gods in the same temple—for the preservation (σωτηρίας) of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, the lord of the city.

⁸²³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 61. As indicated above, Hadrian's visit to Egypt was via Pelusium to Alexandria. Sijpesteijn, "A New Document," 111, notes that numismatic evidence points to his arrival in Alexandria "shortly before the end of August, 130 A.D."

⁸²⁴ Another translation can be found in Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 181 [#140]. The Greek text can be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, I, 58 [#136] and online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/187695?hs=251-259>). The *stele* (a stone slab) is now lost. Vestinus was of Equestrian rank; see the entry on him in Lacey, *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian*, 24 [#57]. As Lacey notes, the Greek wording (ἐπὶ τῆς παιδείας) refers to the office of a *studius*, a post apparently entailing a diverse set of duties, which might include speech-writing, helping handle legal matters, doing research for the emperor and so on. It is impossible to capture all that might have been involved in a word or two—especially since we remain uncertain as to the exact duties—and so I chose "special counsel," though "educational advisor" might better retain the sense of the Greek *paideias*. On the office of a *studius*, see Boak, "The Roman *Magistri*," 109–110. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, 338, actually refers to the *a studiis* of the emperor as "probably his special counsel in more complicated legal and governmental matters."

⁸²⁵ The Greek text can be viewed at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/217877?hs=193-201>).

585 Purported Letter from Hadrian to Servianus concerning Alexandria

(*Historia Augusta: Saturninus*)⁸²⁶

Vita Saturnini 8 I have found that Egypt, my dear Servianus, which you praised to me, to be a very flighty country, hanging by a thread, turning round with every breath of fashion. [2] There, those who adore Serapis are Christians at the same time, and men who call themselves bishops of Christ are devoted to Serapis. [3] There is not a president of a synagogue, not a Samaritan, not a Christian priest, who does not supplement his functions by those of the astrologer, of the diviner, and the charlatan. [4] The patriarch himself, when he comes to Egypt, is forced by some to adore Serapis, and by the others to adore Christ. [5] It is a seditious, futile, and irrelevant education, and a rich and productive city, where nobody lives in idleness. [6] Some are glassblowers, others papermakers, others again dyers, and all under-stand and practice some trade. The gouty can find something to do, the shortsighted can obtain employment, the blind are not without occupation, and even the one-armed are not idle. [7] Money is their only god, the divinity which Christians, Jews, people of all sorts, adore. One regrets to find such a low state of morals in a city which by its manufactures and its grandeur is worthy of being the capital of Egypt. [8] I have granted it everything; I have restored its ancient privileges, and given it new ones, and I forced them to thank me while I was there; but I had scarcely left when they began to talk about my son Verus, and to say, what no doubt you know, about Antinous. [9] The only revenge that I wish to have is that they may always be forced to eat their own fowls, fecundated in a manner that I do not like to mention. [10] I have sent you some glasses of prismatic colors, which the priests of the temple offered me; they are specially dedicated to you and to my sister. Have them used on festive occasions, only take care that our Africanus does not make too good use of them.

586 Remembering Hadrian [post 138 C.E.]

(Calendar of Cult Offerings on a Papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus)

[*P.Oxy XXXI.2553*]⁸²⁷

[lines 11–13, dated between November 30 and December 15, and likely commemorating the day Hadrian entered the city.]

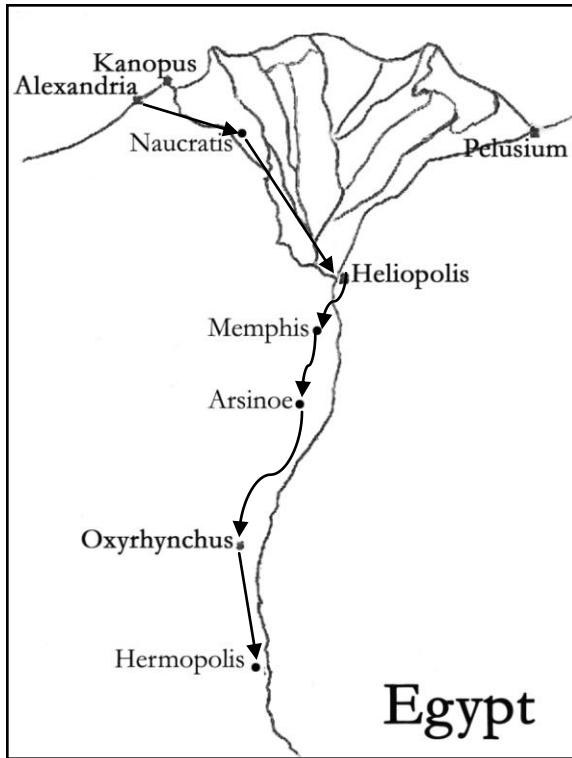
On the day on which the deified Hadrian . . . the city . . . gymnasiarch(s) enters the Sebasteum and sacrifices and the . . . and goes in procession and sacrifices and sits in the Lageum, horse-rites.

⁸²⁶ Renan, *The History of the Origins of Christianity*, Vol. VI, 103; I added number divisions and changed “Servian” to “Servianus.” Another translation and the Latin text can be found in *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic trans.), III, 398–401. The letter is today widely regarded as inauthentic. For an analysis of it, see Galimberti, “The Pseudo-Hadrianic Epistle.”

⁸²⁷ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XXXI (Barns et al. ed.), 76 (with Greek text, p. 74); the Greek text can be seen online at *Papyri.info* (<https://papyri.info/hgv/63879>). The *Sebasteum* was also known as the ‘Caesareum.’ The most famous was the Caesareum of Alexandria, a temple originated by Cleopatra and finished by Augustus. A Sebasteum at Oxyrhynchus was also known as the ‘Hadrianeum.’ The *Legem* here may have been an elevated platform for public speaking.

TOURING THE NILE

Places Likely Visited by Hadrian



c119 Coin of Egypt, 7

(Stevenson, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins*, 574)⁸²⁸

The Nile, lying down, with a cornucopiae in his right hand; a hippopotamus at his feet; a crocodile below.

⁸²⁸ Stevenson notes of this coin type under Hadrian that, "In other coins a child is seated on the hippopotamus; several children also are either standing round the old long-bearded man, or are creeping over his body." He adds, "The above coins, struck during the reign of Hadrian, have reference to Antinous, who was drowned whilst navigating this illustrious river. — Hence (as Eckhel observes,) on these most elegant medals, we have the Nile portrayed with all his attributes; the reed, the sphinx (who had two natures, as indicated by her woman's bust and lion's body); the crocodile and the hippopotamus (amphibious animals), and the children, being symbols frequently found on coins of Alexandria, which present a similar personification of the river in the same recumbent posture."

Hadrian at Philae, Egypt
 (Milne, *History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, 55 [Fig. 43])



587 A Record of Hadrian [130/131 C.E.]

(Inscription at Ammonium (Siwa Oasis), Egypt)

[SEG VIII.791]⁸²⁹

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 14th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland . . .

⁸²⁹ The Greek can be seen at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/223161?hs=181-189>). The oracle of the god Ammon was situated at the Siwa Oasis.

588 Hadrian and Antinous, 1 [130C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)⁸³⁰

14.5 During a journey on the Nile he lost Antinous, his favourite, and for this youth he wept like a woman.

14.6 Concerning this incident there are varying rumours; for some claim that he had devoted himself to death for Hadrian, and others—what both his beauty and Hadrian's sensuality suggest.

14.7 But however this may be, the Greeks deified him at Hadrian's request, and declared that oracles were given through his agency, but these, it is commonly asserted, were composed by Hadrian himself.

[On Antinous, see Chapter 14.]

Cartouche of Sabina

(Milne, *History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, 59 [Fig. 48])



FIG. 48.—Cartouche of Sabina.

[On Sabina, see Chapter 13; on her accompanying Hadrian to Egypt, see next section.]

⁸³⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic's trans.), I, 45.

THE ‘SINGING’ COLOSSUS OF MEMNON

589 History of the ‘Singing’ Colossus of Memnon

(Strabo, *Geography*)⁸³¹

XVII.1.46 Here are two colossi, which are near one another and are each made of a single stone; one of them is preserved, but the upper parts of the other, from the seat up, fell when an earthquake took place, so it is said. It is believed that once each day a noise, as of a slight blow, emanates from the part of the latter that remains on the throne and its base; and I too, when I was present at the places with Aelius Gallus and his crowd of associates, both friends and soldiers, heard the noise at about the first hour, but whether it came from the base or from the colossus, or whether the noise was made on purpose by one of the men who were standing all round and near to the base, I am unable positively to assert; for on account of the uncertainty of the cause I am induced to believe anything rather than that the sound issued from stones thus fixed.

590 Traveler’s Experience of the ‘Singing’ Colossus of Memnon

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece* ⁸³²)

I.42.3 In Egyptian Thebes, on crossing the Nile to the so-called Pipes, I saw a statue, still sitting, which gave out a sound. The many call it Memnon, who they say from Aethiopia overran Egypt and as far as Susa. The Thebans, however, say that it is a statue, not of Memnon, but of a native named Phamenoph, and I [*p.* 227] have heard some say that it is Sesostris. This statue was broken in two by Cambyses, and at the present day from head to middle it is thrown down; but the rest is seated, and every day at the rising of the sun it makes a noise, and the sound one could best liken to that of a harp or lyre when a string has been broken.

591 Experiencing the ‘Singing’ Colossus of Memnon

(Lucian, *The Lover of Lies*)⁸³³

33. “. . . I took it into my head to sail up to Koptos and go from there to the statue of Memnon in order to hear it sound that marvellous salutation to the rising sun. Well, what I heard from it was not a meaningless voice, as in the general experience of common people; Memnon himself actually opened his mouth and delivered me an oracle in seven verses, and if it were not too much of a digression, I would have repeated the very verses for you.”

⁸³¹ Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo* (Jones’ trans.), VIII, 123 (with Greek text, p. 122).

⁸³² Pausanias, *Pausanias’ Description of Greece, Vol. I* (Jones’ trans.), I, 225, 227 (with Greek on facing pages). For an alternate translation, see *Pausanias’ Description of Greece* (Shilleto’s trans.), I, 88. Cambyses II, ruler of Persia (529–522 B.C.E.) conquered Egypt in 525 B.C.E.

⁸³³ Lucian, *The Lover of Lies* in *Lucian* (Harmon’s trans.), III, 371 (with Greek text, p. 370). The novelist and satirist Lucian (mid- to late 2nd century) was a native of Samosata, a prominent city in Hadrian’s day, located on the west bank of the upper Euphrates River. Koptos (or Coptos; modern Qift), located at a bend in the Nile, was an important city in Upper Egypt. It served as a point of transit both for trade routes to the Red Sea and for expeditions into the desert.

592 Hadrian's Visit to the Colossus

(Julia Balbilla, Graffiti inscribed on Colossus)⁸³⁴

G3.17 (=Bernand #28). When the August Hadrian heard Memnon. By Julia Balbilla. Memnon the Egyptian, I learnt, when warmed by the rays of the sun, speaks from Theban stone. When he saw Hadrian, the king of all, before the rays of the sun he greeted him—as far as he was able. But when the Titan driving through the heavens with his steeds of white brought into shadow the second measure of hours, like ringing bronze Memnon again sent out his voice sharp-toned; he sent out his greeting and for a third time a mighty roar. The Emperor Hadrian then himself bid welcome to Memnon and left on stone for generations to come this inscription recounting all that he saw and all that he had heard. It was clear to me that the gods love him.

593 Sabina's Visit to the 'Singing' Colossus of Memnon

[Nov., 130 C.E.]

(Julia Balbilla, Graffiti inscribed on Colossus)

[Bernand #31]⁸³⁵

I, Balbilla, heard, from the speaking stone,

The divine voice of Memnon or Phamenoth.

I came here with our lovely queen Sabina,

When the sun held its course during the first hour.

In the fifteenth year of the emperor Hadrian's rule,

Hathyr was on its twenty-fourth day.

On the twenty-fifth day of the month of Hathyr.

594 Nepos, Prefect of Egypt, Hears the Colossus [Feb. 18, 121 C.E.]

(Inscription at Thebes, Egypt)

[CIL III, 39]⁸³⁶

Year 5 of Hadrian, our emperor; Titus Haterius Nepos, Prefect of Egypt, heard Memnon; 12th day before the Kalends of March, an hour and a half.

⁸³⁴ Keegan, *Graffiti in Antiquity*, 57. Cf. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 415–16 [#990]. The Greek text can be found in Rosenmeyer, "Greek Verse Inscriptions," 341 (Poem #28, following *Les inscriptions grecques*, Bernand and Bernand ed.). For a brief account of this visit, see Speller, *Following Hadrian*, 137–46.

⁸³⁵ Rosenmeyer, "Greek Verse Inscriptions," 343 (with Greek text); cf. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 414.

⁸³⁶ The Latin text can be found in Lacey, *Equestrian Officials*, 14 [#32]. For other examples of Roman visitors 'hearing' the Colossus during Hadrian's reign, see CIL III, 41 (in 126 C.E., Titus Flavius Titianus, Prefect of Egypt), CIL III, 42 (in 127 C.E., Caius Maenius Haniochus, a centurion of Legio IX Claudia who had also served as the same in Legio I Italica and Legio II Traiana Fortis), CIL III, 43 (in 134 C.E., Quintus Marcus Hermogenes, Prefect of the Alexandrian fleet), and CIL III, 44 (in 134 C.E., Marcus Petronius Mamertinus, Prefect of Egypt, and in Antoninus Pius' reign a suffect consul (150 C.E.)), et al.

EGYPT

595 Titus Haterius Nepos: Prefect of Egypt

(Inscription at Fulginium, Italy)

[CIL XI, 5213]⁸³⁷

Senior centurion of the 1st cohort (*primipilo*), prefect of the cohort, military tribune, prefect of the cavalry, official for the taxes of the British Anavionens, procurator of Augustus for Armenia Major, of the gladiatorial school (*ludi magni*), of inheritance taxes and estates, responsible for petitions to the emperor (*a libellis Aug.*), prefect of the watchmen (*vigiles*), prefect of Egypt. . . .

596 Priestly Appointment by the Living God Hadrian [120 C.E.?)

(Papyrus: Edict of Titus Haterius Nepos)

[SB XII 11236]⁸³⁸

(Opening Lines) Transcription of an edict. Titus Haterius Nepos, *Eparcb* of Egypt, said: Our lord and god incarnate, the emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, has appointed, as you know, the high priest of the *Augusti* gods and of the great Sarapis and of all the cults of Alexandria and Egypt. . . .



FIG. 92. — Pantheistic Zeus Sarapis: Coin of Hadrian. (British Museum.)

c120 Coin of Zeus Serapis

(Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, V, 134

[Fig. 92])⁸³⁹

⁸³⁷ The Latin text can be found in Lacey, *Equestrian Officials*, 14 [#32]; it is also available online at EDCS (EDCS-22901155). This Haterius Nepos, of Equestrian rank, is not to be confused with the Haterius Nepos of consular rank, a governor of Arabia.

⁸³⁸ This is only an excerpt (of what is called "Fragment A"). The Greek text in its entirety is available at *Papyri.info* (<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;12;11236>); also at *The Roman Law Library* (https://droitromain.univ-grenoble-alpes.fr/Edicta/Aegypti58_gr.html). The *Eparcb* was the "governor," or "prefect" of the province. The "*Augusti* gods" are the deified members of the imperial family (e.g., Trajan and Nerva). The "cults" (*τεῖων*) were religious groups, like the devotees of the mystery religions. For more on the document, see Parássoglou, "A Prefectural Edict." He reproduces the Greek text on pp. 24–25. *Sarapis*=*Serapis*.

⁸³⁹ In the text accompanying the coin illustration Milne notes, "Zeus was known mainly in his compound forms. His Graeco-Egyptian title as Zeus Ammon has already been noticed; and as Zeus Helios Sarapis he was worshipped at Canopus, and two temples were erected to him at Mons Claudianus in the reign of Hadrian; to this title also a pantheistic type on the coins is attributable." *Mons Claudianus*, a Roman penal colony in the desert mountains of eastern Egypt, was located near an important quarry. There high quality granite favored by Hadrian was mined; it can be found at his villa, as well as such prominent structures at Rome as the Pantheon and Temple of Venus. At the camp itself was a temple whose construction was begun under Hadrian but apparently never finished. See entry #85 and its footnote.

597 Hadrian Witnesses Magic [130 C.E.]

(Greek Magical Papyrus)

[Excerpted from *PGM* IV.2441-2661=Betz, 83=Macmullen and Lane, #1.2]⁸⁴⁰
Burnt offering: Pachrates, the prophet of Heliopolis, revealed it to the emperor Hadrian (117–138 C.E.), revealing the power of his own divine magic. For it attracted in one hour; it made someone sick in two hours; it destroyed in seven hours, sent the emperor himself dreams as he thoroughly tested the whole truth of the magic within his power. And marveling at the prophet, he ordered double fees to be given to him.

598 Praise of Hadrian [c. 134 C.E.]

(Julius Faustinus, Latin Inscription at Temple at Kalabsha)

[*Musa Lapidaria* 26=CIL III, 77]⁸⁴¹

The victorious Muses, Pallas and Apollo would have wished to pour down happy verses from a clear sky during the august era of the invincible emperor, but the undefiled deities fled from the wicked deceits of men and their quarrels and their hearts perfidious with secret occupations. Yet they dared to turn back at the conscientious era of Hadrian, and they return searching out hidden recesses so that stones may breathe and greet the [revived] olden days; the sacred statue gave voice while Mamertinus was prefect. The manifest proof of the reliability of the gods was established; the noble <>, arrived safely, pressed with enriching foot the sands protected by Isis. For amid the thronged benches of the lofty temple, into which the neighboring mob poured from its (crowded?) buildings, the gifts of the gods . . .

599 Road Building [137 C.E.]

(Inscription)

[IGR I, 1142]⁸⁴²

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus and grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 21st time, imperator twice, consul three times, Father of the Fatherland, opened up a new Hadrianic road from Berenice to Antinoe along the Red Sea, over safe and level terrain, and provided with *hydreumata*, *stathmoi*, and *phrouria*.

⁸⁴⁰ Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 83; also in Macmullen and Lane, *Paganism and Christianity*, 100–425 C.E., 10.

⁸⁴¹ Courtney, *Musa Lapidaria*, 53 (with Latin text, p. 52) [#26]. Both Latin text and English translation are also found in Mairs, “Acrostich Inscriptions at Kalabsha,” 289. Also see Trustees of the British Museum, *A Guide*, 40 [#87].

⁸⁴² English translation (after the formulaic material) from Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 201, who also notes parenthetically that *hydreumata*, *stathmoi*, and *phrouria* are “the Greek equivalent of *laci*, *stationes*, and *praesidia*.” For an alternate rendering, see Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 200 [#157]. The Greek text can be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, I 391 (Cagnat ed.); also in *Inscriptiones Graecae Aegypti*, I, 12–13 (Milne ed.).

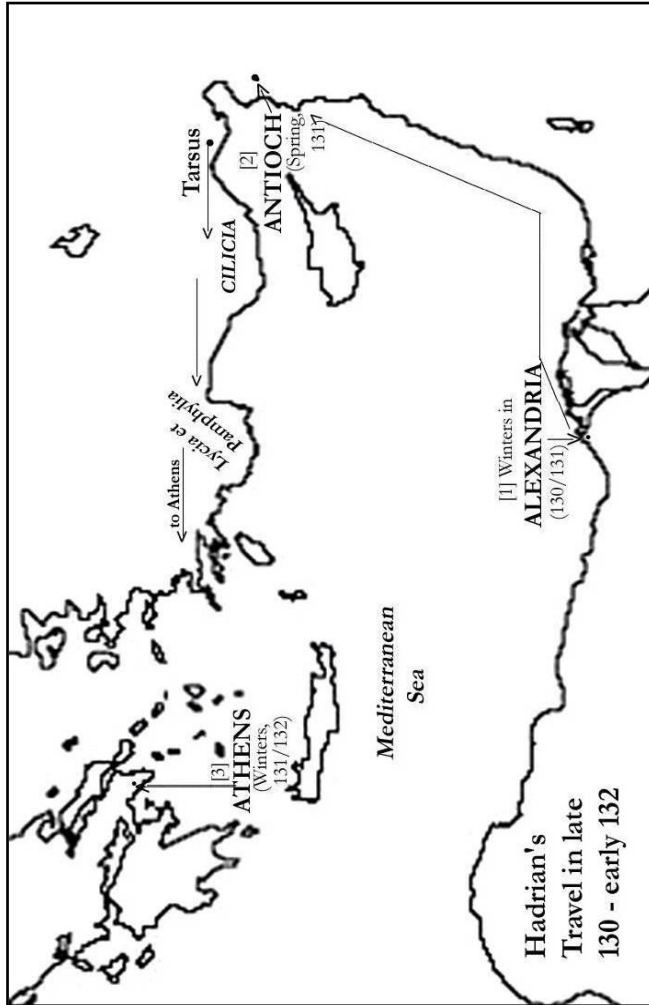
EGYPT TO SYRIA TO GREECE

600 Hadrian Returns to Syria from Egypt [Spring, 131 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)⁸⁴³

LXIX.12.2 . . . [F]or the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites planted there. So long, indeed, as Hadrian was close by in Egypt and again in Syria, they remained quiet . . .

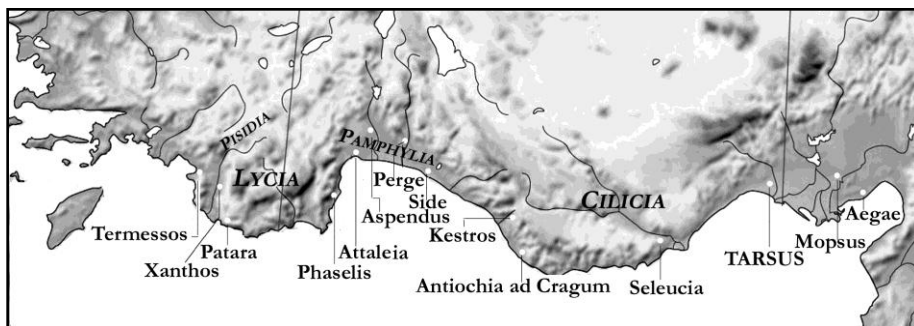
Hadrian's Travel



⁸⁴³ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 447. The relevant Greek portion is παρόντος μὲν ἔν τε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ αὖθις ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἡσύχαζον; the key term here is αὖθις, 'again'—as in a return to Syria (rather than a reference to his time in Syria before going to Egypt).

ANTIOCH TO ATHENS

*Cities Possibly Visited by Hadrian while in the Region (131 C.E.)*⁸⁴⁴



CILICIA⁸⁴⁵

c121 Coin of Aegaea [131 C.E.]

(Courtesy of Classical Numismatics Group (www.cngcoins.com))

[Silver Coin (Tridrachm) of Aegaea in Cilicia]



OBVERSE: ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΚΑΙΣΑ
ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CEB Π Π:
‘Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian
Augustus, Father of the Fatherland.’

Hadrian, facing right, laureate and bare-
chested, fold of cloak on right shoulder.

REVERSE: ΑΙΓΕΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΟΥC ΖΟΡ: ‘Aegaea, 177th year of the Caesarian Era.’ Goddess of health, Hygieia, facing right, both veiled and draped; in front of her neck a snake approaches two pellets in a *patra* (a shallow dish used in libations); below her, a goat.

601 Honoring Hadrian at Flaviopolis [129–131? C.E.]

(Inscription at Flaviopolis (modern Kadirli) in Cilicia)

[SEG XXXIX.1427]⁸⁴⁶

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus. By Flavius Palakus and Julius Ouarus, *Agoranomoi*. Flavia Olympias.

⁸⁴⁴ It is likely Hadrian (and Sabina) travelled along the coast by ship, making stops as desired.

⁸⁴⁵ Cilicia, for travelers, was divided into ‘plain Cilicia’ and ‘rough Cilicia.’ The former is described by Levy, “Hadrian in Plain Cilicia,” 640: “Ringed on three sides by the rugged Taurus mountains and watered by their rivers, its delta of about 800 square miles has always offered a passage for traders moving between the Near East and Europe.” The western end of Cilicia, with its mountainous terrain was ‘rough Cilicia,’ and generally avoided.

⁸⁴⁶ The Greek text can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/286964?hs=49-71>). The office of the two individuals was that of *Agoranomos*, or ‘regulator of the marketplace (*agora*).’

602 Tarsus

(Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History*)⁸⁴⁷

XIV.8.3 Cilicia, however, which boasts the river Cydnus, is ennobled by Tarsus, a fair city; this is said to have been founded by Perseus, son of Jupiter and Danae, or else by a wealthy and high-born man, Sandan by name, who came from Ethiopia.

603 ‘Hadriane Tarsus’ in an Antonine Inscription

(Stone Inscription at Tarsus)

[BCH 7 (1883) 291,4]⁸⁴⁸

To Faustina Augusta, (by) the city (*dēmos*) of Hadriane Tarsus (Ἀδριανῆ Τάρσου).

604 Hadrian Honored [129/130 C.E.]

(Inscription at Tarsus)

[Bean & Mitford, #164]⁸⁴⁹

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, Lord (τὸν κύριον) and benefactor (εὐεργέτην), by the *dēmos*.

c122 Coin of Tarsus

(Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Plate XXXIV [#4];

Legend and description from p. 187)

[Billon (Copper Alloy) Coin of Tarsus in Cilicia]



OBVERSE: ΑΥΤ
ΚΑΙ ΘΕ ΤΡΑ ΠΑΡ
ΥΙ ΘΕ ΝΕΡ ΥΙ
ΤΡΑΙ ΑΔΙΑΝΟC
CE:

‘Emperor Caesar—
son of the deified
Trajan Parthicus,
grandson of the
deified Nerva—

Trajan Hadrian Augustus.’ Head of Hadrian r., laureate, drapery on shoulder.

REVERSE: ΤΑΡCΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC: ‘Metropolis of Tarsus.’

Lion, l., attacking bull kneeling l.

⁸⁴⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (Rolfe trans.), I, 67 (with Latin text on facing page).

⁸⁴⁸ Bean and Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, 159 [#164]. The Greek text can be seen online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/285146?hs=59-67>).

⁸⁴⁹ The Greek text can be seen online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/285183?hs=151-159>).

605 Honored at Antiochia ad Cragum ('Little Antioch') [c. 131 C.E.]

(Inscription on Statue Base at Antiochia ad Cragum, Asia)

[*AI*, 18.06]⁸⁵⁰

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, the Lord and (?) benefactor of the world, by the *Demos*.

*c123 Coin of Mopsus*⁸⁵¹

(Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Plate XVIII [#5];

Legend and description from p. 105)

[Silver Coin of Mopsuestia (Mopsus) in Cilicia]⁸⁵²



OBVERSE: AVT KAI ΘΕ
TPA ΠΑΡ ΥΙ ΘΕ ΝΕΡ ΥΙ
TPA ΑΔΙΑΝΟC C (and in
field, Π Π): 'Emperor
Caesar—son of the deified
Trajan Parthicus, grandson
of the deified Nerva—
Trajan Hadrian Augustus,
Father of the Fatherland.'

Bust of Hadrian, r., laureate, wearing *paladumentum* and cuirass.

REVERSE: ΑΔΙ ΜΟΨΕΑΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩC: 'For Hadrian, by the city of Mopsus.'

Eagle to front, wings displayed, head raised to r.; between its legs, small altar on stand, lighted.

606 Honored at Kestros [c. 131 C.E.]

(Inscription on Statue Base (East Base) at Kestros in Cilicia, Asia)

[*Kestros* 2; cf. *AE* 2005, 1549=SEG LV.1518]⁸⁵³

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, Lord and benefactor, by the *Demos*.

⁸⁵⁰ *AI* = *Antiochia Inscription*. The Greek text, and comments, can be found in Hoff, Townsend, and Howe, "New Old Stones," 140. The city lies nearby a rocky promontory (the *Antikeragos*) extruding into the sea.

⁸⁵¹ Levy, "Hadrian in Plain Cilicia," 645, remarks, "Imperial journeys generated local coinages—either to commemorate an official visit, or to provide a circulating medium for the attendant festivals and games."

⁸⁵² Levy, "Hadrian in Plain Cilicia," 647, notes that issues in Tarsus and Aegeae similarly feature an eagle on the reverse side, but that at Tarsus stands on a weapon associated with Perseus, while that at Aegeae is perched on an arrow.

⁸⁵³ The Greek text, and comments, can be found in Hoff, Townsend, and Howe, "New Old Stones," 143. Other places in the region with known honoric statues to Hadrian include Antiochia ad Cragum, Iotape, and Lamos.

607 Dedication to Hadrian at Anazarba in Cilicia [136 C.E.]

(Inscription on Stone)

[*AE* 1891.26=*IEC* 8]⁸⁵⁴

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 20th time, twice (hailed as) Imperator, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, the benefactor of the entire world (τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς οἰκουμένης); from the professional association of linen workers (συντεχνία λινουργῶν).

LYCIA ET PAMPHYLIA (& PISIDIA)

Hadrian's Gate: A Monumental Arch at Phaselis

(Photo copy of Carole Radatto)⁸⁵⁵



[The fragmented inscription is in three lines. The first clearly identifies Hadrian, and apparently Sabina (ΚΑΙ ΣΑ). The second has the standard formula for Hadrian as ‘savior and benefactor’ (σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην).]

⁸⁵⁴ See Hicks, “Inscriptions from Eastern Cilicia,” 240–41, for the Greek text. It can also be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-78100004). *IEC*=“Inscriptions from Eastern Cilicia.”

⁸⁵⁵ The photo is courtesy of Carole Radatto at *Following Hadrian* (<https://followinghadrian.com/2013/09/08/hadrian-goes-to-phaselis-images-from-a-lycian-harbour-city/>) and is made available by Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>). The original photo was in larger and in color; the inscriptional part has been extracted and the photo made grayscale. Ossi, “The Roman Honorific Arches,” 163–66, notes that the arch at Phaselis, near the critically important South Harbor, was situated at the harbor’s near end of the city’s largest street. It was a single-bayed arch a little more than 9 meters (about 30 feet) wide and a little more than a meter-and-a-half deep (about 5½ feet). The inscription, in three lines, was carved into the architrave at the top of the arch, facing the harbor. Ercan, “Lycia and Rome,” 132, observes that passengers arriving at the harbor would thus disembark and enter through the arch onto a street emphasizing entrance to and exit from the city’s center (the agora of Domitian bordered the street’s west side). She adds, 137, “Similar to many cities which expected the arrival of Hadrian, Phaselis also enthusiastically prepared for the huge occasion, and marked it with a ceremonial arch that would perpetuate its evocative purpose.”

608 Honored at Attaleia [131? C.E.]

(Inscription at Attaleia (Antalya) in Pamphylia)

[CIG 4339b]⁸⁵⁶

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, *Olympios*, Father of the Fatherland, savior of the entire world (σωτήρα τῆς οἰκουμένης)—by the *Boulē* and *Dēmos*.

609 Honored at Phaselis [131 C.E.]

(Inscription on the Gate of Hadrian)

[TAM II, 1187; cf. SEG XXIX.1515]⁸⁵⁷

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 15th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, savior of the entire world—by the *Dēmos* of Phaselis.

610 Honored at Xanthos [130/131 C.E.]

(Wall Inscription at a Sculpture Niche in a Sanctuary near Xanthos)

[FdXanthos VII, 32]⁸⁵⁸

To Emperor Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, *Olympios*, savior (τὸν σωτήρα), by Claudius Marcianus.

611 Honored at Termessos, 1 [c. 131 C.E.]

(Inscription on Limestone Statue Base at Termessos in Pisidia, Asia)

[TER 2018, 32]⁸⁵⁹

To Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus *Olympios*, by Nanas Phylē.

612 Honored at Termessos, 2 [c. 131 C.E.]

(Inscription on Limestone Statue Base at Termessos in Pisidia, Asia)

[TER 2018, 33]⁸⁶⁰

To Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus *Olympios*, by the Konoas Phylē.

⁸⁵⁶ The Greek text can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/276310?hs=126-134>). The *Boulē* was a ‘council’; the *Dēmos* is ‘the people’ of Attaleia.

⁸⁵⁷ The Greek text can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/285078?&bookid=689&location=1669>).

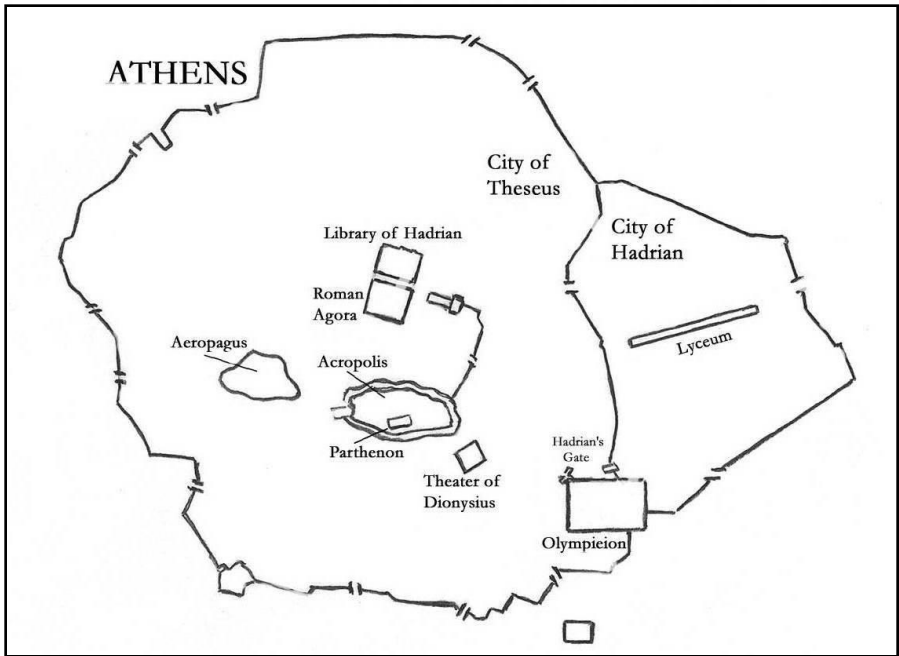
⁸⁵⁸ *FdXanthos=Fouilles de Xanthos (Excavations of Xanthos)*. For an alternative translation (and Greek text, see Longfellow, “Roman Fountains in Greek Sanctuaries,” 149. The Greek text also can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/283239?hs=114-122>). For context, see Longfellow, 146–51. Longfellow, 149, notes Marcianus was the high priest (*archierus*) of the imperial cult. She also notes, 146, the sanctuary (the Letoon), was about 2.5 miles (4 kilometers) outside the city. To the original sanctuary was added a monumental nymphaeum dedicated to Hadrian.

⁸⁵⁹ *TER* abbreviates ‘Termessos.’ An alternate translation, the original text, and additional information can be found in Arslan and Önen, “New Honorary Inscriptions,” 247. The authors believe it is highly probable that Hadrian and Sabina visited the city during the travels of 128–131 C.E. A *Phylē*, though often translated “tribe” (or sometimes “clan”) is best thought of as a citizen group providing a distinct administrative unit and social identity within a city.

⁸⁶⁰ See above note and Arslan and Önen, “New Honorary Inscriptions,” 248.

ATHENS (Winter, 131/132)

Athens, 3



613 Summary: Athens Flourishes under Hadrian

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁸⁶¹

I.20.7 (end) In such wise was Athens sorely afflicted by the war with Rome, but she flourished again when Hadrian was emperor.

614 Hadrian 'Savior and Founder' [129–138 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Block of Pentelic Marble at Athens)

[Oliver, #50; cf. Oliver, #52 (on Hymetian Marble); *IG II*² 3299]⁸⁶²

Savior and founder Emperor Hadrian *Olympios*.

615 Hadrian *Olympios* [131/132 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Fragment of Pentelic Marble at Athens)

[Benjamin #3 (Plate 22); cf. *IG II*² 3296]⁸⁶³

For Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian, founder. *Olympios*.

⁸⁶¹ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones' trans.), I, 103 (with Greek text, p. 102).

⁸⁶² The Greek text can be found in Oliver, "Greek and Latin Inscriptions," 250 (Inv. No. I 2212); 251 (Inv. No. I 4198) for #52. The Greek text for *IG II*² 3299 can be found in Benjamin, "The Altars of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian's Panhellenic Program," 65.

⁸⁶³ The Greek text can be found in Benjamin, "Altars of Hadrian," 61. The Greek text for *IG II*² 3296 can be found p. 64. Benjamin, p. 60, summarizes the large number of altar dedications to Hadrian as *Olympios*, *Savior*, and *Founder* as implying an official occasion—the founding of the Panhellenion—and remarks, "Founder," then, implies also *Founder of the Panhellenion*."

616 Hadrian's Arch (Gate of Hadrian) [131/132 C.E.]

(Inscription on Pentelic Marble)

[IG II² 5185]⁸⁶⁴

[Facing east] This is Athens the former city of Theseus.

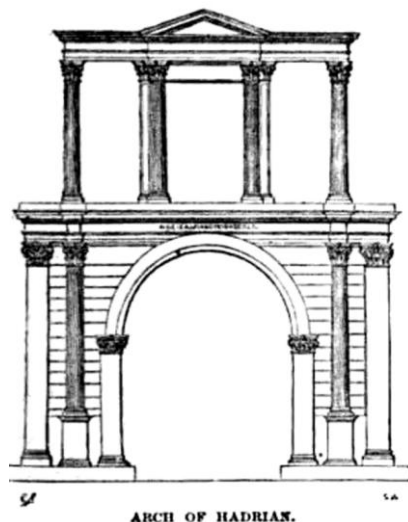
[Facing west] This is the city of Hadrian and not the city of Theseus.

Hadrian's Gate (or, Hadrian's Arch)

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 355)



⁸⁶⁴ The Greek text can be seen online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/7498>); cf. Arachne (<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/6459544>). The Greek *πρην* (*prin*), commonly translated “ancient” is now preferably rendered as “former.” See McHugh, “Past and Present,” 166. Theseus was the legendary founder of Athens, Hadrian the new “founder.” See Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 356. (More on Greece and Athens follows later.)



617 Founding of the Panhellenion, 1 [133/134 C.E.]

(Inscription at Temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus)

[IG IV² 384=SIG³ 842=Smallwood #79]⁸⁶⁵

In the third year of the consecration of Zeus Olympios and the foundation of the Panhellenion, the year of Trajan Hadrian Caesar's visit, when the priest of Asclepius was Eutychus, son of Eutychus, grandson of Eutychus; in place of him Leonidus son of Perigenes; Stephanos son of Eutychus was the fire-bearer (*pyrphoros*) of Asclepius and Epionē.

618 Founding of the Panhellenion, 2 [133/134 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)⁸⁶⁶

LXIX.16.2a He allowed the Greeks to build in his honor the shrine which was named the Panhellenium, and instituted a series of games in connection with it; and he granted to the Athenians large sums of money, an annual dole of grain, and the whole of Cephallenia.

⁸⁶⁵ The Greek text can be found in Smallwood, *Documents*, 47 [#79]. It also can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/28822?&bookid=7&location=1690>). The dating of the founding of the Panhellenion is fixed by this inscription at 131/132 C.E. For more on the Panhellenion, see Spawforth and Walker, "The World of the Panhellenion." Especially see Benjamin, "The Altars of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian's Panhellenic Program." Also see Romeo, "The Panhellenion and Ethnic Identity in Hadrianic Greece." Hadrian's goal through the Panhellenion was to strengthen a sense of unity among the Hellenes of the empire. *Panhellenia* games were to be celebrated every four years. *Epionē* was the wife of Asclepius, who was sometimes called *Epios*, the "benevolent" or "gentle" one. For more on the Panhellenion, see Romeo, "The Panhellenion and Ethnic Identity in Hadrianic Greece."

⁸⁶⁶ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 453. *Panhellenium*=*Panhellenion*.

619 Temple of Zeus Completed, 1 [131/132 C.E.]

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁸⁶⁷

I.3.2 Here stands Zeus, called Zeus of Freedom, and the Emperor Hadrian, a benefactor to all his subjects and especially to the city of the Athenians.

I.18.6 (start) Before the entrance to the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus — Hadrian the Roman emperor dedicated the temple and the statue, one worth seeing, which in size exceeds all other statues save the colossi at Rhodes and Rome, and is made of ivory and gold with an artistic skill which is remarkable when the size is taken into account — before the entrance, I say, stand statues of Hadrian, two of Thasian stone, two of Egyptian. Before the pillars stand bronze statues which the Athenians call “colonies.” The whole circumference of the precincts is about four [p. 91] stades, and they are full of statues; for every city has dedicated a likeness of the emperor Hadrian, and the Athenians have surpassed them in dedicating, behind the temple, the remarkable colossus.

Temple of Olympian Zeus

(or, simply, the *Olympieion*)

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 366)



⁸⁶⁷ Greek text (p.14) and English translation (p.15) for I.3.2 from Pausanias. *Pausanias Description of Greece*, vol. I, Jones' translation; Greek text (pp.88, 90) and English translation (pp.89, 91) for I.18.6 from the same source. The temple is also referred to as the Olympieion (or Olympieum [Cary]).

620 Temple of Zeus Completed, 2 [131/132 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)⁸⁶⁸

LXIX.16.1 Hadrian completed the Olympieum at Athens, in which his own statue also stands, and dedicated there a serpent, which had been brought from India.

Olympian Zeus (left)

(Westropp, *Handbook of Archaeology*, 164)



JUPITER OLYMPIUS OF PHIDIAS.

621 Temple of Hera and Zeus Panhellenios

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁸⁶⁹

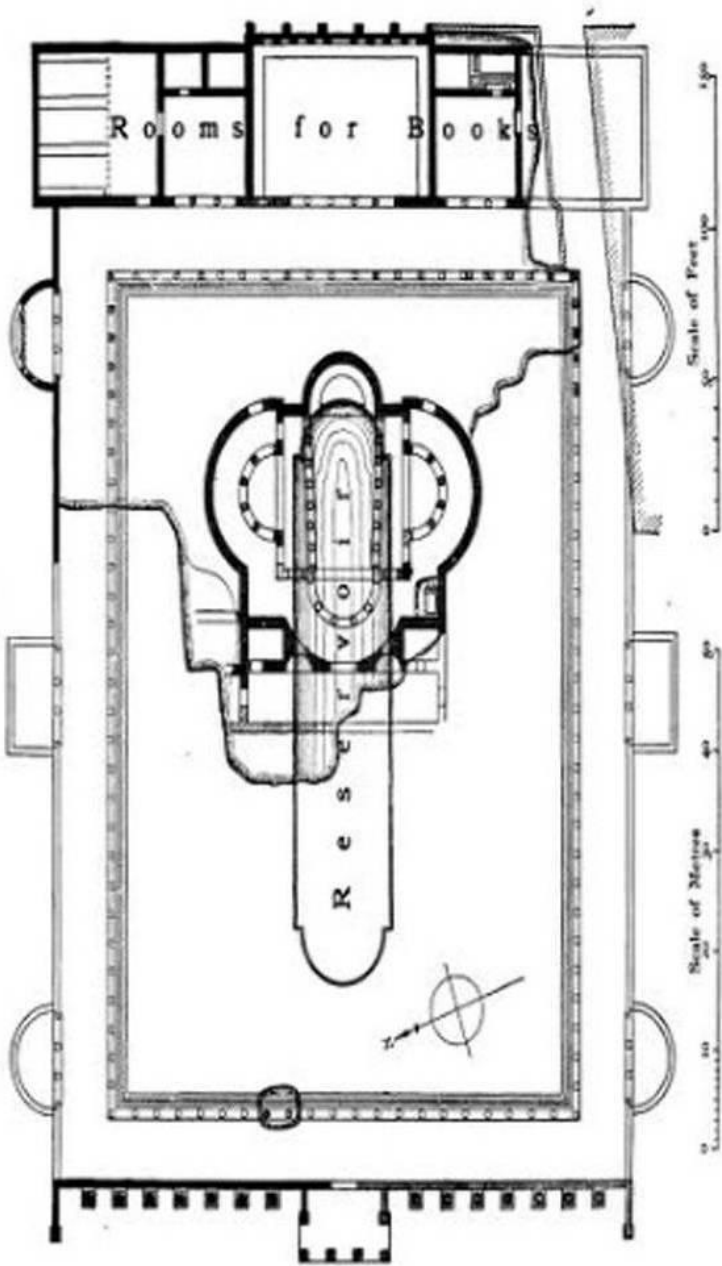
I.18.9a Hadrian constructed other buildings also for the Athenians: a temple of Hera and Zeus Panellenios (*Common to all Greeks*), a sanctuary common to all the gods, . . . (*cont. next entry*)

⁸⁶⁸ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 453.

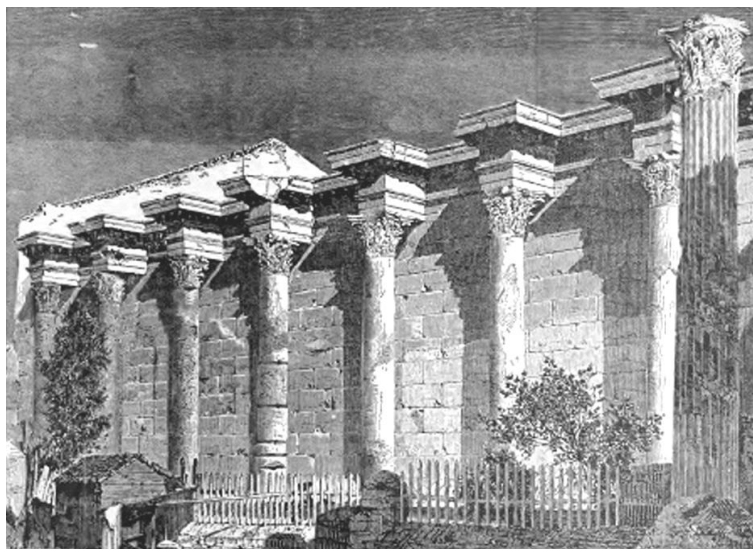
⁸⁶⁹ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones' trans.), I, 91 (with Greek text, p. 90).

Hadrian's Library at Athens
(Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, 499)

LIBRARY OF HADRIAN
after Dörpfeld.



Portico of Hadrian at Athens
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 366)



622 Hadrian's Library

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁸⁷⁰

I.18.9b (*continued from previous entry*) and, most famous of all, a hundred pillars of Phrygian marble. The walls too are constructed of the same material as the cloisters. And there are rooms there adorned with a gilded roof and with alabaster stone, as well as [p. 93] with statues and paintings. In them are kept books.

623 A Library to Crown His Gifts to Athens [attributed to 133 C.E.]

(Cassiodorus, *Chronicle*, 790–791)⁸⁷¹

790 Pompeianus II and Commodus

791 Under these consuls Hadrian, when he had constructed many notable buildings in Athens, held games and erected a library of wondrous construction.

624 Hadrian's Gymnasium

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)⁸⁷²

I.18.9 (end) There is also a gymnasium named after Hadrian; of this too the pillars are a hundred in number from the Libyan quarries.

⁸⁷⁰ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones' trans.), I, 91, 93 (with facing Greek text).

⁸⁷¹ Proce, *Cassiodorus Chronicle*, 30; see pp. 109–161 for complete text. The Latin text can be found in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* (Mommsen ed.), XI. Though Cassiodorus pairs these consuls with Hadrian's acts in Athens, his list of consuls is inaccurate; consuls in 133 C.E. were M. Antonius Hiberius (*ordinarius*) and P. Mummius Sisenna (*ordinarius*), followed by suffect consuls, the most notable being Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes (Sept.–Dec.).

⁸⁷² Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones' trans.), I, 93 (with Greek text, p. 92).

ELEUSIS

625 Excerpt from an Inscription [c. 176–180 C.E.]

(Dedicatory Inscription on a Statue Base to the Priest Memmius, at Eleusis)

[IG II² 3620]⁸⁷³

(Memmius) conducted initiations (into the mysteries) in the presence of the deified Hadrian.

626 A Message from the Interpreter of Sacred Mysteries at Eleusis

(Inscription of the Hierophant)

[I *Eleusis* 454]⁸⁷⁴

Mother of Marcianus, daughter of Demetrius, I shall conceal my name. Separated from the crowd of mortals, since the moment when the children of Cecrops nominated me to be high priestess of Ceres, I have buried my name in the darkness of the profound abyss which encloses the impenetrable mysteries. No, it is not the sons of the Spartan Leda whom I have initiated, nor the inventor of those health-giving remedies which triumph over death, nor that valiant Hercules who has been rescued with so much toil from the twelve labors imposed on him by Eurystheus. I have initiated the sovereign of land and sea, him whose vast empire extends over so many nations; him who has poured a stream of gold over all the cities of the world, and principally over the famous land of Cecrops—I mean the emperor Hadrian.

627 An Altar at Eleusis [132 C.E.]

(Inscription of Dedication on an Altar to Hadrian)

[I *Eleusis* 446]⁸⁷⁵

Savior and founder (σωτῆρι καὶ κτίσῃ) Emperor Hadrian *Olympios*.

[Variant rendering of #369] An Aqueduct at Eleusis [128 C.E. or later]

(Inscription of Dedication on a Block of White Marble)

[I *Eleusis* 449=IG II/III³ 4, 1049; cf. IG II² 3196]⁸⁷⁶

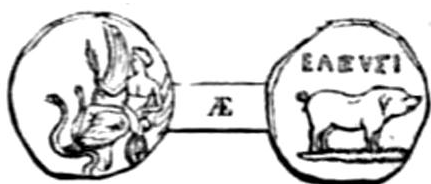
Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, dedicated the fountain to the goddesses and the water was brought to the sacred place (ἱερὸν).

⁸⁷³ The Greek text may be found at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/5904?bookid=5&location=1701>).

⁸⁷⁴ Greek text from Lenormant, *Recherches archéologiques à Éleusis*, 177; also available online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/346916>). English translation by Duruy, *History of Rome V, Part 1*, 102, n. 2. For an alternate translation, see Cortés-Copete, “Hadrian among the Gods,” 126 (with Greek text, 125–26).

⁸⁷⁵ Greek text available online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/346908?hs=67-79>).

⁸⁷⁶ Greek text available online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/346911?hs=58-66>). Construction on the aqueduct seems to have begun around 125 C.E., but was not completed until after Hadrian’s death. I included the entry a second time to offer a slightly different rendering (this one playing on κρήνην ‘spring’ or ‘fountain’ and ὕδωρ ‘water,’ whether from rain, rivers, etc.), and to reinforce the sense the construction occurred over time.



COIN OF ELEUSIS.

c124 Eleusis Coin
 (Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, 814)

Eleusinian Mysteries
 (Taylor, *The Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries*, 8)



EUBOIA

Enboia and Vicinity

(Weddell, “The Glory that Was Greece,” 574)

Eufoia (Eufoea)



Drawn by A. H. Bumstead

628 Honored by Hestiaia (on Island of Euboea, Greece) [131/132 C.E.]

(Inscription on Marble Statue Base at Loutra Aidepsou (Greece))

[IG XII]⁸⁷⁷

For Emperor Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus *Olympios*, savior and founder, voted by the city of Hestiaia, (by) L. Novius Optatus.

⁸⁷⁷ The Greek text is in Gregory, “Roman Inscriptions from Aidepsos,” 260 (with brief remarks); see 260–63; he notes (p. 262) that Optatus is otherwise unknown. Hestiaia (Orei) sat on a terraced hill overlooking the narrows leading to the gulf off the coast at the north end of the island.

Chapter 9

War against the Jews:

The Bar Kokhba War of 132–135 C.E.

JEWISH PERSPECTIVES ON ROME

629 Rome (“Edom”) among the Nations

(Midrash)

[Excerpts from *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 28]⁸⁷⁸

(33Ai) Rabbi Eliezer said: The Holy One, blessed be He, showed to our father Abraham (at the covenant) between the pieces the four kingdoms, their dominion, and their downfall, as it is said, “And he said unto him, Take me an heifer three years old, and a she-goat of three years-old” (*ibid.* 9). “An heifer of three years-old” (*ibid.*) refers to the kingdom of Edom, which is like the heifer of a sheep. . . .

(33Aii) Rabbi Acha ben Jacob said: This expression, “three years old” (Gen. xv. 9), is said only with reference to the mighty in power, as it is said, “And a threefold cord is not quickly broken” (Eccles. iv. 12).

Rabbi Mesharshyah said: (Three years old) refers to a threefold (dominion) which they would exercise three times in the future in the land of Israel. . . .

Rabbi Joshua said: Abraham took his sword and divided them, each one, into two parts. . . .

(33Bi) Rabbi Eleazar ben ‘Azariah said: From this incident you may learn that the rule of these four kingdoms will only last one day according to the Holy One, blessed be He. . . .

“A deep sleep fell upon Abram” (Gen. xv. 12). Does then a man lie down and sleep, and yet be able to pray? But this teaches that Abraham was lying down and sleeping because of the intensity of his prayer that his children might enslave

(33Bii) these four kingdoms, as it is said, “And, lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him” (*ibid.*). “Horror” refers to the kingdom of Edom, as it is written, “And behold a fourth beast, *terrible* and powerful, and strong exceedingly” (Dan. vii. 7). “Darkness” is the kingdom of those who *darken* the eyes of Israel (by preventing the observance of) all the precepts which are in the Torah.

⁸⁷⁸ *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (Friedlander trans.), 198–201. I have modernized the language. Renan, “The Emperor Hadrian and Christianity,” 496–97, regards the Jews before the revolt as divided in opinion on Hadrian, with those south of Jerusalem (in the Judean hills) fixated on Jerusalem and their desire to control it, with other Jews elsewhere initially inclined to see him more favorably for having disposed of Quinctus. On the war itself, see Eshel, “The Bar Kokhba Revolt, 132–135.”

630 On Roman Might, 1

(Babylonian Talmud and Midrash)

[*Makkeoth* 24b=*Sifre on Deuteronomy*, Piska 43]⁸⁷⁹

Rabbon Gamaliel, Rabbi Eliezer ben Azariah, Rabbi Yehoshua, and Rabbi Akiva once went on a journey to Rome, and at Puteoli they already heard the noisy din of the city, though at a distance of a hundred and twenty miles. At the sound all shed tears except Akiva, who began to laugh. “Why do you laugh?” they asked. “Why do you cry?” he retorted. They answered, “These Romans, who worship idols of wood and stone and offer incense to stars and planets, abide in peace and quietness, while our Temple, which was the footstool of our God, is consumed by fire; how can we help weeping?” “That is just the very reason,” said he, “why I rejoice; for if such be the lot of those who transgress His laws, what shall the lot of those be who observe and do them?”

631 On Roman Might, 2

(Midrash)

[*Mekhilta de-Rabbi Shimon Bar Yohai* XXI.V, Beshallah [51]⁸⁸⁰

A. R. Shimon b. Gamaliel says, “Come and see the wealth and magnitude of this kingdom!

B. “In that it did not have [even] one troop division unoccupied. Rather all of them were running day and night!”

632 Vying Positions on Responding to the Roman Presence:

R. Jose b. Kisma v. R. Hanina b. Teradion

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Avodah Zarah* 18a]⁸⁸¹

Rabbi Jose said, “God handed the government to the Romans. They destroyed His house, burned His temple, slaughtered the pious, the best men of our people, and now I hear that you gather disciples and teach them from the book of the Torah you keep hidden in your bosom. Would it not be better for you to consider how all this will end?”

To this Rabbi Chanina replied, “God in heaven will have mercy!”

Rabbi Jose further said, “I speak to you logically and you answer about the mercy of heaven. I should not be surprised if you are captured with the book of the Torah in your possession.”

⁸⁷⁹ Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, 222. I modernized the English (e.g., “Why laughest thou?” to “Why do you laugh?”). For an alternative translation, see *Sifre on Deuteronomy* (Hammer trans.), 91. Rabbi Akiba (or Akiva, ‘Aqiba, Aqiva), was the foremost Sage of his generation. In *Midrash Sifre on Numbers*, §75 (Levertoff trans., 49), R. Tarfon declares, “Blessed are you, Abraham our father, that Akiba came forth from your loins!” (English modernized.)

⁸⁸⁰ *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Shimon Bar Yohai* (Wilson trans.), 93.

⁸⁸¹ Bader, *Encyclopedia of Talmudic Sages*, 286. His rendering is paraphrastic. See Hammer, “A Rabbinic Response” (with a paraphrase, p. 37). *A.Z.* 18a (Rodkinson, trans.), 31: “It was said that a few days later R. Jose died and all the great men of Rome were going after his coffin, lamenting him greatly.”

633 Securing Favor

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Shabbat* 1.4]⁸⁸²

- [IV.G] How then does R. Hiyya the Great interpret [the verse], “You shall purchase food from them for money, that you may eat; and you shall also buy water of them for money, that you may drink” (Deut. 2:6)?
- [H] With food you shall purchase [Esau, that is, Rome, finding favor by providing food to him]. Once you have fed him, break him. If he is hard on you, purchase [his goodwill] with food. And if [that does] not [work], give him ample funds.
- [I] They say that thus did R. Jonathan do: When he saw a gentile of high standing came to town, he would send him [gifts]. If then a case of an orphan or a widow would come up, [in advocating their case] he would then find favor [with the ruler].

634 Subterfuge during an Oppressive Occupation

(Mishnah)

[*Zeraim* 4.11]⁸⁸³

If a man found a vessel and on it was inscribed a *Kof*, this is *Korban*; if a *Mem* it is *Maaser* (Tithe); if a *Daleth* it is a *demai*-produce (produce not certainly tithed); if a *Tet* it is *Tebel* (produce certainly untithed); and if a *Tau* it is *Terumah* (Heave-offering); for in the times of danger they used to write *Tau* for *Terumah*.

635 Religious Allowance under Oppressive Occupation

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Avodah Zarah* 27b]⁸⁸⁴

R. Ishmael used to say: Whence do we know that if one is told to worship idols, under the threat of being killed, that he may worship and not be killed? From the above-cited verse — “he shall live,” etc. But lest one say that this may be done publicly also, therefore it is written [*ibid.* xxii. 32]: “And ye shall not profane my holy name.”

636 Regulations Affected by Occupation

(Mishnah)

[*Avodah Zarah* 5.6]⁸⁸⁵

If a reconnoitering troop of heathens entered a city, in a time of peace, opened casks [of wine] are prohibited, sealed ones are permitted; if it were a time of war, both the former and the latter are permitted since [the invaders] had no time to manipulate the wine for libation.

⁸⁸² *The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, 11: *Shabbat* (Neusner trans.), 62–63.

⁸⁸³ *The Mishnah* (Danby trans.), 80. *Korban*, a sacrificial offering. See Sicker, *Between Rome and Jerusalem*, 182: “it became common practice to find ways of overcoming these restrictions by adopting a variety of stratagems that eventually became elements of standard religious practice.”

⁸⁸⁴ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: A. Z.* (Rodkinson trans.), 48; “he shall live” (Lev. 18:5).

⁸⁸⁵ *Mishnayoth*, IV (Blackman trans.), 478 (with original text, translation, notes and commentary).

637 Roman Spying

(Midrash)

[*Sifre on Deuteronomy*, Piska 344]⁸⁸⁶

The government (of Rome) once sent out two officials, ordering them, “Go and disguise yourselves as Jews, and find out what is the nature of their Torah. They went to Rabban Gamaliel at Usha, where they studied Scripture, Mishnah, Midrash, halakah and aggadah. As the officers were taking their leave, they said to the Sages, “All of the Torah is fine and praiseworthy, except for one thing, and that is your saying ‘That which is stolen from a non-Jew is permitted, while that which is stolen from a Jew is forbidden,’ but we will not report this exception to the government.”

638 The Roman Military Presence, 1:

General Fear

(Tosefta)

[*Besah* 2.6]⁸⁸⁷

A patrol of gentiles came into town and [the townspeople] were afraid that [the soldiers] might harm them and therefore we prepared them a calf and we fed them and gave them drink and rubbed them with oil so that they would not harm the townspeople.

639 The Roman Military Presence, 2:

Accommodation for Movement to Avoid Soldiers

(Mishnah and Jerusalem Talmud)

[Mishnah *Erubin* 3.5 & *Erubin* 3.4d (on Mishnah *Erubin* 3.5)]⁸⁸⁸

Mishnah 3.5 A man may make conditions about his *Erub* and say, ‘If gentiles come from the east let my *Erub* be to the west; if from the west, let my *Erub* be to the east; if from both sides let me go to which side I will; if they come from neither side, let me be as the people of my town’. . . .

Talmud 3.4d He who formulates the passage “In the east” speaks of the case in which the troops come as a garrison [and are welcomed by the population], while he who formulates the passage “In the west” speaks of a case in which the Roman [enemy] troops come.

⁸⁸⁶ *Sifre on Deuteronomy* (Hammer trans.), 356. This incident would date to the period after the Bar Kokhba revolt, but there is no reason not to suspect similar activities earlier. On the military presence, see the diploma of *CIL* XVI, 33, which lists *alae* (Veterana Gaetulorum; I Thracum Mauretana) and *cohortes* (II Cantaborum; I Thracum; II Thracum; I Augusta Lusitanorum). See Mor, *The Second Jewish Revolt*, 32 (esp. fn. 71), and 36 (mentioning other cohorts).

⁸⁸⁷ Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 116 (also in Isaac, “The Roman Army in Judaea,” 458).

⁸⁸⁸ *The Mishnah* (Danby trans.), 124; the 2nd part from *Talmud of the Land of Israel*, 12: *Erubin* (Neusner trans.), 112. The *erub* (or *eruv*) has to do with actions to establish the Sabbath limit in such a manner as to maximize movement within a “place” or “domain.” Thus, this provision provides a way to increase the allowable movement on the Sabbath when one is uncertain in which direction occupying troops might come from. As Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 115, succinctly summarizes, “This would allow people to flee as far as possible without desecrating the Sabbath.”

640 The Roman Military Presence, 3:

A Sabbath Incident

(Tosefta)

[*Shabbat* 13.9]⁸⁸⁹

13.9 B A fire broke out in the courtyard of Joseph b. Simai of Sichin. The soldiers of the detachment in Sepphoris came to put it out, but he did not let them do so. A rain-cloud burst and put it out. Sages said, “It was not necessary [to behave in such a way].” Even so, after the Sabbath he sent each one of them a *sela* and to their commander he sent fifty *denars*.

641 The Roman Military Presence, 4:

A Holiday Incident

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Rosh Hashanah* 4 (59c)]⁸⁹⁰

Once the Jews blew the Shofar in the beginning of the day (as they had been accustomed to do), and the enemy (= the Romans) thought that they were preparing an attack on them and so they fell upon them (the Jews) and killed them.

642 The Greatest of Three Wars of Trouble

(Midrash)

[*Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer* 30 (37b)]⁸⁹¹

Rabbi Ishmael also said: Three wars of trouble will the sons of Ishmael in the future wage on the earth in the latter days, as it is said, “For they fled away from the swords” (Isa. xxi. 15). “Swords” signify only wars, one in the forest of Arabia, as it is said, “From the drawn sword” (*ibid.*); another on the sea, as it is said, “From the bent bow” (*ibid.*); and one in the great city which is in Rome, which will be more grievous than the other two, as it is said, “And from the grievousness of the war” (*ibid.*). From there the Son of David shall flourish and see the destruction of *these and these*, and thence will He come to the land of Israel, as it is said, “Who is this that cometh from Edom, with crimsoned garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, marching in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save” (*ibid.* lxiii. 1).

643 Prediction of Rome’s Fall

(Midrash)

[*Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* 7.11]⁸⁹²

As with Egypt He took each of the chiefest among them and slew them, so, too, with Edom: *A great slaughter in the land of Edom, among them to come down shall be the Remin* (Isa. 34:6-7), that is, as R. Meir expounded it—among those to come down shall be the Romans, [preeminent among all the peoples of Edom].

⁸⁸⁹ *The Tosefta: Moed (Shabbat)* (Neusner trans.), 51. The date cannot be specified.

⁸⁹⁰ Mantel, “The Causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt,” 287.

⁸⁹¹ *Pisikta de-Rab Kahana* (Friedlander trans.), 222.

⁸⁹² *Pisikta de-Rab Kahana* (Braude and Kapstein trans.), 203.

644 Rome “Edom” and Its “Prince” Brought Low (The Vision of Jacob at Bethel)

(Midrash)

[*Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 35]⁸⁹³

The Holy One, blessed by He, showed him the four kingdoms, their rule and their destruction, and He showed him the prince of the kingdom of Babylon ascending [seventy rungs, and descending; and He showed him the prince of the kingdom of] Media ascending fifty-two rungs and descending; [and He showed him the prince of Greece ascending 180 ascents and descending;] and He showed him the prince of the kingdom of Edom ascending, and he was not descending, but was saying, “I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High” (Isa. xiv. 14). Jacob replied to him: “Yet you shall be brought down to Sheol, to the uttermost parts of the pit” (*ibid.* 15). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: Even “though you should make your nest as high as the eagle” (Jer. xlix. 16).

645 Doom of All Israel’s Enemies

(Midrash)

[*Sifre to Deuteronomy* 318]⁸⁹⁴

‘And he ate the produce of my field’: these are four kingdoms; ‘and he made him suck honey out of the rock and oil out of the flinty rock’: these are the oppressors who have taken hold of the land of Israel and it is as hard to receive a farthing from them as from a rock, but tomorrow Israel inherits their property and they will enjoy it as oil and honey. ‘Curds from the herd’: these are their consulars and governors; ‘fat of lambs’: these are their tribunes; ‘and rams’: these are their centurions; ‘herds of Bashan’: these are *beneficiarii* who take away (food) from between the teeth (of those who eat); ‘and goats’: these are their senators; ‘with the finest of the wheat’: these are their *matronae*.

646 Example of Roman Military Presence and Foreign Worship [132–135 C.E.]

(Inscription at Caesarea Maritima during War)

[*AE* 1962.274=*AE* 1984.911=*AE* 2010.1729]⁸⁹⁵

To Jupiter Best and Greatest (*Optimus Maximus*) Turmasgade, by Julius Magnus, centurion of Legio XII Fulminata.

⁸⁹³ *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (Friedlander trans.), 265. I have modernized the language (e.g., “thou mayest” to “you may”; “thou shalt” to “you shall” and “thou shouldest make thy” to “you should make your”). “Edom” is frequently used in Rabbinic literature for “Rome.”

⁸⁹⁴ Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 115 (based on the text of Finkelstein’s ed.). The *beneficiarii* were junior offices (below centurion rank) who were favored (i.e., ‘beneficiaries’) of their commander, receiving extra pay and doing safer administrative work.

⁸⁹⁵ The Latin text can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-13400118). Of related interest, see Takmer and Baz, “The Gravestone of C. Iulius, *optio* of the Legio XII Fulminata.” Also on XII Fulminata, see Mor, *The Second Jewish Revolt*, especially pp. 291, 302–05. *Turmasgade* was a ‘Baal from the mountain’—a local Syrian god conjoined with the Roman Jupiter, thus—‘Jupiter Turmasgade.’

REASONS FOR REVOLUTION⁸⁹⁶

647 Reasons for Revolution, 1a: Multiple Discriminatory Decrees

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Me'ilab* 17a-b]⁸⁹⁷

For the Government had once issued a decree that [Jews] might not keep the Sabbath, circumcise their children, and that they should have intercourse with menstruant women. . . . [The Jews] then conferred as to who should go [to Rome] to work for the annulment of the decrees. Let R. Simeon b. Yohai go for he is experienced in miracles.

648 Reasons for Revolution, 1b: Multiple Discriminatory Decrees⁸⁹⁸

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Baba Bathra* 60b]⁸⁹⁹

There is a Baraitha: R. Ishmael b. Elisha said: From that day when the Temple was destroyed it would be only right we should take upon ourselves not to eat meat and not to drink wine; but such a thing must not be decreed, which the majority of the congregation could not endure. And from the day that the Roman government put upon us evil decrees, prohibiting to us the Torah and its commandments, did not allow us to circumcise and redeem our children, it would be only right we should take upon ourselves not to marry and have children, so that the children of Abraham would be destroyed by themselves; but leave Israel, let them do as they please, as it is better they should sin unintentionally than intentionally (as if this should be ordered, they would certainly not observe it).

649 Reasons for Revolution, 2a: (Supposed) Ban on Circumcision⁹⁰⁰

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Shabbat* 130a]⁹⁰¹

Rabbi Yitzḥak said: There was one city in Eretz Yisrael where they would act in accordance with the opinion of Rabbi Eliezer with regard to circumcision, and they would die at their appointed time and not earlier, as a reward for their affection for this mitzva. And not only that, but on one occasion the

⁸⁹⁶ On the causes, especially see Eshel, "The Bar Kokhba Revolt, 132–135."

⁸⁹⁷ Rosenfeld, "R. Simeon b. Yohai," 362 (which see for more information). Cf. entry #571.

⁸⁹⁸ Harkabi, *The Bar Kokhba Syndrome*, 51 (who places this *after* the revolt).

⁸⁹⁹ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Baba Bathra (Part I)* (Rodkinson trans.), 146. I changed 'Boraitha' to 'Baraitha.' Also see *Beresbit Rabbati* of Moses ha-Darshan for Tinneius Rufus' alleged role in this matter.

⁹⁰⁰ Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule*, 429–30 (citing Juvenal, *Satire* XIV), observes, "In a satire written c. 128 Juvenal speaks of the sons of 'Judaizers' becoming full proselytes by circumcision without any hint that the operation was illegal. But the ban could have been imposed shortly after the satire was written, and indeed, if it was the cause of the revolt, it is not likely to have proceeded it by more than a year or two." *Contra* Smallwood, see Mantel, "The Causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt," 232. The debate continues as to whether Hadrian prohibited circumcision.

⁹⁰¹ *Koren Talmud Bavli: Shabbat, Part Two*, (Noe ed.), 257. Also see *Beresbit Rabbati* of Moses ha-Darshan for Tinneius Rufus' alleged role in this matter.

wicked empire, Rome, issued a decree against the Jewish people prohibiting circumcision; but against that city it did not issue the decree.

**650 Reasons for Revolution, 2b:
Early Christian Testimony of a Ban on Circumcision?**

(Apostolic Fathers)

[*Epistle of Barnabas* 9:4]⁹⁰²

But moreover the circumcision in which they trusted has been abolished.

**651 Reasons for Revolution, 2c:
Was Circumcision a Mere Pretext?**

(Midrash)

[*Koholeth Rabbah* (*Ecclesiastes Rabbah*) 2:17]⁹⁰³

Imikantron wrote to the Emperor saying: If it is the circumcised you hate, there are also the Ishmaelites; if it is the Sabbath observers, there are also the Samaritans. Behold, you only hate this people (Israel). . . .

**652 Reasons for Revolution, 2d:
Subterfuge for Circumcision**

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Sanhedrin* 32b]⁹⁰⁴

[There is a Baraitha: (At the time the government had forbidden circumcisions and weddings, they made use of handmills to announce a circumcision.) Then, if one heard the sound of a handmill in the city of Burni, he understood that there was a ceremony of circumcision in that city; and if one saw many lights in Bene Heil, he understood that there was a wedding banquet in that city].

**653 Reasons for Revolution, 2e:
Ineffectiveness of a Ban on Circumcision, 1**

(Tosefta)

[*Shabbat* 15.9]⁹⁰⁵

A. One who has his prepuce drawn forward has to be circumcised.

B. R. Judah says, "One who has his prepuce drawn forward should not be circumcised, because it is dangerous."

C. They said to him, "Many were circumcised in the time of Ben Koziba, and did not die. . . ."

⁹⁰² *The Apostolic Fathers, I* (Lake trans.), 371 (with Greek text, p. 370). The meaning of this single sentence has been debated; it may mean what the Apostle Paul argued (e.g., Romans 2:28–29). Smallwood, "The Legislation," 336, argues that *if* it can be dated to c. 130 the "obvious" interpretation would support *HA* 14.2

⁹⁰³ Mantel, "The Causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt," 234. See the full account in the Midrash.

⁹⁰⁴ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Sanhedrin* (Rodkinson trans.), 99. I changed "Boraitha" to "Baraitha." The Soncino edition better puts it, "grindstones" rather than "handmills." The notes in the Soncino edition point out that the noise of grinding signalled preparation of ingredients to treat the circumcision wound and the other matters mentioned also helped alert those who understood the signals.

⁹⁰⁵ *The Tosefta: Moed (Shabbat)* (Neusner ed.), 59. "Prepuce" = "foreskin."

**654 Reasons for Revolution, 2e:
Ineffectiveness of a Ban on Circumcision, 2**
(Mishnah)

[*Shabbat* 19.1]⁹⁰⁶

Rabbi Eliezer says: If one has not brought the instrument [for circumcision] on the evening before the Sabbath, one may bring it openly on the Sabbath; but in [times of] danger one may conceal it on account of informers.

655 Reasons for Revolution, 3: Supposed Ban on Ordination
(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Sanhedrin* 14a (beginning)]⁹⁰⁷

It happened once that the government passed an evil decree upon Israel, that he who bestowed a degree should be put to death, and the same should be done with him who received the degree.

**656 Reasons for Revolution, 4: Forbidding the Study of Torah—
A Story of R. Akiba**

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Berakoth* 61b]⁹⁰⁸

Our Rabbis have taught: Once the wicked government decreed Israel should no longer occupy themselves with *Tōrah*. There came Pappos b. Judah and found R. Akiba attracting great assemblies and studying *Tōrah*. He said to him, “Akiba, are you not afraid of the wicked government?” He replied, “I will tell you a parable: To what is the matter like? To a fox who was walking along the bank of the stream and saw some fishes gathering together from one place to another. He said to them, ‘From what are you fleeing?’ They answered, ‘From nets which men are bringing against us.’ He said to them, ‘Let it be your pleasure to come up on the dry land, and let us, me and you, dwell together even as my fathers dwelt with your fathers.’ They replied, ‘Are [*p. 407*] you he of whom they tell that you are the shrewdest of animals? You are not clever but a fool! For if we are afraid in the place which is our life-element, how much more so in a place which is our death-element!’ So also is it with us: Now while we sit and study Torah, in which it is written, ‘For that is your life, and the length of your days’ (Deut. xxx. 20), we are in such a plight, how much more so if we go and neglect it!”

⁹⁰⁶ *Tractate Shabbath* (Oesterly trans.), 65. Cohen, *Mishnah and Tosefta*, 128, remarks, “M. 1 states the two lenient views of R. Eliezer, who allowed the carrying of the knife on the Sabbath, if one forgot to bring it on Friday, and during the Hadrianic persecutions he permitted the knife to be carried wrapped up.”

⁹⁰⁷ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Sanhedrin* (Rodkinson trans.), 30. The Soncino edition better renders this as “ordination” rather than “bestow a degree.”

⁹⁰⁸ *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Berakhot* (Cohen trans.), 406–07. I modernized the English. For an alternate rendering, see Weis, *Great Men in Israel*, 40–41 (which also includes two stories about Bar Kokhba), or Epstein, *A Treasury of Jewish Anecdotes*, 10. Mantel, *Studies*, 185, writes that it was “because of this great suspicion of large gatherings that the Romans proscribed the teaching of the Torah in the days of Bar Kokba.”

657 Addendum to Forbidding the Study of Torah: Prioritizing Study over Religious Observance

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Kiddushin* 40b]⁹⁰⁹

R. Tarfon and the Elders were once reclining in the upper storey of Nithza's house, in Lydda, when this question was raised before them: Is study greater, or practice? R. Tarfon answered, saying: Practice is greater. R. Akiba answered, saying: Study is greater, for it leads to practice. Then they all answered and said: Study is greater, for it leads to action.

658a Reasons for Revolution, 5a:

Hadrian Rescinds Plans to Rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem (Part I)

(Midrash)

[*Beresbit Rabbah* (*Genesis Rabbah*) 64.10]⁹¹⁰

In the days of Rabbi Joshua son of Hananiah, the Roman state ordered the Temple to be rebuilt. Pappus and Julianus set tables from Acco as far as Antioch and provided those who came up from Exile with all their needs.

Thereupon Samaritans went and warned the emperor, "Be it known now unto the king that if this city be builded and the walls finished, they will not pay tribute."

"Yet what can I do," said the Emperor, "seeing that I have already given the order?"

"Send a command to them that they must change its site or add five cubits thereto or lessen it by five cubits, and then they will withdraw from it of their own accord" came the answer.

Now the community of Israel was assembled in the valley of Beit-Rimmon; when the royal dispatches arrived, they burst out weeping and wanted to revolt against the Roman power.

⁹⁰⁹ *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Kiddushin* (Soncino ed.), 202, as cited in Viviano, *Study as Worship*, 105 (with Babylonian Aramaic in Hebrew script), with comments on the text and variants. Finkelstein, *Akiba*, 260, interprets the decision this way: "In other words, it was well to forego the observance of the Law for the moment, in order to preserve the academies which were needed to guide future generations." Even granting historical context for the decision, as a general rule it remains applicable across circumstances for the very reason Akiba set forth. Lydda (or Lod) was an important center of Rabbinic study. See Oppenheimer, "Jewish Lydda in the Roman Era."

⁹¹⁰ Vilnay, *Legends of Galilee, Jordan, and Sinai*, 114 [ch. IX, #12]. Cf. *Midrash Rabbah: Genesis*, II, 579–80 (Freeman trans.). This and the following entry are one unit in the Midrash, but have been separated here both because of the use of two translations and because the two parts are distinctly different in focus. The second part of this entry (658b) is, in Freeman's translation (p. 580) considerably shorter than the expanded version of the translation used here—and it is worth comparing the two renderings. Both the original text and another translation can be viewed online at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Bereishit_Rabbah.64.10?lang=bi&with=About&lang2=en). The italicized portion is Ezra 4:13. Accepting this idea as historical is Finkelstein, *Akiba*, 262–64. The "valley of Beit-Rimmon" is sometimes identified as the Beit Netofa valley of southern Galilee, midway between Efa (Haifa) on the coast and Tiberias beside the Sea of Galilee, but see Mor, *The Second Jewish Revolt*, 156 (and note 47).

658b Reasons for Revolution, 5b:
Hadrian Rescinds Plans to Rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem (Part II)
(Midrash)

[*Bereishit Rabbah* (*Genesis Rabbah*) 64.10]⁹¹¹

When the people wished to rebuild the Temple, and desired again to resist the Romans, even by taking up arms once more against them, Rabbi Joshua ben Chananya threw in his lot on the side of peace, and pointed out how foolish it would be to try to oppose the Romans. It [p. 35] was far better, he said, to be content with what they still possessed; otherwise, they might lose that. To illustrate his views he told them the following fable: —

A lion, while devouring his prey, accidentally caught a bone in his throat. After many endeavours to remove it, he offered a great reward to any one of his numerous subjects who would relieve his mighty Majesty of his pain. Few animals ventured to undertake the operation. At last, however, the crane offered his services. They were joyfully accepted. The feathered physician put his long neck in the lion's throat, took hold of the bone with his long bill, extracted it, to the astonishment of all the bystanders, and then demanded the promised reward. "A reward, indeed!" said the lion contemptuously. "Is it not sufficient reward for you to have permitted your ugly neck to escape my mighty jaws, and ask you now for a still further reward?" The crane thought this argument, if not convincing, very powerful, and went his way.

"The moral of this fable," said Rabbi Joshua to the people, "is simple enough. Remember, dear brethren, you are under foreign rule. Recollect your past sufferings, and consider yourselves lucky that you enjoy the comparative ease and peace you have at present. At all events, do not provoke, by vain and useless resistance, the mighty power of the Emperor" (Hadrian, who, like the lion in the fable, had made promises which were not carried out).

659 Reasons for Revolution, 6a: Jerusalem Becomes Aelia Capitolina
(Philostorgius, *Ecclesiastical History*)⁹¹²

VII. Chap. 11. — The Roman emperor Hadrian, who was called Aelius, named the city of Jerusalem Aelia, after himself, in order entirely to banish and exclude thence the Jewish race, that they might not find in the name of the city a pre-text for claiming it as their country. Hadrian was in reality afraid of their hot and impetuous disposition as a nation, and especially dreaded lest they should meet in that city under the pretext of performing their sacrifices, and cause the Romans trouble.

⁹¹¹ Myers, *Stories of the Rabbis*, 34–35. Original text and a translation are at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Bereishit_Rabbah.64.10?lang=bi&with=About&lang2=en). I modernized the English. For a translation with discussion, see Loewe, "Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah." Loewe, 148, remarks, "That this anecdote has been embellished scarcely needs argument, but it is quite possible that it embodies a germ of historical fact, since a vague undertaking seems to have been expressed by Trajan or Hadrian to rebuild Jerusalem, or even the Temple."

⁹¹² Philostorgius, in Photius, *Epitome of the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius* (Walford trans.), 481.

660 Reasons for Revolution, 6a: Jerusalem Becomes Aelia Capitolina⁹¹³

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)⁹¹⁴

LXIX.12.1 At Jerusalem he founded a city⁹¹⁵ in place of the one which had been razed to the ground, naming it Aelia Capitolina,⁹¹⁶ and on the site of the temple of the god he raised a new temple to Jupiter. This brought on a war of no slight importance nor of brief duration,

LXIX.12.2a for the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites planted there.

[excerpt from #811] Jews Barred from Jerusalem

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*)⁹¹⁷

IV.6.4 Thus when the city came to be bereft of the nation of the Jews, and its ancient inhabitants had completely perished, it was colonized by foreigners, and the Roman city which afterwards arose changed its name, and in honour of the reigning emperor Aelius Hadrian was called Aelia.

661 Hadrian's Anger with Jews; Renaming Jerusalem, 1

(John Malalas, *Chronicle*)⁹¹⁸

XI.17 Hadrian, angered with the Jews, ordered Hellenes to settle in Jerusalem and changed that city's name to Aelia.

[excerpt from #540] Hadrian Renames Jerusalem

(*Paschal Chronicle* (*Chronicon Paschale*))⁹¹⁹

[224th Olympiad] He gave his own name to the (entire) city, calling it Aelius, because Aelius was the family name for Hadrian.

⁹¹³ There has been debate over whether the founding of Aelia Capitolina was in 130 C.E. (before the Bar Kokhba revolt) or about 136 (after the revolt). See Drijvers, "Jerusalem," 367–68, who notes most scholars favor the earlier date. Mor, "Are There Any New Factors?" examines the question of Hadrian's supposed promise to rebuild the Temple (162–63), a supposed ban on circumcision (163–69), and the founding of Aelia Capitolina (169–77) as possible causes of the revolt. Schäfer, *The History of the Jews*, 146, names three possible reasons for the revolt (ban on circumcision, Hadrian's intention to found a new city at the site of Jerusalem, or this retraction of a promise), and remarks, "Of these three reasons, the last-named is quite rightly regarded by most researchers as the least probable, particularly in view of the numerous legendary features of the rabbinic account (the malevolent Samaritan, for instance, is a familiar figure in the Jewish literature)."

⁹¹⁴ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 447. See Eliav, "Hadrian's Actions." On whether Dio's account [in entry #660] and that of Eusebius [see #811 (esp. IV.6.4)] are irreconcilable, see Almagor, "Jerusalem and the Bar Kokhba Revolt Again." Almagor, 143, argues that the two can be matched: "Both in fact mention the establishment of Aelia Capitolina after the destruction of the Temple, as part of the reconstruction of the city."

⁹¹⁵ On the founding of Aelia Capitolina, see Isaac, "Jerusalem: An Introduction," 18–26.

⁹¹⁶ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* II.12 (end) refers to it in this manner.

⁹¹⁷ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (Lake's Loeb ed.), I, 313 (with Greek text, p. 312).

⁹¹⁸ Malalas, *Chronicle*, 148; the Greek text can be found in Malalas, *Chronographia*, 279. Cf. *Suda* entry: Αἰλία, ὄνομα πόλεως. ἡ Ἱερουσαλήμ. (Aelia, name of a city. Jerusalem.)

⁹¹⁹ The Greek text can be found in *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed.), I, 474.

662 Statues in Jerusalem, 1

(*Bordeaux Itinerary (Itinerarium Burdigalense)*)⁹²⁰

591 There are also two statues of Hadrian, and not far from them a stone wall riddled with holes, to which the Jews come once each year and anoint it, and lament with deep groans and a tearing of their clothing, after which they depart.

663 Statues in Jerusalem, 2

(Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah*)⁹²¹

I.2 (On Isaiah 2:8 (2:9 in Hebrew Bible) Where once stood the Temple of God, in that place now is a statue of Hadrian set together with an idol of Jupiter.

664 Statues in Jerusalem, 3

(Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew*)⁹²²

On Matthew 24:15 Now this can be interpreted either literally of the Antichrist, or of the image of Caesar that Pilate placed in the Temple, or of the equestrian statue of Hadrian, which stands to the present day in the very location of the holy of holies.

665 Altar to Venus

(Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*)⁹²³

III.26 [Eusebius comments on Romans covering the burial site of Jesus]: Accordingly they brought a quantity of earth from a distance with much labor, and covered the entire spot; then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound. Then, as though their purpose had been effectually accomplished, they prepare on this foundation a truly dreadful sepulchre of souls, by building a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus, and offering detestable oblations therein on profane and accursed altars.

666 Hadrian Blasphemes: A Jewish Account

(Midrash)

[*Tanchuma-Yelammedenu* 11.4; cf. *Exodus Rabbah* 51.5 (entry #)]⁹²⁴

R. Simeon the son of Yohai said: When Hadrian entered the Temple he reviled and blasphemed against God.

⁹²⁰ The Latin text can be found in *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 22 (Geyer ed.). This day of mourning is called *Tisha b' Av*, the 9th day of the lunar month Av in the Jewish calendar.

⁹²¹ The Latin text can be found in Jerome, *Commentariorum in Isaiam Prophetam*, 49 (Migne ed.); also in Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, 353 n. 117. On the 'statues,' see Clermont-Ganneau, "The Statue of Hadrian Placed in the Temple of Jerusalem," and Gibson and Nagorsky. "On the So-Called Head of Hadrian."

⁹²² Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew*, 272; the The Latin text can be found in Jerome, *Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei* (Migne ed.), 177; also in Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, 353 n. 117. Also see n. 1211, p. 524.

⁹²³ Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* (Richardson trans.), 527. Although he doesn't specify under whom this took place, it would be reasonable to attribute this to Hadrian (as Finkelstein does).

⁹²⁴ *Midrash Tanbuma-Yelammedenu* (Berman trans.), 660.

667 Why Hadrian Waged War against the Jews

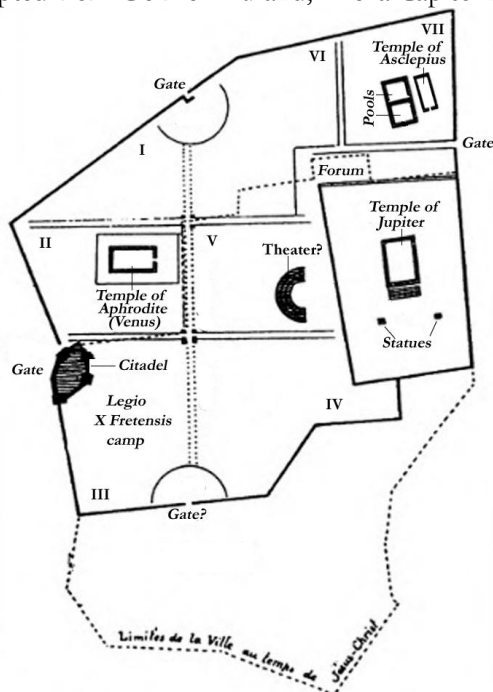
(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Gittin* 57a]⁹²⁵

‘Through the shaft of a litter Bethar was destroyed.’ It was the custom when a boy was born to plant a cedar tree and when a girl was born to plant a pine tree, and when they married, the tree was cut down and a canopy made of the branches. One day the daughter of the Emperor was passing when the shaft of her litter broke, so they lopped some branches off a cedar tree and brought it to her. The Jews thereupon fell upon them and beat them. They reported to the Emperor that the Jews were rebelling, and he marched against them.

Aelia Capitolina (formerly Jerusalem)

(Adapted from Germer-Durand, “Aelia Capitolina”⁹²⁶)



⁹²⁵ *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Gittin* (Soncino ed.), 57a. Hadrian is not known to have had any children. Not included here, but worth noting, is the strategic position of Judea vis-à-vis the Eastern frontier. Sicker, *Between Rome and Jerusalem*, 179–80, draws attention to this factor: “Hadrian had reason to be concerned about the fact that there was an understandably strong pro-Parthian sentiment among the Judaeans. After all, it was the Romans who had destroyed the Jewish state and the Temple in Jerusalem, the center of its religious worship. Were there to be a successful revolt in Judaea, it could effectively split the Roman flank, and provide a wedge that the Parthians might exploit to Rome’s strategic disadvantage.” For a summary, with discussion, of decrees attributed to Hadrian, see Feldman, *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism*, 572–76.

⁹²⁶ The original map, and others of Aelia Capitolina, are collected together in Patrich, “On the Lost Circus of Aelia Capitolina.”

EMPEROR vs. GOD

668 Hadrian vs. God, 1

(Midrash)

[*Tanchuma*, Bereshit §7 (10b-11a)]⁹²⁷

When Hadrian conquered the world and returned to Rome, he said to his courtiers, "As I have conquered the world, I desire you to treat me as God." They answered, "But you have not yet prevailed against His city and temple." So he went and succeeded in destroying the temple and driving Israel out.

669 Hadrian vs. God, 2

(Midrash)

[*Tanchuma*, Bereshit 7]⁹²⁸

Hadrian, King of (Edom) Rome, having made great conquests, requested his court in Rome to proclaim him God. In answer to this *modest* request, one of his ministers said, "If your majesty desires to become God, it will be necessary to quit God's property first, to show your independence of Him. He created heaven and earth; get out of these and you can proclaim yourself God." Another counsellor replied by asking Hadrian to help him out of a sad position in which he was placed. "I have sent a ship to sea," he said, "with all my possessions on board of her, and she is but a short distance, about three miles from shore, but is struggling against the watery elements, which threaten her total destruction." "Do not trouble," replied the king, "I will send some of my ships well manned, and your craft shall be brought to the haven where she would be." "There is no need for all that," said the counsellor satirically; "order but a little favourable wind, and her own crew will manage to bring her safely into port." "And where shall I order the wind from? How have I the power to order the wind?" answered Hadrian angrily. "Has your majesty not even a little wind at your command?" said the king's adviser mockingly, "and yet you wish to be proclaimed God!"

Hadrian then retired to his own rooms angry and disappointed, and when he told his wife of the controversy he had had with his ministers she remarked that his advisers did not strike on the proper thing which would bring his wish to a happy consummation. "It seems to me," she said mockingly, "that the first thing you must do is to give God back what He has given you and be under no obligation to Him." "And what may that be?" inquired the heathen. "The soul, of course," answered his wife. "But," argued the king, "if I give back my soul, I shall not live." "Then," said his wife triumphantly, "that [p. 222] shows that you are but mortal, and cannot be God."

⁹²⁷ Montefiore and Lowe, *A Rabbinic Anthology*, 8 [#13].

⁹²⁸ Rapaport, *Tales and Maxims from the Midrash*, 221–22; also in Horne, *Medieval Hebrew*, 13–14. Cf. *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu* (Berman trans.), 23–24. See *CIL* XIV, 353, XIV, 390–91, XIV, 4642, among many others, for inscriptions referring to Hadrian as *divus*.

670 Hadrian vs. God, 3

(Midrash)

[*Tanchuma*, Shoftim 12]⁹²⁹

“As those nations that you are about to dispossess listen to soothsayers and augurs.” Jeremiah the prophet said (Jeremiah 10:11), “Thus shall you say to them, etc.” Rabbi Eliezer said, “‘Thus shall you say to them’: If the nations of the world say to you to worship idolatry, say to them, ‘If it is able to remove the heavens and the earth, we will serve it. But if not, “Let it perish from the earth” (Jeremiah 10:11).’” Rabbi Yehoshua said, “Say to them, ‘If they are able to make the heavens and the earth, we will serve them, But if not, “Let it perish from the earth”.’” Rabbi Akiva said, “Say to them, ‘If they are able to remove the heavens and the earth, and to make others from a different host, we will serve them, But if not, “Let it perish from the earth”.’”

Hadrian had three philosophers and he would not do a thing until he consulted with them. He said to them, “I seek to make myself into a god.” The three of them said to him, one [like] the words of Rabbi Eliezer, one [like] the words of Rabbi Yehoshua, and one [like] the words of Rabbi Akiva. He went to his home and was distressed.

His wife came to him [and] said, “Why are you distressed?”

He said to her, “Because I sought to make myself into a god and they did not let me.”

She said to them, “They did not say to you what is fitting. [Hence] I will say something else to you. There is a surety with you [from God]. Give Him his surety and [then you can] make yourself into a god.”

He said to her, “And what is His surety?”

She said to him, “The soul.”

He said to her, “If my soul departs, what shall I do?”

She said to him, “You are not able to control the soul that is in you, as so is it written (Ecclesiastes 8:8), ‘A man does not control the spirit to imprison the spirit.’ So how can you make yourself into a god?”

671 Hadrian vs. God, 4

(Midrash)

[*Exodus Rabbah* 51.5; cf. *Tanchuma-Yelammedenu* 11.4 (entry #)]⁹³⁰

R. Simeon b. Yohai said: When Hadrian entered the Holy of Holies, he showed great [*p. 566*] arrogance and blasphemed God.

⁹²⁹ *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Midrash_Tanchuma_%2C_Shoftim.12.1?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en). The translation (accessed May 24, 2021) is made available by CCO 1.0 Universal (CCO 1.0) Public Domain Dedication (<https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/>).

⁹³⁰ *Midrash Rabbah: Exodus* (Lehrman trans.), 565–66.

Q. TINEIUS RUFUS (‘TURNUS RUFUS’ IN RABBINIC TEXTS)

672 The Role of Tineius (or Tineius) Rufus

(Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*)⁹³¹

VIII.7.1b [T]he only war that he had, he committed to the conduct of a governor of a province.

673 Tineius Rufus and R. Eliezer

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Avodah Zarah* 16b]⁹³²

“The rabbis taught: When R. Eleazar was captured by the government, accusing him of being a *min*, he was brought to the *gradus*, and the *begemon* (chief judge) said to him: A sage like yourself should engage himself in such a valueless thing? And he answered: The judge himself may testify that such is not the case. [The *begemon* thought that he means him; he, however, meant the heavenly judge.] And he said: Because you trust in me, I swear by *Dimus* (his idol) that you are free from this accusation.

674 The Prohibition of Circumcision

(Midrash)

[*Beresbit Rabbati*, 17.1]⁹³³

R. Yudan said: When Turnus Rufus banned circumcision, a man circumcised his son and went up to the Bema and was caught. He asked him: Didn’t you hear that I prohibited? He answered: I heard. He asked him: So why did you circumcise your son? He answered: Two set at me the prohibition; the king said that I shall do and his servant ordered not to do. Which one should I fulfill? Turnus Rufus told him: The king allowed circumcising and I said not to circumcise, he will come and deal with you. The baby replied from the bosom of his mother and said: You are exempt. Since Turnus Rufus noticed that he is an infant, he said: He did not say it on his own, but he told it to me, and he dismissed him.

⁹³¹ Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History* (Watson’s trans.), 510. The Latin text can be found in Eutropius, *Breviarium ab Urbe Condita* (Rühl’s ed.), 56. On Rufus’ earlier career, see entry in material on Thrace in Second Journey.

⁹³² *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Avodah Zarah* (Soncino ed.), 16b. For an alternate translation, see *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Avodah Zarah* (Rodkinson trans.), 27. I changed the punctuation of the judge’s initial comment to a question (as in the Soncino ed.); the ‘judge’ in such a case would be the governor, i.e., Tineius Rufus. A *min* is, depending on context, a Jewish heretic or schismatic, or on occasion a Gentile of some dubious association. The *gradus* was the place of judgment. The story continues in 17b. R. Eliezer, upset by what had happened, was engaged by R. Akiba, under whose prompting he recalled an encounter with a Christian named Jacob of Kefar-Sekaniah.

⁹³³ Mor, “Are There Any New Factors Concerning the Bar Kokhba Revolt?” 165 (with original text).

675 Tineius Rufus and R. Akiba,⁹³⁴ 1: On Assisting the Poor

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Baba Bathra* 10a]⁹³⁵

If a common questioner discusses, “If your God likes the poor, why does He not feed them?” one may answer, “For the purpose of saving us from the punishment of Gehenna.” This Turnus Rufus questioned of R. Akiba, and the above was his answer. To which Turnus Rufus rejoined: It is, on the contrary, for this you should be punished with Gehenna; and I will give you a parable from which you will understand why: A king became angry at his slave and put him in prison, with the command that nobody should feed him; in spite of this, a person fed him and gave him drink. Would the king not be angry at and punish such a man? And you Israelites are called servants, as it is written [Lev. xxv. 55]: “For unto me are the children of Israel servants. . .” R. Akiba answered: I will give you another parable, to which my previous answer is to be compared: A king became angry with his son, put him in prison, and commanded that nobody should give him food or drink; in spite of which command, one fed him and gave him drink. When the king became aware of it, would he not be grateful to this person and send him a present? And we Israelites are called children, as it is written [Deut. xiv. 1]: “You are the children of the Lord,” etc. Turnus Rufus, however, said: You are named children, and also servants — children, when you are doing the Omnipotent’s will, and servants when you act against His will. And you will admit that now you are acting against His will (as your Temple is destroyed and you are in exile, which would not be the case, if you did His will). Hence he who favors you acts against the will of God. To which R. Akiba answered: With [*p. 27*] regard to this, it is written [Is. lviii. 10]: “And if you pour out to the hungry your soul, and satisfy the afflicted soul,” etc. The “afflicted soul” refers to us in our present circumstances, and nevertheless the beginning of this verse favors such charity.

⁹³⁴ Finkelstein, *Akiba*, characterizes the relationship between Rufus and Akiba as a friendship, with Rufus early on proving himself “friendly and generous to the people” (p. 243), adding, “He apparently came under the spell of Akiba and opened the doors of governate wide for him.” On the conversations between the two, see Finkelstein, 244–46. As for Akiba’s side of this relationship, Finkelstein, 246, remarks, “Rufus’s friendship may have flattered Akiba, but it could not make him happy. The more he saw of the governor, the more he must have realized the futility of the hope for any real amelioration of the conditions of the Jews.”

⁹³⁵ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Baba Bathra (Part I)* (Rodkinson trans.), 26–27. I have modernized the language (e.g., “ye” to “you”) and changed Rodkinson’s “Turnusrupus” into “Turnus Rufus” and “Aqiba” in “Akiba.” For a different rendering, with discussion, see Twersky, “Some Aspects of the Jewish Attitude toward the Welfare State,” 139–40. In explaining the philosophy of philanthropy (*chesed*) with respect to this anecdote, he writes (p. 140), “The first premise to emerge from this dialogue is that *chesed* is that distinctive function which legitimizes our worldly existence and adds a new dimension of purposiveness to life.” He points out (p. 141) that Akiba presents charity to the poor with a loan to God, presenting God as the ultimate beneficiary of such gifts. For another alternative translation, see Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, 152–53. Cf. Myers, *Stories of the Rabbis*, 47.

676 Tineius Rufus and R. Akiba, 2: On Circumcision

(Midrash)

[*Tanhuma*, Tazria 5]⁹³⁶

Turnus Rufus asked: “Which is more beautiful, God’s work or man’s?”

“Undoubtedly, man’s work is the better,” was Akiba’s reply; “for whilst nature, at God’s command, supplies us only with the raw material, human skill enables us to elaborate the same according to the requirements of art and good taste.”

Rufus had expected a different answer, and he tried to drive Akiba into a corner by another question: “Why has God not made man just as He wanted him to be? Why has He commanded you to go through the operation of circumcision, for instance?”

“For the very reason,” was the reply, “that the duty of man is to perfect himself.”

677 Tineius Rufus and R. Akiba, 3: The Wife, 1

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Avodah Zarah* 20a; cf. *Nedarim* 50b]⁹³⁷

R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, being once on the steps of the Temple mountain, happened to see a female heathen who was a great beauty, and he exclaimed: “How great is your work O Lord!” And it happened also to R. Akiba that, when he saw the wife of Turnus Rufus, he laughed and wept. Laughed, because he saw that she would become a proselyte, and he would marry her; wept, that such a beauty must be buried under earth.

⁹³⁶ Myers, *Stories of the Rabbis*, 46 (a condensed version); I reformatted the text. For another translation (with discussion), see Danzig, “What Has Rome to Do with Jerusalem,” 363. A more expansive English translation (and the original text) can be found at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Midrash_Tanhuma%2C_Tazria.5.1?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en), using the text of *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu* (Berman trans.). It adds after Akiba’s initial reply: “Tyrannus Rufus the wicked said to him, ‘Look at the heavens and the earth. Are you able to make anything like them?’ R. Aqiva said to him, ‘Do not talk to me about something which is high above mortals, things over which they have no control, but about things which are usual among people.’” Similarly, after Rufus asks about the commandment to circumcise, Akiba’s reply is expanded as follows: “He said to him, ‘I also knew that you were going to say this to me. I therefore anticipated [your question] when I said to you, “A work of flesh and blood is more beautiful than one of the Holy One, blessed be He.” Bring me wheat spikes and white bread.’ He said to him, “The former is the work of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the latter is the work of flesh and blood. Is not the latter more beautiful?”’ After this response, Rufus then asks why, if circumcision is so beautiful, a child is not born already circumcised? Akiba’s answer is, in a gist, the final statement in Myers. Akiba’s argument first points out that if one wished to pick at God’s creation one could also ask why the umbilical cord is necessary, which also comes with the child. But, citing Scripture (II Sam. 22:31 = Ps. 18:31), the important reason, says Akiba, is that the commandment to circumcise, like all of God’s commandments, is given to purify his people. Also see “Turnus Rufus” at *Sefaria* (<https://www.sefaria.org/topics/turnus-rufus?tab=sources>).

⁹³⁷ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Avodah Zarah* (Rodkinson trans.), 37. I modernized the English, changed “Aqiba” to “Akiba,” and changed the end punctuation from a question mark. *Ned.* 50b names ‘the wife of Turnus Rufus’ as one of the six things that made Akiba rich.

678 Tineius Rufus and R. Akiba, 4: The Wife, 2

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Nedarim* 50a-b]⁹³⁸

From six incidents did R. Akiba become rich: . . . VI. The wife of Turnusrufus.

679 Tineius Rufus and R. Akiba, 5: On God's 'Hating' Esau

(Midrash)

[*Tanbuma*, Terumah 3]⁹³⁹

"Why," asked Turnus Rufus of Rabbi Akiba on a subsequent occasion, "have we incurred the hatred of your God so that He says: 'I hate Esau?'" (the Romans were said to be the descendants of Esau).

Akiba said he would reply to the question on the following day.

On his making his appearance next morning, Rufus, thinking that Rabbi Akiba had postponed the answer the day before in order meanwhile to invent some lame explanation, said to him: "Well, Akiba, what have you dreamt during the night?"

Rabbi Akiba, taking the very question as the text for his reply, said: "I dreamt I possessed two dogs which I named Rufus and Rufina" (the General and his wife).

Rufus, in a great fury, asked Rabbi Akiba how he dared offer him and his wife so great an insult as to call his dogs by their names.

"Don't be so angry," returned Akiba calmly. "You and yours are God's creatures. So are dogs God's creatures. You eat and drink, have children, live, decay, and die. All this is also the case with dogs. Yet how angry you get because they bear the same name as you! Consider, then, that God stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth. He is the Creator, Ruler of all things, whether they be living, or without life. Yet you make an idol of wood and stone, worship it, and call it by the name of 'God.' Should you not then incur His hatred?"

680 Romans Identified with Esau

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Gittin* 47b]⁹⁴⁰

At first they (*sc. The Romans*) decreed destruction (*shemad*) on Judea, for they had it in a tradition from their forbears that the Patriarch Judah had slain Esau (*their ancestor*) as Scripture says, "Thy hand shall be on the neck of thy foes" (Gen. 49:8) so they proceeded to enslave them and to seize their fields etc. . . .

⁹³⁸ *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Nedarim* (Soncino ed.), 50a-b.

⁹³⁹ Myers, *Stories of the Rabbis*, 46. I have reformatted the text. Another translation, with remarks, can be found in Marmostein, "The Unity of God in Rabbinic Literature," 475, and also (with the original text) at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Midrash_Tanchuma%2C_Terumah.3.1?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en), using *Midrash Tanbuma-Yelammedenu* (Berman trans.).

⁹⁴⁰ Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age*, II, 597.

681 Tineius Rufus and R. Akiba, 6: On the Sabbath

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Sanhedrin* 65b; cf. *Bereshit Rabbah* (*Genesis Rabbah*) 11.5]⁹⁴¹

R. Akiba was questioned by Turnus Rufus: Why is this day (of Sabbath) distinguished from all other days? To which Akiba answered: Why is this man (Turnus Rufus) distinguished from all other men? And he answered: Because it is the will of my master (the king). Rejoined R. Akiba: Sabbath is also distinguished because it is the will of the Lord of the Universe. Said Turnus Rufus: You misunderstand me. My question is: Whence do you know that this day is Sabbath? And he answered: From the river of Sabbath (which rests on this day); and it may also be proved from the fact that he who occupies himself with bringing up the dead cannot do his work on Sabbath; and also the grave of your father may prove that the smoke which comes out of it on all week days does not come out of it on all week days does not come out on Sabbath. Exclaimed Turnus Rufus: You have disgraced, ashamed, and insulted me.

682 R. Akiba in Prison, 1

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Pesachim* 112a]⁹⁴²

Five things R. Akiba while in prison commanded to R. Simeon ben Yochai: When R. Simeon ben Yochai said to him: “Master, teach me the Law,” and R. Akiba replied, “I do not wish to do this,” the former said: “If you will not, I shall complain to my father Yochai, and he will denounce you to the government.” R. Akiba then remarked: “My son, more than the calf desires to suck is the cow anxious to yield her milk,” and R. Simeon replied: “In this case, however, the calf is in greater danger” (because R. Akiba had been in prison already for this offence, while R. Simeon ben Yochai (the calf) stood yet in danger of being detected).

⁹⁴¹ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Sanhedrin* (Rodkinson trans.), 190. I have changed Rodkinson’s “Turnusrupus” (one word—טורנוסרופוס—in the original text) into “Turnus Rufus” and “Aqiba” into “Akiba.” Another translation, with some comment, can be found in Johnston, “Patriarchs, Rabbis, and Sabbath,” 100. The *Sabbation* is a legendary river discussed by the elder Pliny (*Natural History* XXI.2). The account in *Midrash Bereshit Rabbah* is somewhat more elaborated. It adds, for example: “He went and made a test with his own father: every day he came up, but on the Sabbath he did not come up. After the Sabbath he brought him up [again]. ‘Father,’ said he, ‘have you become a Jew after death! Why did you ascend during the whole week but not on the Sabbath?’ ‘He who does not keep the Sabbath among you of his own free will must keep it here in spite of himself.’ ‘But what toil have you there?’ he demanded. ‘The whole week we undergo judgment, but on the Sabbath we rest.’” (*Midrash Rabbah: Genesis* (Freedman trans.), I, 84). Other English translations can be found in Myers, *Stories of the Rabbis*, 47, or Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, 154.

⁹⁴² *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Pesachim* (Rodkinson trans.), 230. I modernized the English (“thou” and “thee” to “you,” “wilt” to “will,” “desireth” to “desires”), and changed “Aqiba” to “Akiba.” As the Soncino edition notes, Simeon b. Yohai was pleading to be allowed to take the risk.

683 R. Akiba in Prison, 2

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Yebamoth* 12.5]⁹⁴³

[I:1 A] The case [M. 12:5F] took place [when R. Aqiba was] in prison.

[B] R. Yohannan Hassandlar presented to be a pedlar. One day he chanced to come by the prison in which R. Aqiba was kept, and he shouted out saying, “Who needs needles, who needs pins?” If a girl performed the rite of *halisah* just with the levir alone [without judges present], what is the law?”

[C] R. Aqiba looked out of the window and said to him, “Do you have spindles? Do you have it is valid!”

684 R. Akiba in Prison, 3

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Erubin* 21b]⁹⁴⁴

The Rabbis taught: It happened that when R. Akiba was in prison R. Jehoshua of Garsi served him every day. Water was given R. Akiba in a measure. One day the warden of the prison said to R. Jehoshua: “Today your measure of water is too large. Perhaps it is your intention to undermine the prison.” So he poured out half the water and returned the remainder. When R. Jehoshua came to R. Aqiba the latter said to him: “Do you not know, that I am an old man and that my life is dependent upon you?” R. Jehoshua then related what had happened. Said R. Akiba: “Give me the water and I will wash my hands prior to eating,” and he answered: “There is hardly enough water to drink, and you would use it to wash your hands?” Rejoined R. Akiba: “What can I do? I must follow the rabbinical commandment, which if violated would involve capital punishment. It were better for me that I die of hunger, than to act contrary to the opinion of my colleagues.” And it was said that R. Akiba would not taste anything until water was brought to him to wash his hands. When the sages heard of this, they said: If he was so careful in his old age how was he in his youth, and if he was so particular in prison how was he when at liberty!

⁹⁴³ *Talmud of the Land of Israel, 21: Yebamot* (Neusner trans.), 387. The original text and an alternate translation (labeled Jerusalem Talmud Yevamot 12:5:2) can be found at *Sefaria* (<https://www.sefaria.org/topics/rabbi-yohanan-hasandlar?tab=sources>). “Hassandlar”—or “HaSandlar”—“the shoemaker”; a great grandson of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, his disguise as a peddler might have been an easy one if he was (or had been) a shoemaker. *Halisab* (or *Halitzab*) is a ritual process relieving one of obligation from Levirate marriage (the duty of a brother of a deceased man to marry his widow). The rite was supposed to be performed before a board of three judges; the question here is whether if the woman and the man (levir) conduct the rite apart from such judges, is it valid? Akiba rules that it is valid.

⁹⁴⁴ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Erubin* (Rodkinson trans.), 51. I modernized the English (“thy” to “your,” “thou” and “thee” to “you,” “Dost” to “Do,” “wouldst” to “would”), and changed “Aqiba” to “Akiba,” and “Jochai” to “Yocha.” For an alternate translation, see Epstein, *A Treasury of Jewish Anecdotes*, 11.

685 “These I Will Remember”: The Pretext for Judgment⁹⁴⁵

(Midrash)

[*Elei Ezkerah* (beginning)]⁹⁴⁶

Similarly, after the destruction of the Beis HaMikdash there were some corrupt people who said, “What have we really lost with the destruction of the Beis HaMikdash? We still have wise scholars to guide the world with God’s Torah and His mitzvos”. Immediately God put an idea of learning Torah into the heart of Caesar in Rome. He wanted to learn the Torah of Moshe from the Sages and wise people. They began teaching him from Bereishis and he learned through until Parshas Mishpatim. When he reached the verse “Someone who kidnaps a man and sells him...” he immediately instructed that his palace should be filled with shoes. He summoned ten Sages of Israel. When they came before him he seated them on golden chairs and said to them, “I have a very deep and difficult question to ask you. I want you to only answer me truthfully and strictly according to the correct interpretation of the law”. They agreed. He said to them, “What is the law for someone who kidnaps his Jewish brother and cruelly sells him?” The Sages answered “He should be put to death”. Caesar then said to them, “In that case you are all deserving of death”.

686 The Use of Torture

(Midrash)

[*Shir HaSharim* (*Song of Songs*) 2.8=*Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* 11.14]⁹⁴⁷

R. Chiya bar Abba declared: “If a person were to order me to give up my life for the Holiness of His Name I would be ready to do so provided they would kill me immediately. However [the tortures administered] in the generation of *shemad* [lit., “annihilation,” or forcible conversion] I could not endure. And what did they do in the generation of *shemad*? They would bring iron balls, heat them white hot in the fire, and put them under [the victim’s] armpits and [thus] take their lives. [Also] they would bring reed slivers, stick them under their fingernails and [thus] take their lives.”

⁹⁴⁵ Though I have elected to place materials related to imprisonment, torture, and martyrdom here, it is simply for convenience; the sources distinguish between repressive measures leading to the revolt and punishments exacted *after* the revolt. Thus various entries set here could as easily be placed in the section below titled “Aftermath.”

⁹⁴⁶ *Eileh Ezkera*, 20 (Sedley trans.); original language text also provided there. The biblical text is Exodus 21:16. Rufus is often placed in the position occupied in this telling by Hadrian. Ten Martyrs are named in the *Eileh Ezkerah* (“These I will remember” (Ps. 42:5)) based on *Asarah Harugei Malkhut*, and read during the Yom Kippur liturgy by Ashkenazi Jews and on Tisha B’Av by Sephardic Jews. Not all of these martyred perished in the Bar Kochba revolt. “Shoes” provides an allusion to the tradition that the brothers of Joseph, after selling him into slavery, used the proceeds to buy shoes (cf. Amos 2:6, *Targum Jonathan* on Genesis 37:38, and *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer* 38. On this source see Levine, “Eleh Ezkerah,” and Stern, “Midrash Eleh Ezkerah.”

⁹⁴⁷ Holder, *History of the Jewish People*, 69. For alternate translations, see *Midrash Rabbah: Song of Songs* (Simon trans.), 113, or *Song of Songs Rabbah* (Neusner trans.), I, 173. This and the following entry are essentially the same. For *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* 11.14, see *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* (Braude and Kapstein trans.), 287.

THE MARTYRS⁹⁴⁸

687 The Martyrs under Tineius Rufus, 1

(Midrash)

[*Eichah Rabbah (Lamentations Rabbah)* 3.58–60]⁹⁴⁹

A Jew passed by Hadrian and greeted him. Hadrian inquired who he was and learned he was a Jew. Exclaimed the Emperor, “A Jew may thus pass me and greet me?!? Cut off his head!”

Another Jew, observing what happened to the first, did not greet Hadrian as he passed by. The Emperor asked, “Who are you?”

“A Jew.”

The Emperor cried out again, “Can a Jew pass by and not greet me?!? Cut off his head!”

His advisers were perplexed. They asked which way it was to be.

He retorted, “Will *you* advise *me* on how to get rid of my enemies?”

688 The Martyrs under Tineius Rufus, 2

(Midrash)

[*Eichah (Lamentations) Rabbah* 5.4]⁹⁵⁰

TO OUR VERY NECKS WE ARE PURSUED (V, 5). Hadrian the accursed issued an order: ‘If I come and find a hair upon [the head of] a Jew, I will cut off his head.

689 The Martyrs under Tineius Rufus, 3

(Midrash)

[*Aggadat Shir HaShirim*, 15, line 350]⁹⁵¹

Joshua b. Jonathan used to say of those executed by the wicked Turnus Rufus, They have loved Thee much more than the former saints, ‘sincerely have they loved Thee.’

690 The General Picture

(Midrash)

[*Mekilta de R. Ishmael*, Bahodesh 6 (on Ex. 20:6)]⁹⁵²

OF THOSE WHO LOVE ME AND KEEP MY COMMANDMENTS (Ex. 20:6). THOSE WHO LOVE ME refers to our father Abraham and those like him. AND KEEP MY COMMANDMENTS this refers to all [p. 155] who dwell in the land of Israel and give their lives for the sake of mitzvot.

⁹⁴⁸ Although I have included the accounts of these famous martyrdoms, I am not alleging that all of them occurred during the time period being considered. I let others make their own judgments.

⁹⁴⁹ Another translation can be found in *Midrash Rabbah: Lamentations* (Cohen trans.), 211. Also see *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Eichah_Rabbah.3?Lang=bi). Cf. Hurwitz, *Hebrew Tales*, 82.

⁹⁵⁰ *Midrash Rabbah: Lamentations* (Cohen trans.), 238.

⁹⁵¹ Urbach, “The Homiletical Interpretations of the Sages,” 251.

⁹⁵² *The Classic Midrash*, 154–55 [#39] (Hammer trans.); cf. *Mekilta de R. Ishmael*, II, 324–25.

“Why are you being taken out to be executed?” “Because I circumcised my son.”

“Why are you being taken out to be burned?” “Because I read the Torah.”

“Why are you being taken out to be crucified?” “Because I ate the *matzah*.”

“Why are you being punished with a hundred lashes?” “Because I waved the *lulab*.”

It is said FROM BEING BEATEN IN THE HOMES OF FRIENDS (Zech. 13:6). These wounds cause me to be beloved to my Father Who is in heaven.

691 The Condemnation and Subsequent Salvation of R. Gamaliel

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Ta'anit* 29a]⁹⁵³

We have learned in a Baraitha: When Turnus Rufus the Wicked destroyed the Temple, a decree was promulgated that Rabbon Gamaliel (the First) should be executed. A certain officer came into the house of learning, and said that the man of the nose was being looked for (*i.e.*, the most prominent member of the community). R. Gamaliel understood that he was meant thereby, and hid himself. The same officer surreptitiously came to the place where R. Gamaliel was concealed and asked him if, should he (the officer) be instrumental in saving his (R. Gamaliel's) life, he would assure him a share in the world to come, and R. Gamaliel answered that he would. The officer then demanded that he swear to it, and R. Gamaliel swore. Thereupon the officer ascended to an attic, threw himself down, and died. The tradition goes on to say that if one of the signers of a death-warrant or any other unfavorable decree died, the decree became null and void. Thus was Rabbon Gamaliel saved. A heavenly Voice then came forth, and declared that the officer would have a share in the world to come.

692 The Martyrdom of R. Simeon and R. Ishmael, 1

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Semahot* 8.8]⁹⁵⁴

When Rabban Simeon and Rabbi Ishmael were seized, and it was decreed upon them that they would be killed. Rabbi Ishmael cried. Rabban Simeon said to him: Son of a noble, in two steps you will be given into the righteous, and yet

⁹⁵³ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Ta'anit* (Rodkinson trans.), 87. I have changed Rodkinson's "Boraitha" to "Baraitha," "Master" to "officer," "Turnusrupus" to "Turnus Rufus" and "Aqiba" into "Akiba." "The Nose-man": a footnote in the Soncino offers the explanation that Romans mistook Gamaliel's title of *Nasi* ("Prince") as the Latin *nassus* ("nose"). Rodkinson's "Master" is rendered better by the Soncino edition as "high officer," but I prefer the simpler "officer."

⁹⁵⁴ Schofer, *Confronting Vulnerability*, 88. Schofer's framing elements have been left aside. See Schofer for translations and commentary on all parallels.

you cry? He said: Am I crying because we are to be killed? I am crying because we are being killed like those who murder and desecrate the Sabbath.

693 The Martyrdom of R. Simeon and R. Ishmael, 2

(Midrash)

[*Mekilta de R. Ishmael*, Nezikin 18 (on Ex. 22:2);

cf. *Semahot* 8.8, *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan A* 38 and *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah* 30(28)]⁹⁵⁵

IF YOU DO MISTREAT THEM, I WILL HEED THEIR OUTCRY (Ex. 22:22). It matters not if the mistreatment be great or small. . . . When R. Simeon and R. Ishmael were being led forth to be executed,⁹⁵⁶ R. Simeon said to R. Ishmael, “My master, my heart is disturbed that I do not know what offense I have committed which would cause me to be executed.”

R. Ishmael said to him, “Has it never happened that a person came to you with a case or with a question and you kept him waiting until you finished your drink, or until you put on your sandal or wrapped yourself in your [p. 170] cloak? For the Torah says IF YOU DO MISTREAT THEM . . . (Ex. 22:22)—it matters not if the mistreatment be great or small.”

Upon hearing that, [R. Simeon] said, “You have comforted me, my Master.”

694 Interpretation of the Martyrdom of R. Simeon and R. Ishmael

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Semahot* 8.8]⁹⁵⁷

8.8e After they were executed, and R. Aqiba and R. Jehudah b. Ethyra were informed, they put sackcloth on their loins, rent their garments, and said: Brother Israelites! If a good thing was to come for the whole world, these two sages would certainly have been the first to receive it; and now, as they were the first to be executed, it must be only for their benefit: they shall not see the great calamities which will follow after that.

⁹⁵⁵ *The Classic Midrash* (Hammer trans.), 169–70 [44]; cf. *Mekilta de R. Ishmael*, II, 451–57 (Lauterbach ed.).

⁹⁵⁶ “R. Simeon”=R. Shimon b. Gamaliel; “R. Ismael”=R. Ishmael b. Elisha. These two commonly have been reckoned as the first two of the Ten Martyrs. N.B.: I have not followed precisely the order of *Elei Egkerah* in presenting the accounts.

⁹⁵⁷ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Ebel Rabbathi* (Rodkinson trans.), or *Semahoth*, 32. Cf. the paraphrase of Bader, *Encyclopedia of Talmudic Sages*, 282: When the news of their death was revealed to Rabbi Akiba and to Rabbi Jehudah ben Baba they said, “All Jews must realize that if good times were in the offing, these two, Rabbi Simeon and Rabbi Ishmael, would be among the first to benefit from them. But the Creator knows that terrible punishment is about to be visited upon the world and He therefore removed them from the earth.”

695 Sequel to the Martyrdom of R. Ishmael

(Midrash)

[*Elei Ezkerah*; cf. *Avodah Zarah* 11b]⁹⁵⁸

The countenance of R. Ishmael is still kept in wicked Rome. And every seventy years, they (the Romans) take a healthy man and have him ride on [the back of] a cripple; they summon a man who proclaims before him: “Let him who sees, see; and anyone who does not see it, will never see.” They place the head of R. Ishmael in the hand of the healthy man. They call the healthy man Esau and the cripple Jacob because of his limp. And they proclaim: “Woe to him when this one rises up for the sin of the other. Woe to Esau, when Jacob rises up for the sin of R. Ishmael’s head,” as it is written: *I will wreak my vengeance on Edom through My people Israel* (Ezek 25:14).

696 The Martyrdom of R. Hanina b. Teradion, 1

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Avodah Zarah* 17b]⁹⁵⁹

When R. Elazar b. Partha and R. Hanina b. Teradion were captured by the government, said the former to the latter: “Happy are you, that you were captured because of one thing only, and woe is to me that I am captured for five things.” Said he: “Happy are you who are accused of five things and will be saved, woe is to me who am accused only of one thing shall be sentenced. The reason is, that you were occupied with both the Torah and with bestowing of favors, while I was occupied with the Torah only.”

697 The Martyrdom of R. Hanina b. Teradion, 2

(Midrash)

[*Elei Ezkerah*]⁹⁶⁰

Next came R. Hananiah ben Teradyon. It was said of him that he never derived any advantage from his fellow-creature, and that it never entered his mind to wish his neighbour any harm. When the Roman Emperor gave orders that he should not [*p. 132*] study the Torah, what did R Hananiah ben Teradion do? He rose in the public thoroughfares and collected groups, and then sitting down in the streets of Rome, he would engage in the study, and teaching, and expounding of the Holy Law. So the Roman Emperor ordered him to be wrapped in these very Scrolls of the Law, and a light to be applied to them, and having had woolen rags fetched and soaked in water, he had them applied to his heart, so that he should not depart rapidly. All the while

⁹⁵⁸ The translation is of recension VII by Ra’anan S. Boustán at *Jewish Understandings of the Other: An Annotated Sourcebook* [Boston College Center for Christian-Jewish Learning] (https://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/research_sites/cjl/texts/cjrelations/resources/sourcebook/relics_ishmael.htm).

⁹⁵⁹ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Avodah Zarah* (Rodkinson trans.), 29.

⁹⁶⁰ “The Ten Jewish Martyrs” (Gollancz trans.), 131–33. I changed his spelling “Teradyon” to “Teradion”; I also modernized the English. “Bath-Kol”=“Bat Kol” (or “Bat Qol”), the voice from heaven.

the Rabbi's daughter was standing by, and exclaiming: "Alas, poor father, that I should see you in this plight!" And his disciples were present, and they said unto him: "O teacher, what do you see?" He replied: "I see a burning parchment, and the letters flying heavenward." He then began to weep; upon which his disciples enquired why he wept, and he answered thus: "Had it been that I alone was consigned to the flames it would not have been so hard for me; but now I am being burnt and the Scroll of the Law with me." The executioner then addressed him, and said: "My master, if I remove from your heart the woolen rags, so that your life-[p. 133]breath depart more quickly, will you conduct me to the life in the world to come?" He replied, "Yes." "Swear it to me," the executioner said, and he swore to him. Forthwith, as soon as he had taken the oath, the executioner stirred the flame and took away the sponges, and his soul left the Rabbi. Upon this the warder threw himself into the fire and he was burnt. Thereupon a Bath-Kol went forth and proclaimed: "R. Hananiah ben Teradion and his warder are destined for life in the world to come!"

698 The Martyrdom of R. Hanina b. Teradion, 3

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Semahot* 8.8; cf. *Avodah Zarah* 17b; also see entry #631]⁹⁶¹

8.8g When R. Hanina b. Teradion was seized by the government they sentenced him to the stake, his wife to the sword, and his daughter to a house of prostitution. He inquired: To what have they sentenced the poor thing (his wife)? And he was answered: To the sword! Whereupon he exclaimed the following passage: "Righteous is the Lord in all his ways" [Ps. cxlv. 17]. When she asked to what the rabbi was sentenced, she was answered: To the stake. Whereupon she exclaimed the passage: "Great in counsel, and mighty in execution," etc. [Jer. xxxii. 19]. When he was to be burned they wrapped him in the Holy Scrolls, and his daughter cried and threw herself on the ground. He said to her: My daughter! If you weep and throw yourself on the ground over me, is [p. 33] it not better I should be consumed by a fire which was kindled in this world than by a fire which is not kindled (Gehenna)? As it is written [Job, xx. 26]: "A fire not urged by blowing." And for the Holy Scrolls! Know you not that the Torah is fire itself, and no fire can consume another? The parchment only is burned, but the letters fly away. You must also know that the great servants of the king are mostly beaten through the lesser, as it is written [Hosea, vi. 5]: "Therefore did I hew (them) down by means of the prophets, I slew them by the work of my mouth."

⁹⁶¹ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Ebel Rabbathi* (Rodkinson trans.), or *Semahoth*, 32–33. I have modernized the language. For an alternative translation and original text, with commentary, see Weiss, "The Martyrdom of Ben-Teradion." *Avodah Zarah* 17b (end) is much more succinct; he is asked why he teaches Torah, answers it is an act of obedience, and is condemned along with his wife and daughter.

699 The Martyrdom of Rabbi Akiba, 1

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Berakoth* 9.5; cf. *Sotah* 5.5]⁹⁶²

[III.A] R. Aqiba was being tortured [lit.: being judged] by the evil Tinneius Rufus. When [he was close to death,] the time to recite the *Shema*⁹⁶² approached. He began to recite the *Shema*⁹⁶² and he smiled.

[B] He [Tinneius] said to him, “Elder, either you are a sorcerer [who does not feel pain] or you mock the torture [that I inflict upon you].”

[C] He [Aqiba] said to him, “Woe unto you. I am neither a sorcerer, nor a mocker. But [I now was thinking,] all my life when I recited this verse, I was troubled and wondered when I would be able to fulfill all three aspects [of this verse]: ‘And you shall love the Lord your God with all you heart, and with all your soul, and with all you might’ (Deut. 6:5). I have loved Him with all my heart. And I have loved him with all my wealth. But I did not know how I would [fulfill the verse and] love him with all my soul.

[D] “And now the time has come [for me to love him] with all my soul, and the time has come to recite the *Shema*⁹⁶². It is now clear to me [how I shall serve Him with all my soul]. For this reason I now am reciting and smiling.” And just as he said this his soul passed from him.

700 The Martyrdom of Rabbi Akiba, 2

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Berakoth* 61b]⁹⁶³

When they brought R. ‘Akiba out to execution, it was the time for reading the *Shema*⁹⁶²; and though they were combing his flesh with iron combs, he kept receiving upon himself the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven. His disciples said to him, “Our master, thus far!” He answered them, “Throughout my life I have been troubled about this verse, ‘[And you shall love the Lord your God...] and with all your soul’ which means: Even if He takes your life. For said I, ‘When will it be in my power to fulfil it?’ But now that the opportunity is mine, shall I not fulfil it?” He prolonged the word *ehād* until his soul left [the body] with the word *ehād* [on his lips]. A *Bat Kōl* issued forth and announced, “Happy are you, R. ‘Akiba, that your soul went out with the word *ehād*!” The ministering angels spoke before the Holy One, blessed be He, “Such *Tōrah*, and such a reward? ‘From men, by Your hand, O Lord, from men’ etc. (Ps. xvii. 14).” He replied to them, “Their portion is in this life” (ibid.). A *Bat Kōl* issued forth and announced, “Happy are you, R. ‘Akiba, for you are destined for the life of the world to come!”

⁹⁶² *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Berakhot* (Cohen trans.), 407. I modernized the English. For another translation, see Epstein, *A Treasury*, 9–10. The *Shema*⁹⁶² (“Hear”) is a central prayer in Judaism; see Deuteronomy 6:1–4. The Hebrew *ehād* (“one”) concludes the basic refrain. A *Bat Kōl* (lit. “daughter of a voice”), a “small voice” is in Rabbinic literature a voice from heaven.

⁹⁶³ *Talmud of the Land of Israel, 1: Berakhot* (Zahavy trans.), 346; cf. his *Yerushalmi Berakhot*, 358 posted online (http://halakhah.com/yerushalmi_berakhot_tzvee_zahavy_2010.pdf).

701 The Martyrdom of R. Akiba, 3

(Midrash)

[*Elei Ezkerah*]⁹⁶⁴

They next brought forth R. Akiba, son of Joseph—one who investigated the meanings of every tittle connected with the Law, and explaining them, revealed their various occult interpretations, as they were delivered unto Moses at Sinai. While he was being led forth to execution, a message was brought to the Emperor to the effect that the King of Arabia was overrunning his kingdom. Hastening to leave, he gave orders that R. Akiba should be kept bound in prison until his return from the war. When he returned, he ordered him to be brought out; they tore his flesh with iron combs, and at every tear which they inflicted upon him, R. Akiba but exclaimed: — “The Eternal is righteous. He is the Rock, His work is perfect, for all His ways are judgments, a God of faithfulness and no iniquity, just and right is He.” The Bath-Kol came forth, and proclaimed: “Happy are you, Akiba, who has ever been just and upright, even as your last breath of life departed at the words ‘just and right!’”

[p. 131] His lifeless body, Elijah, the prophet, of blessed memory, carried on his shoulder, and having borne it a distance of five parasangs, he was met by R. Joshua Ha-garsi, who said unto him, “Are you not a Priest (prohibited from touching a dead body)?” Elijah replied: “The rule does not apply to the bodies of the pious, they do not cause ‘defilement.’” R, Joshua accordingly accompanied him, until he came to a very beautiful cavern. Having entered, they found there a splendid couch and a lighted lamp. Elijah took him by the head, and R, Joshua by the feet, and they laid him upon that couch; and the ministering angels bewailed him three days and three nights, after which they buried him in that cave; on the morrow, however, Elijah took him, and brought him up to the Seat on High, where all the souls of the pious and sainted ones assembled to listen to his disquisitions.

702 Interpretation of Martyrdom of R. Akiba

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Semahot*, 8.8]⁹⁶⁵

8.8f When R. Aqiba was executed, and R. Jehudah b. Baba and R. Hanina b. Teradion heard of it, they also arose, put sackcloth on their loins, rent their garments, and cried: Brothers, listen to us! R. Aqiba was not slain because of robbery nor because he had not observed the Law with all his might, he was slain only for an example, as it is written [Ezek. xxiv. 24]: “Thus shall Ezekiel be unto you for a token . . . then shall ye know that I am the Lord eternal.” We are sure that within a few days there will not be a place in the whole of Palestine where corpses of the people will not be lying about.

⁹⁶⁴ “The Ten Jewish Martyrs,” 130–31 (Gollancz trans.). I have modernized the English.

⁹⁶⁵ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Ebel Rabbathi, or Semahoth* (Rodkinson trans.), 32.

703 The Martyrdom of R. Judah b. Baba, 1

(Midrash)

[*Elei Ezkerah*]⁹⁶⁶

After him, they led forth R. Jehuda b. Baha. He had never known what it was to have real sleep from his 18th to his 70th year; he slumbered as a [p. 134] horse does. The day on which they brought him out to execution was the Sabbath eve, some time after mid-day. He implored and entreated them to give him some little respite, so as to enable him to perform one more precept which his God had enjoined upon him. Whereupon they said to him: "You still have faith in your God?" and he answered, "Verily." "Has your God yet strength, the One upon whom you rely?" and he answered: "Great, indeed, is our Lord, and much to be praised, unto His greatness there is no searching." They replied: "If, then, He has the strength, why does He not deliver you and your companions from the grasp of the ruling power?" To which he retorted: "We deserve death at the hands of the Great and Terrible King, and He gives us over into the hands of the (earthly) King, in order to claim at his hands our blood." They came and reported this conversation to the King; and the King sent to him, enquiring: "Is it true what they have told me concerning you, or not?" He answered, "It is true." Then the Emperor remarked: "What impudence you have! While at the very portal of death, you are even bare-[p. 135] faced." R. Jehuda replied: "Woe unto you, Emperor, you wicked son of a wicked parent. Did not God look on at the destruction of His own Temple and the slaughter of His saints, and yet He did not rush and seize upon vengeance to avenge His own at their hands?" His disciples then said to him: "O our Teacher, you should have humoured him!" At which he replied: "Have you not learned that he who flatters the wicked will ultimately fall into his hands?"

He then addressed the Emperor and said: "As you live, O Caesar, give me a little time, so that I may carry out one precept, the name of which is Sabbath, (a foretaste of) the world to come." He replied: "I will listen to you and grant you this your request." The Rabbi immediately began "the Sanctification of the Sabbath-day" at the words "And the heavens and the earth were finished," and he recited them with a cheerfulness and a loud voice which astonished all the bystanders. When he reached the words, "which God created and made," they did not permit him to finish, for the Emperor gave the signal to kill him; and they slew him, his [p. 136] breath leaving him at the word "God." The Bath-Kol then came forth and said: Happy are you, R. Jehuda! You were like an angel of God, and your soul departed at the word "God." The tyrant further ordered his body to be dismembered piecemeal, and the parts to be cast to the dogs, so that he received neither burial nor funeral oration.

⁹⁶⁶ "The Ten Jewish Martyrs" (Gollancz trans.), 133–36. I have modernized the English ("Verily" as "Truly," "thou hasr" as "you have," "whilst" to "While," "thou art" as "you are," "thee," "thou," and "ye" to "you," "shouldest" to "should," "unto" to "to," "learnt" to "learned," "livest" to "live," and "Thou wast" to "You were").

704 The Martyrdom of R. Judah b. Baba, 2

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Sanhedrin* 14a=*Avodah Zarah* 8b]⁹⁶⁷

Jehudah b. Baba then went and sat between two great mountains, and between two large cities — between the two suburban limits of the cities of Usha and Sprehen — and conferred the degree of Rabbi on five elders; and they were: R. Meir, R. Jehudah, R. Simeon, R. Jose, and R. Elazar b. Shamuas. According to R. Ivia, there was a sixth: R. Nehomai. When the enemy got wind of it, Jehudah said to them: My children, run away. And to their question: Rabbi, what will become of you? he answered: I shall remain before them as a stone which cannot be moved. It was said that three hundred iron spears were put by the enemy into his body, making it as a sieve. . . . There were some other persons with him, but they were not mentioned, because of the honor of Jehudah b. Baba.

705 The Martyrdom of R. Judah b. Baba, 3

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Sanhedrin* 11a]⁹⁶⁸

Once again they were met in the upper chamber at Jabneh, and a Bath-kol was heard to say: ‘There is one amongst you who is worthy that the Shechinah should rest on him, but his generation does not merit it.’ The Sages present directed their gaze on Samuel the Little. And when he died, they lamented and said: ‘Alas! the pious man, alas! the humble man, the disciple of Hillel [is no more].’ Samuel the Little also said shortly before he passed away: ‘Simeon and Ishmael will meet their death by the sword, and his friends will be executed; the rest of the people will be plundered, and many troubles will come upon the world.’ The Rabbis wished to use the same words of lamentation for R. Judah b. Baba; the troublous conditions of the time, however, did not permit it, for no funeral orations were delivered over those who were martyred by the [Roman] Government.

706 The Martyrdom of R. Judah b. Dama

(Midrash)

[*Elei Ezkerah*]⁹⁶⁹

Then they brought forth R. Jehuda ben Dama. The day happened to be the eve of the Feast of Weeks. R. Jehuda addressed the Emperor and said: “By your life, give me a little longer time, so that I may fulfil the command of the festival and pronounce the ‘Sanctification’ praising the Almighty, blessed be He, for His gift of the Torah.” The Emperor asked: “You still hast faith in the Torah and in the God who gave it?” He replied: “Yes.” The Emperor then said: “What is the

⁹⁶⁷ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Sanhedrin* (Rodkinson trans.), 30. “Jehudah”=“Judah.”

⁹⁶⁸ *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Sanhedrin*, 11a (Soncino ed.); cf. *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Sanhedrin* (Rodkinson trans.), 24, which omits the reference to R. Judah (Jehudah) b. Baba.

⁹⁶⁹ “The Ten Jewish Martyrs,” 136–37 (Gollancz trans.). I have modernized the English.

merit of (observing) the Torah?” He replied: “David, of blessed memory, has referred to it in the words: ‘How great is Your goodness which You have laid up for those who fear You!’” The Emperor said: “There are no fools so great [p. 137] as you who believe in another world.” He answered: “There are no fools like you who deny the living God, Woe unto you! Alas for your shame and reproach, when you shall see us in the company of God in the light of life (eternal), and you shalt return to the lowest grade in the infernal region!” The anger of the Emperor was instantly kindled against him, and he ordered him to be tied by the hair of his head to the tail of a horse, and be dragged through every street of Rome. He then gave orders to have him cut to pieces limb by limb.

Then came Elijah, and took up the parts of his body, and buried them in a cave near the river which flows before Rome. And all the Romans during the whole of thirty days heard a wailing voice in that cave, and they came to the Emperor and informed him thereof And he said: “Even though the whole world were to be reduced to confusion and desolation, I shall not rest until I have gratified my will with regard to those Ten Elders, as I have sworn.”

707 The Martyrdom of R. Hutzpit the Interpreter

(Midrash)

[*Elei Ezkerah*]⁹⁷⁰

And they brought forth R. Hutzpith, the Expounder. It is said concerning this Sage that he was 130 years old when led forth to martyrdom; that he was of fine appearance, and beautiful to look upon, like unto an angel of the Lord of Hosts.

They came and told the Monarch about his [p. 139] beauty and old age, and begged him by his own life to have pity upon such an old man. Then the Emperor addressed him and said: “How old are you?” And he answered: “One hundred and thirty years less one day, and I beg you to give me a respite, so that I might complete my days.”

The Emperor asked: “What difference can it make to you, whether you die today or tomorrow?” And the reply came: “I should be able to fulfil yet two precepts.” “Which precepts do you wish to carry out?” “To recite the ‘Shema’ at eventide and in the morning—thus ascribing Sovereignty to the Great and tremendous Name, that of the One and Only God.” The Emperor replied: “O impudent and bare-faced fellow! How long will you continue to trust in your God, who has not the might to deliver you from my hand: see, my ancestors laid waste His Temple, and the dead bodies of his servants lay round Jerusalem, and there was no one to bury them, even then; well, surely, your God must be old and powerless to redeem by this time; had He the power, He would indeed have avenged Himself, His people, [p. 140] and His House, as in days of old He

⁹⁷⁰ “The Ten Jewish Martyrs” (Gollancz trans.), 138–40. I have modernized the English. His name is often transliterated “Chutzpit.” He was the interpreter for Rabban Gamaliel II.

exacted punishment from Pharaoh and Sisera, and all the Kings of Canaan.”

When R. Hutspith heard these words he wept bitterly, and taking hold of his garment, tore it (as a sign of mourning) at the blasphemy and insult levelled at the Name of the Almighty, and he addressed the Emperor thus: “Woe unto you, O Emperor! What will you do at the latter day when God will visit (for punishment) Rome and your gods?”

The Emperor asked: “How long am I to argue with this fellow?” And he ordered him to be killed, and they stoned and hanged him.

Then his princes and counsellors came and besought the Monarch for permission to bury him, as they took pity on his old age; and the King assented. And his disciples came and buried him, and they mourned for him with a great and heavy lamentation.

708 The Martyrdom of R. Hanina b. Hachinai

(Midrash)

[*Elei Ezkerah*]⁹⁷¹

The next to suffer was R. Haninah b. Hachinai. That day chanced to be the Sabbath-eve. Now all his lifetime, from the age of twelve to ninety-*[p. 141]* eight, he used to observe it as a fast-day; so his disciples came and said to him: “Dear Master, will you not partake of a little before your martyrdom?” But his reply was as follows: “All these years I observed it as a fast, I neither ate nor drank anything; and now, when I know not which way I am going, you say to me, Eat and drink!” He began the “Sanctification” of the Sabbath-day, from the words “And were finished the heavens and the earth”. . . until “And He hallowed it”; and before he was able to finish they despatched him. Thereupon a Bath-Kol was heard: “Happy you, R. Haninah, for as you were holy, your soul departed in holiness, uttering the word ‘hallowed.’”

709 The Martyrdom of R. Yeshivav the Scribe

(Midrash)

[*Elei Ezkerah*]⁹⁷²

After Rabbi Haninia, they brought out Rabbi Yeshivav the Scribe. It was said that Rabbi Yeshivav was ninety years old on the day he was brought forth to be executed. His students came and asked him, “Our teacher, what will be the fate of the Torah?”

Rabbi Yeshivav replied, “It is destined that the Torah will be forgotten from Israel because this wicked nation has shamelessly plotted to destroy our most precious jewels [the sages] among us. If my death could only serve as atonement for our generation! Yet I behold [this vision]: No street *[p. 160]* in Rome will be without a corpse slain by the sword. For this wicked nation is

⁹⁷¹ “The Ten Jewish Martyrs” (Gollancz trans.), 140–41. I have modernized the English.

⁹⁷² Stern, “The Midrash Eleh Ezkerah,” 159–60 (first 2 paragraphs), and remainder from “The Ten Jewish Martyrs” (Gollancz trans.), 142–43. I have modernized the language. R. Yeshivah the scribe is also known by the transliterations “Yeshbab” and “Jeshbab.”

fated to shed the innocent blood of Israel.”

Then his disciples enquired: “O master, what will become of us?” And he answered: “Have a care one for the other, love peace and justice; per-adventure, there is yet some hope!”

Then began the Emperor: “Old man, what is your age?” “This very day” (he answered) “I am ninety years old. And before I came forth from my mother’s womb, it was determined by the Almighty that I and my companions should be delivered into your hands, in order that our blood shall be claimed at your hands.”

The King enquired: “Is there then a second world?” And he answered: “Indeed there is; and woe unto you, and alas for your shame and reproach, [*p. 143*] when the blood of His saints shall be exacted from your hands!”

The Emperor said: “Be quick and kill this one also, and I shall see the power and might of this God, and what He will to do me in the other world.” He gave the command, and they tore him to pieces.

710 The Martyrdom of R. Elazar b. Shammua

(Midrash)

[*Elei Ezkerah*]⁹⁷³

The next to suffer was R. Elazar b. Shammua. It is said that he was one hundred and five years old, and that from his childhood to the end of his days he was never heard to utter a foolish expression, that he never quarrelled with his fellow men, that he was modest and retiring, and that for eighty years he made a practice of fasting. The day on which he suffered martyrdom was the Day of Atonement. His disciples approached him and asked: “O master, what do you see?” And he answered: “I see R. Jehuda b. Baba carried on the bier, and close to him the bier on which lies R. Akiba b. Joseph, and I behold them debating concerning the Halacha.” Then they enquired of him: “And who decides the point?” His reply was, “R. Ishmael, the High Priest.” Then they enquired: “Who [*p. 144*] was the victor?” And he answered: “R Akiba, for he had laboured in the Torah with all his might.”

He continued: “O my children! I further behold the soul of every pious one purifying itself in the waters of Siloah, in order to enter this day in purity upon the Seat on High, to listen to the disquisitions of R. Akiba, son of Joseph, who will discourse to them on the subject of this Great Day; in preparation for every righteous being, the angel will bring a golden chair, whereon he shall sit in purity. . .” The Emperor commanded his execution . . . and the Bath-Kol went forth, proclaiming, “O Rabbi Elazar ben Shammua, you were pure yourself, and your soul departed in purity!”

⁹⁷³ “The Ten Jewish Martyrs” (Gollancz trans.), 143–44. I have modernized the English. “Trembling takes hold of all who hear the hearing/and every eye will drop *tearing*. And every delight is turned into mourning/with the execution of R. Elazar b. Shamua” (Levine, “Eleh Ezkerah,” 262).

SIMON BEN KOSIBA,⁹⁷⁴ ‘BAR KOKHBA’

711 R. Akiba acclaims Simon ben Kozeba ‘Bar Kokhba,’ the Messiah, 1 (Midrash)

[*Eikhah Rabbah* (*Lamentations Rabbah*) 2.2§4]⁹⁷⁵

17 There shall come a star out of Jacob (Numbers 24:17)

When Rabbi Aqiba beheld Bar Kozeba he exclaimed: “This is the king Messiah!” Rabbi Johanan ben Torta retorted: “Aqiba, grass will grow in your cheeks and he will still not have come!”

712 R. Akiba acclaims Simon ben Kozeba, ‘Bar Kokhba,’ the Messiah, 2 (Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Ta’anit* 4.5 (68d)]⁹⁷⁶

Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai taught: “Aqiba, my master, used to interpret ‘a star goes forth from Jacob’ (Num. 24:17)—Kozeba goes forth from Jacob.” Rabbi Aqiba, when he saw Bar Kozeba, said: “This is the king Messiah!” Rabbi Johanan ben Torta said to him: “Aqiba! Grass will grow on your cheeks and still the son of David does not come!”

713 R. Akiba and Bar Kokhba

(Maimonides, *Repetition of the Torah* (*Mishneh Torah*))

[*Hilkhot Melakhim* 11.3]⁹⁷⁷

Akiba was among the greatest sages at the time of the Mishnah, and he was an aide-de-camp of the king, ben Koziba, speaking of him as the messianic king. Akiba and those of his generation thought him to be the Messiah—until Bar Kokhba was killed because of his sinfulness.

714 Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Sanhedrin* 93b]⁹⁷⁸

Bar Koziba (בזיבא) reigned two and a half years. He said to the Rabbis: “I am the Messiah (אנא משיח)!” They answered: “Of the Messiah it is written that he smells and judges - let us see whether he smells and judges.” When they saw that he was unable to smell and judge, they killed him.

⁹⁷⁴ Because of the way transliteration works, Simon’s name appears in various English spellings.

⁹⁷⁵ *Midrash Rabbah: Deuteronomy and Lamentations* (Cohen trans.), 157. For an alternate translation, available online, see *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Eikhah_Rabbah.2.4?lang=bi). On Akiba’s acclamation, see Novenson, “Why Does R. Akiba Acclaim Bar Kokhba as Messiah?” Marks, *The Image of Bar Kokhba*, 16–20. Marks, 20, argues, “R. Akiba’s quotation of Num. 24:17 means (as legend, in the context of other rabbinic writings) that he thought Bar Koziba was a national warrior-king arisen to conquer and destroy Rome like a star of fire and ruin. . . .”

⁹⁷⁶ Evans, “The Star of Balaam,” 319–20; cf. translation of Cohen, *Everyman’s Talmud*, 349. Another rendering can be found in *Ta’anit* (Greenup trans.), 124 (Gemara on Mishnah 5).

⁹⁷⁷ Harkabi, *The Bar Kokhba Syndrome*, 42–43. The Hebrew text and an alternate translation can be found online at Chabad.org (https://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/1188356/jewish/Melachim-uMilchamot-Chapter-11.htm). See Aleksandrov, “The Role of ‘Aqiba.”

⁹⁷⁸ Schäfer, “Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis,” 5. Cf. entry 730.

715 Bar Kokhba's Fearsomeness

(Jerome, *Apology against Rufinus*)⁹⁷⁹

III.31 . . . Bar Kokhba, the leader of the revolt of the Jews, who used to hold in his mouth a lighted straw and blow it out so as to appear to be breathing forth flame

716 Bar Kokhba's Might

(Midrash)

[*Eichab Rabbah* (*Lamentations Rabbah*) 2.2§4]⁹⁸⁰

And what was the strength of Bar Kosiba? They said, "When he went to war he would catch missiles thrown from a catapult on one of his legs and hurl them back, killing several men."

717 Bar Kokhba's Declaration

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Ta'anit* 4 (68d); cf. *Eichab Rabbah* (*Lamentations Rabbah*) 2]⁹⁸¹

When he would go forth to battle, he would say, "Lord of the world! Do not help and do not hinder us! 'Hast thou not rejected us, O God? Thou dost not go forth, O God, with our armies'" (Ps. 60:10).

718 Bar Kokhba Tests His Men

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Ta'anit* 4.8 (68d)=*Eichab Rabbah* (*Lamentations Rabbah*) 2:5 (51a)]⁹⁸²

R. Johanan said, "There were 80,000 pairs of trumpeters who surrounded Bethar, and each of them was responsible for several armies." Ben Kozba was there with 200,000 men with an amputated finger. The sages sent him the message: "How long will you continue to make the men of Israel blemished?" He asked them, "How else shall they be tested?" They answered, "Let anyone who cannot uproot a cedar from Lebanon while mounted on a horse be refused [*p. 174*] enrolment in your army. He thereupon still had 200,000 men.

⁹⁷⁹ Jerome, *Apology in Answer to Rufinus*, 535 (Fremantle trans.). The Latin text can be found in Jerome, *Apologia adversus Libros Rufini* (Migne ed.), 505. I rendered "Barchochebas" "Bar Kokhba." Drijvers, "Jerusalem," 177–78, examines Bar Kokhba's leadership as a factor that prompted the revolt to begin and concludes that it was this, together with "cumulative and continuous factors in the social, economic, national and religious spheres" (161) that brought about the war.

⁹⁸⁰ Reinhartz, "Rabbinic Perceptions of Simeon Bar Kosiba," 185. For an alternate translation, see *Midrash Rabbah: Deuteronomy and Lamentations* (Cohen trans.), 158. The text adds that this prowess was why R. Akiba proclaimed him messiah. Reinhartz, 185, notes this is the only place where there is an explicit effort to explain Akiba's declaration, and adds that because this thought appears to be an afterthought it seems likely it is a scribal gloss. Reinhartz, 186, also points out that this means Akiba's proclaiming Bar Kokhba messiah was not a cause of the war beginning but occurred after some demonstration of military prowess.

⁹⁸¹ *Talmud of the Land of Israel, 18: Ta'anit* (Neusner trans.), 117; see p. 192; cf. Marks, *The Image of Bar Kokhba*, 25. Cf. entry #s 733–34. On the prayer, see Weiss, "The Double Edged Sword," 45.

⁹⁸² Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem against Rome*, 173–74. For an alternate translation, see Schäfer, "Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis," 5, or Marks, *The Image of Bar Kokhba*, 23 (Jerusalem Talmud), or 24–25 (*Lamentations Rabbah* 2:5). Another rendering can be found in *Ta'anit* (Greenup trans.), 124–25.

719 Label on Lead Weight [132–136 C.E.]

(Part of a Label on a Lead Weight Found at Horvat Alim, Judea)⁹⁸³
Shim'on Son of Kosba, Prince of Israel.

720 Correspondence of Simeon ben Kosiba | Bar Kokhba—Example 1

(Letter in Aramaic)

[MPAT, 159 #53; cf. Yadin, 126 (top)]⁹⁸⁴

Simeon son of Kosiba, the ruler over Israel, to Jonathan and Masabbala, peace! [] and you are to give then with assurance []; and if you do not do so, whatever punishment is to be exacted from you [] every Teqoan man [] who is from (among) you, I shall exact his (or the) punishment []. As for Jesus, son of the Palmyrene [] and you are not to despise taking him (or the) sword that is upon him [] Samuel, son of 'Ammi.

721 Correspondence of Simeon ben Kosiba | Bar Kokhba—Example 2

(Letter in Aramaic)

[Yadin, 126 (top); cf. MPAT, 161 #59]⁹⁸⁵

Shimeon Bar Kosiba to Yehonathan son of Be'ayan and to Masabala . . . let all men from Tekoa and other places who are with you, be sent to me without delay. And if you shall not send them, let it be known to you, that you will be punished. . . .

722 Correspondence of Simeon ben Kosiba | Bar Kokhba—Example 3

(Letter in Aramaic)

[Yadin, 126 (middle.)]⁹⁸⁶

Shimeon Bar Kosiba to Yehonathan son of Be'ayan and to Masabala . . . get hold of the young men [or: servants] and come with them; if not—a punishment. And I shall deal with the Romans.

723 Correspondence of Simeon ben Kosiba | Bar Kokhba—Example 4

(Letter in Aramaic)

[MPAT, 161 #56; cf. Yadin, 128 (top)]⁹⁸⁷

Simeon, son of Kosiba, to Jonathan, son of Ba'yan, and Masabbala, son of Simeon. You are to send to me Eleazar, son of *Hḥh*, immediately, before (the) Sabbath. Simeon, son of Judah, wrote it.

⁹⁸³ ישראל | יוש | (א)ושב | (א)וסב | שמו | For images and text, with discussion, see Kloner, "Lead Weights." An image and more complete translation is available online at *The Israel Museum, Jerusalem* website (<https://www.imj.org.il/en/collections/395646?itemNum=395646>).

⁹⁸⁴ MPAT=Fitzmyer and Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 159 [#53]; cf. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 126. For a short introduction to these letters, see Yadin, "More on the Letters of Bar Kokhba." Schäfer, "Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis," 9, argues that the frequent threat of punishment for failure to obey his orders indicates two realities: the situation was desperate and Bar Kokhba's authority over his forces was anything but certain.

⁹⁸⁵ Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 126. Cf. MPAT, 161 [#59].

⁹⁸⁶ Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 126.

⁹⁸⁷ Fitzmyer and Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 161 [#56].

724 Correspondence of Simeon ben Kosiba | Bar Kokhba—Example 5

(Letter in Aramaic)

[MPAT, 161 #58]⁹⁸⁸

Simeon, son of Kosiba, to Jonathan, son of Baʿyan, and to Masabbala []:
the Romans [] and you are to take Tirsis, son of Tininos, and let him
come with you, because we are in need of him [] our leader Beṭenyah,
son of Misa, []. Farewell.

725 Correspondence of Simeon ben Kosiba | Bar Kokhba—Example 6

(Letter in Aramaic)

[Yadin, 126 (bot.); cf. MPAT, 161 #55]⁹⁸⁹

Letter of Shimeon Bar Kosiba, peace! | To Yehonathan son of Beʿaya [my order
is] that | whoever Elisha | tells you do to him and help | him and those with him
[or: in every action]. | Be well.

726 Correspondence of Simeon ben Kosiba | Bar Kokhba—Example 7

(Letter in Aramaic)

[cf. Yadin, 137]⁹⁹⁰

From Simeon beh Koseba to Yeshua ben Gilgola and the men of your
company, greeting! I call heaven to witness against me that, if you do not break
off (relations) with the Galileans whom you have liberated each and all, I will
have you clapped in irons (lit., will put fetters on your feet), as I have done
already with Ben Aphlul. Simeon ben Koseba, Prince of Israel

727 Correspondence of Simeon ben Kosiba | Bar Kokhba—Example 8

(Letter in Hebrew [c. 134?])

[Yadin, 133]⁹⁹¹

From Shimeon Bar Kosiba to the men of En-gedi. | To Masabala and to
Yehonathan bar Beʿayan, peace. In | comfort you sit, eat and drink from the
property of | the House of Israel, and care nothing for your brothers.

728 Correspondence of Simeon ben Kosiba | Bar Kokhba—Example 9

(Letter in Aramaic about Sukkoth (Feast of Tabernacles))⁹⁹²

Simeon to Judah bar Menashe, to Qiryat Arabaya. I have sent you two asses so
that you send with them two (*tr*) men to Yehonatan ben Baʿayan and to
Masabala so that they load them and send them to the camp (*mlhnyh*), to (*hwt*)
you, palm fronds (*llbyn*) and citrons (*ʿtrgyn*). And you send others from you

⁹⁸⁸ Fitzmyer and Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 159 [#53].

⁹⁸⁹ Yadin, *Bar-Kochba*, 126.

⁹⁹⁰ Graystone, “The Dead Sea Scrolls—II,” 72.

⁹⁹¹ Yadin, *Bar-Kochba*, 133.

⁹⁹² Lapin, “Palm Fronds and Citrons,” 113; he also offers his reconstruction of the original text. Cf. Schäfer, “Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis,” 9, who offers “prepare/tithe” for the text’s ותקן יתהן, (‘and give the dues from them’). and “multitude/army” for the text’s אוכלסה. Lapin, p. 113f. (comment 5), briefly discusses the issues involved with the latter and the reason for his choice.

(*mhvtk*), and they will bring you myrtle (*hdsyn*) and willows (*rbyn*). And prepare (*iqn*) them and send them to the camp, for the multitude is large. Be well.

729 Correspondence of Simeon ben Kosiba | Bar Kokhba—Example 10

(Letter in Greek; Evidence of Outside Involvement?)⁹⁹³

Soumaios to Jonathan son of Baianos and to Masabal, greetings. Since I have sent Agrippa to you, hurry (and) send me wands and citrons. Provide(?) these for the camp of the Jews, and do not do otherwise. It (the letter) was written in Greek because of no means having been found to write it in Hebrew. Release him (Agrippa) quickly because of the festival, and do not do otherwise.

Soumaios, greetings.

730 Bar Kokhba's Failing

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Sanhedrin* 93b; cf. entry 714]⁹⁹⁴

And Rabha said: The term “vahari’hu” means smelling—*i.e.*, he judges by smelling. As farther on it reads: “And not after the sight of the eyes shall you judge, and not after the hearing of the ears. . . (but nevertheless) he judges with righteousness the poor and decides with equity for the suffering ones of the earth, and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breadth of his lips shall he slay the wicked.” Hence, if not by the eye and not by the ear, it must be by smelling; and therefore the sages did not recognize Bar Kochba, who claimed to be the Messiah and ruled two and a half years, because he did not judge by smelling.

COINS OF THE REVOLT

c125–c126 Coins [133–135 C.E.]

(Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, III/Pt. II.

Plate 300

[#8144 and 8146];

Legend and description from
p. 805)

[Bronze Coins]



8145 OBERSE: One handled jug to r., with fluted body; on r., palm branch

REVERSE: Within wreath, writing (traces of legend of overstruck denarius).

8146 OBERSE: Vine-leaf on stalk.

REVERSE: Palm tree with two bunches of fruit.

⁹⁹³ Lapin, “Palm Fronds and Citrons,” 115; he also offers his reconstruction of the original Greek (p. 114). For scholarly analysis of the Bar Kokhba correspondence, see Wise, *Language and Literacy*.

⁹⁹⁴ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Sanhedrin* (Rodkinson trans.), 283–84; I modernized the English. Cf. Soncino edition; also see Marks, *The Image of Bar Kokhba*, 21. On this matter in larger perspective, see Schäfer, “Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis,” and Reinhartz, “Rabbinic Perceptions.”

c127–c132 Lulab” and “Portal” Coins Associated with the Revolt
 (Graetz, “On the Signification of the Jewish Coins,” 167)⁹⁹⁵



**Coins bearing the legend
 “first and second year”**

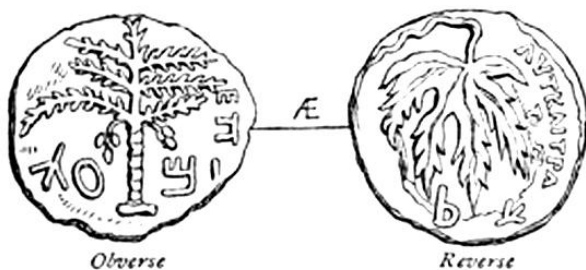


**Coins without
 a date**



⁹⁹⁵ See Kanael, “Notes on the Dates Used During the Bar Kokhba Revolt,” who places ‘Year One of the Redemption of Israel’ as commencing the month of Nisan, 132 (in conjunction with the celebration of Succot), and the second year being Nisan, 133–Adar, 134 (Year Two of the Freedom of Israel,’ with the New Year in mind), with the third year similar to the second.

c133 Bar Kokhba Coin, 1
(Myers, *Stories of the Rabbis*, 51)



COIN ISSUED DURING BAR COCHBA'S REVOLT

Obverse:—Hebrew word "Simon" (Bar Cochba's name) and a palm-tree. *Reverse*:—Hebrew words "The deliverance of Jerusalem," and a vine leaf.

*c134 Bar Kokhba Coin, 2*⁹⁹⁶
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 415)



c135 Bar Kokhba Coins
(Classical Numismatic Group, LLC)⁹⁹⁷



354. JUDAEA, Bar Kochba Revolt. 132-135 CE. Æ (28mm, 19.41 g, 12h). Dated year 1 (132/3 CE). שִׁמְעוֹן בֶּרְכוּמָה / לְפָנֵינוּ ("Shim'on, Prince of Israel" in Hebrew) in three lines within palm wreath with ties below, medallion above / Amphora; לְפָנֵינוּ שָׁנָה אֶחָדָה לְשָׁנַת הַגְּאֻלָּה ("year one of the redemption of Israel" in Hebrew) around. Mildenberg 1 (O1/R1); Meshorer 220; Bromberg 227 (same dies); Sofaer 3 (same dies); Hendin 1376. VF, dark green patina with light earthen dusting. Rare.

⁹⁹⁶ For information on the Jewish coins associated with the revolt, see Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*.

⁹⁹⁷ Used by permission of Classical Numismatic Group, LLC (<https://www.cngcoins.com/>); CNG Auction 97, 93 [#354].

THE WAR: THE JEWISH REVOLT

731 Jewish Strategy [c. 131/132 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)⁹⁹⁸

LXIX.12.2 . . . [F]or the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites planted there. So long, indeed, as Hadrian was close by in Egypt and again in Syria, they remained quiet, save in so far as they purposely made of poor quality such weapons as they were called upon to furnish, in order that the Romans might reject them and they themselves might thus have the use of them; but when he went farther away, they openly revolted.

LXIX.12.3 To be sure, they did not dare try conclusions with the [p. 449] Romans in the open field, but they occupied the advantageous positions in the country and strengthened them with mines and walls, in order that they might have places of refuge whenever they should be hard pressed, and might meet together unobserved underground;⁹⁹⁹ and they pierced these subterranean passages from above at intervals to let in air and light.

LXIX.13.1 At first the Romans took no account of them. Soon, however, all Judaea had been stirred up, and the Jews everywhere were showing signs of disturbance, were gathering together, and giving evidence of great hostility to the Romans, partly by secret and partly by overt acts;

LXIX.13.2a many outside nations, too, were joining them through eagerness for gain, and the whole earth, one might almost say, was being stirred up over the matter.

732 Strategy of the First Revolt (66–73); Was It Repeated in the Bar Kokhba Revolt?

(Josephus, *The Jewish War*)¹⁰⁰⁰

I.2.2 (§50) Simon's administration of affairs was excellent. He captured the towns of Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia, in the vicinity of the capital, and after overpowering the garrison at Jerusalem, razed the citadel to the ground. . . .

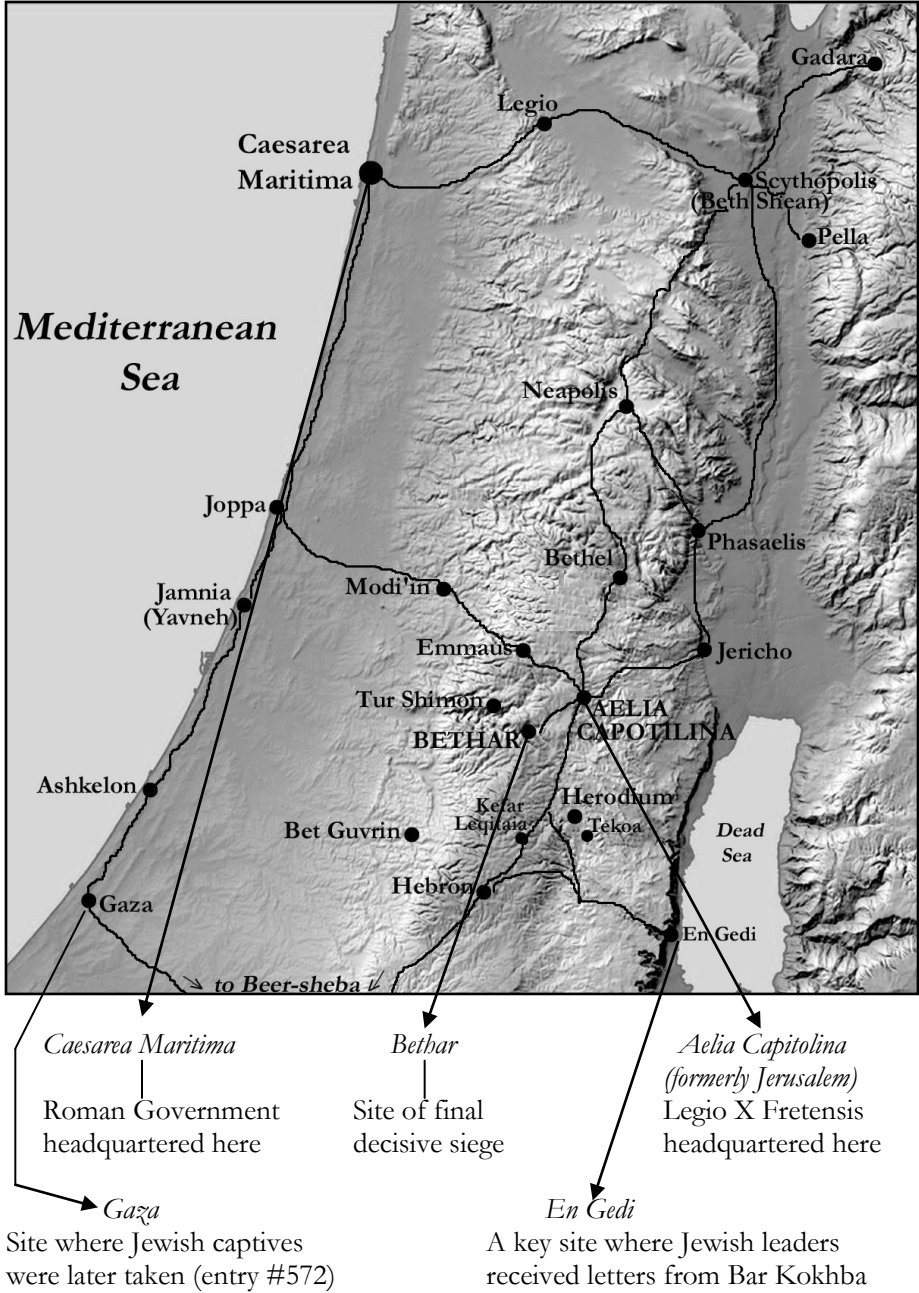
(§53) Having, further, posted numerous ambushes in different parts of the hills, he was successful in all the engagements, and after a brilliant victory was appointed high-priest and liberated the Jews from [p. 29] the Macedonian supremacy which had lasted for 170 years.

⁹⁹⁸ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 447. On the question of outside involvement (13.2a), see Mor, "The Bar-Kokhba Revolt and Non-Jewish Participants"; also Cotton, "The Bar Kokhba Revolt and the Documents from the Judean Desert," or Gichon, "New Insight," 40–42.

⁹⁹⁹ See Kloner and Zissu, "Hiding Complexes in Judea."

¹⁰⁰⁰ Josephus, *Josephus, II: The Jewish War* (Thackeray trans.), 27 (with Greek text, p. 26). Gichon, "New Insight," 20, notes that Dio's account recalls the strategy of the First Revolt (66–74 C.E.). However, Gichon disputes such a conclusion, arguing for significant differences between the wars—the Jews having learned important lessons and adapting their military ways accordingly.

*Orienting Map*¹⁰⁰¹
(Map locations approximate)



¹⁰⁰¹ The reach of the revolt is hotly debated. See, for example, Amit and Bijovsky, "A Numismatic Update," which mentions coins found as far north as Khirbet el-Burnat (Mount Ebal).

733 Kfar Haruva: The Outbreak of Revolt, 1

(Midrash)

[*Eichab Rabbah (Lamentations Rabbah) 2.2.4(4)*]¹⁰⁰²

2.2.4(4) There were two brothers in Kefar Haruva¹⁰⁰³ who did not allow any Roman to pass there but they killed him. They said: “The conclusion of the whole matter is that we must take Hadrian’s crown and set it upon our own head.” They heard that the Romans were coming towards them; and when they set out against them, an old man met them and said: “May the Creator be your help against them!” They retorted: “Let him neither help nor discourage us!” Their sins immediately caused them to be slain.

734 Kfar Haruva: The Outbreak of Revolt, 2

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Ta’anit 4:5*]¹⁰⁰⁴

[XII.A] There were two brothers in Kephra Haruva. The Romans attacked [the village] and killed the people. They said, “To end the matter, let us bring a crown for their heads.”

[B] They said, “Let us try one more time.” They went forth [to attack the Romans again].

[C] An old man met them and said to them, “May your Creator be your help!”

[D] [One of the brothers] said to him, “May he not help nor support us: ‘Has thou not rejected us, O God! [Thou dost not go forth, O God, with our armies]’” (Ps. 60:10).

735 Single Combat

(Midrash)

[*Sifre on Deuteronomy Piska 322*]¹⁰⁰⁵

R. Nehemiah [commenting on Deut. 32:28-30, which he applied to the nations of the world, in contrast to R. Judah, who applied ‘they are a nation void of counsel’ to Israel]: “It once happened in the revolt that a mounted decurion [an officer in charge of 10 horsemen] pursued an Israelite in order to kill him. For awhile he could not overtake him, but just as was about to reach him, a serpent emerged and stung the Israelite on his heel. Said the Israelite to the decurion, ‘Do not think that because you are mighty we have been delivered into your hands, *Except their Rock had given them over.*’”

¹⁰⁰² *Midrash Rabbah Lamentations* (Cohen trans.), see 157–61 for context. The success of the revolt is indicated by Eck, “The Bar Kokhba Revolt,” 86, who observes that *P. Yadin* 27, dated August 19, 132, shows Jews still residing in their own towns along the southern end of the Dead Sea.

¹⁰⁰³ No one knows where the revolt broke out, but the village of Haruva has been nominated as a candidate (see, for example, Oppenheimer, “The Bar Kokhba Revolt,” 69) and works as well as any other place. Its location at that time is uncertain and so it should not be simply identified with the modern Israeli settlement bearing that name.

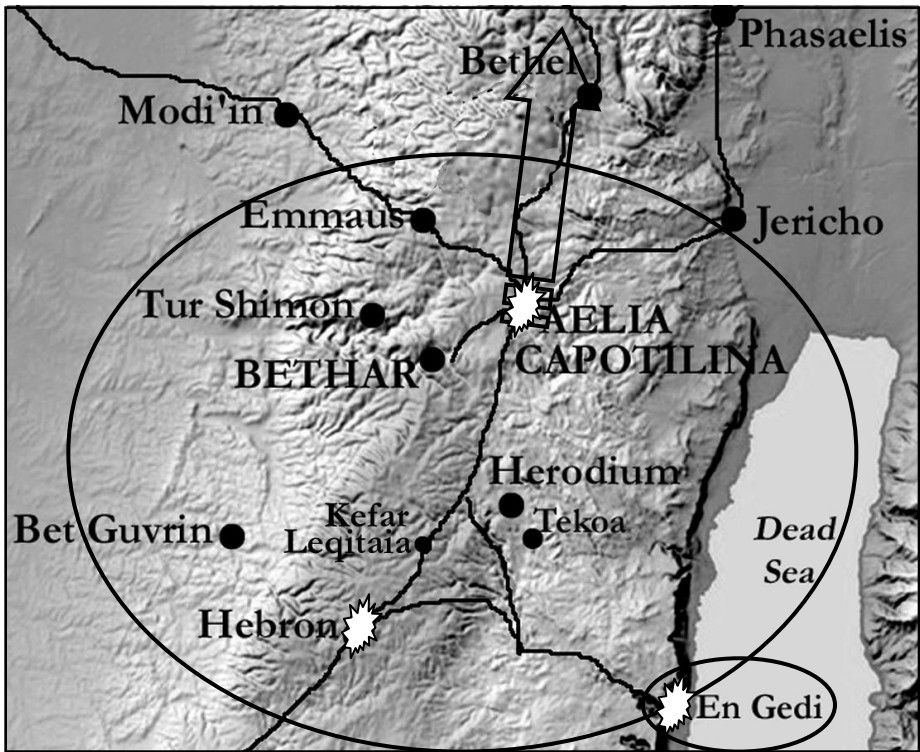
¹⁰⁰⁴ *The Talmud of the Land of Israel, 18: Besab and Ta’anit*, 279 (Neusner trans.). Cf. entry #717.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Sifre on Deuteronomy* (Hammer trans.).



Key Battle Sites

Map locations approximate



132 C.E., Aelia Capitolina: Jerusalem is liberated by Jewish fighters and Legio X Fretensis forced to abandon the city. They likely retreat toward Caesarea Maritima.

132/133 C.E., Hebron: The Roman Garrison (Cohors I Thracum Milliaria?) is forced out. They likely retreat toward Gaza.

132/133 C.E., En Gedi: Any occupying force (perhaps a unit of Cohors I Thracum Milliaria) is forced to abandon the oasis. They may have retreated toward Hebron or gone south.

¹⁰⁰⁶ As for the initial phase of the war, Gichon, "New Insight," 21, argues that Dio's account is wrong: "The fact that the first phase succeeded and that the Romans were routed from most of their positions in Judea and forced to seek refuge in their coastal strongholds and a few bases in the lowlands, is in itself proof that the Jews did not shut themselves up in defended positions but began with an all-out attack on the Romans." Also arguing that the Bar Kokhba campaign adapted its strategy from lessons learned is Davies, "I Will Lay Waste Your Cities," who likewise discusses the Roman adaptations. One factor that has received increased attention in the last few decades is the role of caves throughout the revolt. On this factor, see Zissu and Kloner, "The Archaeology of the Second Revolt" (and see entry #797).

(Excerpted from Smith, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 28)



En Gedi

(Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*, III, 385)¹⁰⁰⁷



Speidel, "A Tile Stamp," notes a unit of Cohors I Thracum Milliaria was stationed at Ein Gedi in 124 and was probably based at Hebron during the revolt.

THE WAR: THE ROMAN RESPONSE

736 Hadrian in Judea [132 C.E.]

(Inscription)

[CIL III, 5733]¹⁰⁰⁸

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 16th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, Proconsul.

737 Tineius Rufus Wages War

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* ¹⁰⁰⁹)

IV.6.1 The rebellion of the Jews once more progressed in character and extent, and Rufus, the governor of Judaea, when military aid had been sent him by the Emperor, moved out against them, treating their madness without mercy. He destroyed in heaps thousands of men, women, and children, and, under the law of war, enslaved their land.

IV.6.2 The Jews were at that time led by a certain Bar Kokhba which means “star,” a man who was [*p. 313*] murderous and a bandit, but relied on his name, as if dealing with slaves, and claimed to be a luminary who had come down to them from heaven and was magically enlightening those who were in misery.

IV.6.3a The war reached its height in the eighteenth year of the reign of Hadrian in Bethar¹⁰¹⁰, which was a strong citadel not very far from Jerusalem; the siege lasted a long time before the rebels were driven to final destruction by famine and thirst and the instigator of their madness paid the penalty he deserved.

738 Aid Sent to Tineius Rufus

(Excerpt, Honorific Inscription at Ancyra (Ankara), Galatia)

[IGR III, 174 (cf. 175)=CIG 4033=ILS 8826; cf. *I. Ankara* 76]¹⁰¹¹

Gaius Julius Severus, born of kings and tetrarchs, after finishing all of his public service in the nation (i.e., Galatia), was drawn into the order of tribunes (*démarchoi*) by the deified Hadrian; envoy (*presbeusanta*, i.e. ‘legate’) to Asia by letter and documents from the deified Hadrian; commander of legion IV Scythica and placed in charge of Syria when Publius Marcellus was transferred from Syria because of the revolt of the Jews.¹⁰¹²

¹⁰⁰⁸ The Latin text can be found in Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, 115, where the elements of the inscription are individually explained. The addition of the ‘Proconsul’ (PROCOS), for *proconsulare imperium* signifies the emperor was outside of the homeland.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (Lake’s ed.), I, 311, 313 (with facing Greek text); cf. V.12.1.

¹⁰¹⁰ Lake has “Beththera” (Greek Βηθθηρα), but the name is rendered here as “Bethar.”

¹⁰¹¹ The time of G. Julius Severus’ temporary administration of Syria—when Publius Marcellus was drawn to Judea—was c. 132. Also see IGR III, 175=CIG 4034. On aid being sent to Tineius Rufus, see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV.6.1 (entry #737). On both Severus and Rufus, see Applebaum, *Judaea in Hellenistic and Roman Times. Historical and Archaeological Essays*, 118-23.

¹⁰¹² For an alternate translation, see Nagle, *The Roman World*, 245. See entry #494 (p. 328).

739 Roman Strategy [c. 133/134 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁰¹³

LXIX.13.2b Then, indeed, Hadrian sent against them his best generals.

740 Sextus Julius Severus, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁰¹⁴

LXIX.13.2c First of these was Julius Severus, who was dispatched from Britain, where he was governor, against the Jews.¹⁰¹⁵

LXIX.13.3 Severus did not venture to attack his opponents in the open at any one point, in view of their numbers and their desperation, but by intercepting small groups, thanks to the number of his soldiers and his under-officers, and by depriving them of food and shutting them up, he was able, rather slowly, to be sure, but with comparatively little danger, to crush, exhaust and exterminate them. Very few of them in fact survived.

741 Sextus Julius Severus, 2 [c. 134–138 C.E.]

(Inscription on Honorific Statue Base in Dalmatia)

[CIL III, 2830=CIL III, 9891; cf. ILS 1056=AE 1904.9]¹⁰¹⁶

For Gnaeus Minicius Faustinus Sextus Julius Severus, son of Sergius: *sevir* of the 5th squadron of Roman *equites*; one of the four officials for taking care of streets; one of the Priesthood of Fifteen; military tribune of legion XIV Gemina; quaestor, province of Macedonia; candidate of the deified Trajan Parthicus for Tribune of the Plebs; candidate of the same for praetorian legate of legion XIV Gemina; legate *pro praetore* of Emperor Trajan Hadrian Augustus in the province of Dacia; consul; legate *pro praetore* in the province of Moesia Inferior; legate *pro praetore* in the province of Britain; legate *pro praetor* in the province of Judea; legate *pro praetor* in the province of Syria by the authority of the Senate awarded by Emperor Caesar|Trajan Hadrian Augustus triumphal decorations ordained for the events in Judea conducted successfully (*ob res in Iudea prospere gestas*). By the decree of the decurions.

¹⁰¹³ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 449. Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, VII, 318, opines, "Tinnius Rufus was long baffled, and often defeated; but Julius Severus, following the tactics of Vespasian, constantly refused the battle they offered him, and reduced their strongholds in succession by superior discipline and resources."

¹⁰¹⁴ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 449.

¹⁰¹⁵ Bloom, *The Jewish Revolts against Rome, A.D. 66–135*, 211, observes, "In itself, the transfer of Severus from Britain to Judaea is indicative that the situation was one of extreme emergency, considering that only Syria equalled Britain in importance among the military commands of the Empire at that time." Cf. Eck, "The Bar Kokhba Revolt," 78, who points out such a transfer is a sign of "an extreme emergency." Mor, *The Second Jewish Revolt*, 325, suggests Severus brought cohorts I Hispanorum, III Bracaraugustanorum, and IV Lingonum (on the last, see next page).

¹⁰¹⁶ The Latin text can be seen at EDCS (EDCS-28300159). Also see ILS 1056=AE 1904.9 (*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Dessau ed.), I, 231 [#1056]). The *sevir* of the *equites* (a Roman class) was a position of leadership held by prominent Roman young men prior to entering military service. The *legatus pro praetore* (i.e., lit., "for the Praetor") was the military commander serving as the chief administrator on behalf of the emperor in a province.

742 Summoned for the ‘Judean Expedition’, 1:

Marcus Statius Priscus

(Honorary Inscription at Rome, post 163 C.E.)

[*ILS* 1092=*CIL* VI, 1523]¹⁰¹⁷

For Marcus Statius Priscus Licinius Italicus, son of Marcus, of the Claudian tribe: legate of two emperors with *pro praetorian* powers in Cappadocia; legate of two emperors with *pro praetorian* powers in Britain; legate with *pro praetorian* powers in Moesia Superior; caretaker of the Tiber river channel and of the city’s sewers; consul; legate with *pro praetorian* powers in Dacia; legate of legio XIII Gemina Pia Fidelis; legate of legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix; priest of the *Titiali Flaviali*; praetor with authority over peregrines (non-citizens); tribune of the plebs; quaestor; procurator of Augustus to collect the 5% inheritance tax in Narbonensis and Aquitania; military tribune in legio I Adiutrix Pia Fidelis,¹⁰¹⁸ legio X Gemina, and legio IV Gallica; commander (*praefectus*) of cohort IV Lingonum; soldier awarded the flag decoration (*vexillum militari*) by the deified Hadrian for the expedition to Judea—set up by Quintus Cassius Domitius Palumbus.

743 Summoned for the ‘Judean Expedition,’ 2:

Sextus Attius Senecio

(Stone Inscription at Rome)

[*CIL* VI, 3505]¹⁰¹⁹

Sextus Attius Senecio: prefect of ala I Flavia Gaetulorum; tribune of legion X Gemina, sent by the deified Hadrian in the expedition to Judea to command a body of troops. . . .¹⁰²⁰

¹⁰¹⁷ Latin text from *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 239 [#1092]. The Latin may also be viewed at EDCS (EDCS-18000413). Another translation, with comments, can be found in Birley, “*Viri Militares*,” 64–65. Priscus was consul in 159, governor of Cappadocia c. 163.

¹⁰¹⁸ It may be interesting to note in passing that some portion of this legion often is accepted as a participant in the suppression of the revolt because Bar Kokhba coins were found in the locality of its garrison, Brigetio (modern Szőny) in Pannonia Superior (see Fehér, “Cohort Dislocations in Pannonia,” 178).

¹⁰¹⁹ The Latin text may be viewed at EDCS (EDCS-19700203). Senecio brought a detachment of the X Gemina legion. The question of which Roman forces were in Judea during the revolt (and where they operated) remains unresolved. *CIL* XVI, 33 lists *alae* (Veterana Gaetulorum; I Thracum Mauretana) and *cohorts* (II Cantabrorum; I Thracum; II Thracum; I Augusta Lusitanorum) as having been in Judea at some point before the revolt, and other diplomas add cohorts III Callaecorum Bracaraugustanorum; I Damascenorum Armenica; and I Milaria Sagittariorum. On this whole matter, see Mor, *The Second Jewish Revolt*, 31–50.

¹⁰²⁰ Mor, *The Second Jewish Revolt*, 324, comments, “From a long list of twenty legions stationed throughout the Roman Empire that were named as associated with the events in Judaea, there exists evidence for only three legions taking part in full force in suppressing the Bar Kokhba revolt. Two of them were legions that were permanently stationed in Judaea: Legio X *Fretensis* and Legio VI *Ferrata*. The third legion, Legio III *Gallica*, was summoned from neighboring Syria to assist them.” He adds (pp. 324–25) that squadrons were sent from nearby legions in Arabia (III Cyrenaica) and Egypt (II Traiana), as well as from more distant Cappadocia (XII Fulminata), Moesia Inferior (V Macedonica and XI Claudia) and Pannonia Superior (X Gemina). In addition

744 Summoned for the ‘Judean Expedition,’ 3:

Quintus Lollius Urbicus [c. 136–138 C.E.]

(Stone Inscription at Tiddis in Numidia)

[CIL VIII, 6706]¹⁰²¹

To Quintus Lollius Urbicus, son of Marcus, of the Quirina tribe: Consul; legate of Augustus for the province of Germania Inferior; *fetial* legate of Emperor Hadrian in the Judean expedition (*expeditione Iudaica*), in which he was given the ‘headless spear’ (*hasta pura*) for wounding an enemy, as well as the gold crown (*corona aurea*); legate of Legio X Gemina; candidate of Caesar for praetor; candidate of Caesar for tribune of the plebs; legate to the proconsul of Asia; urban quaestor; broad-striped tribune (*tribuno laticlavio*) of Legio XXII Primigenia; one of the four magistrates for road maintenance (*IIIviro viarum curandarum*); patron; by order of the Decurions, at public expense.

745 Recruitment in Transpadane Italy [c. 134 C.E.]

(Inscription of Dedication on a Statue at Cirta in Numidia, Africa)

[CIL VIII, 7036=ILS 1068=SIRAR 923]¹⁰²²

To Titus Caesernius Status Quinctius Statianus Memmius Macrinus, son of Titus, of the Palatina tribe: Consul, Priest of Augustus (*sodalis Augustalis*), Legate of the emperor with *propraetorian* power for the province of Africa, Legate of Legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix, Praetor, sent by the divine Hadrian on a mission to recruit young men in the Transpadane region, Tribune of the Plebs, Quaestor as the emperor’s candidate, companion of Augustus in the East (*comes Augusti in Oriente*), member of the ten man civil court (*decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*). This dedication set up by order of the decurions, for the patron of four colonies, at public expense.

to cohorts brought by Severus from Britain, Mor names two from Moesia Inferior (Claudia Sugambrorum (Veterana) E. and I Montanorum), and I Augusta Gemina Colonorum.

¹⁰²¹ The Latin text may be viewed online at EDCS (EDCS-13001747). Urbicus was a clear favorite of Hadrian, and a man whose career continued under Antoninus Pius. Note on offices: the broad-striped tribune (*tribuno laticlavio*) was one of the legion’s six military tribunes; the urban quaestors traditionally had fiscal responsibilities with the State Treasury.

¹⁰²² The Latin text of CIL VIII, 7036 can be seen at EDCS (EDCS-13002066), or in *Inscriptiones Africae Latinae* (Wilmann ed.), which is online; see the image for page 631 (<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/Tei-Viewer/cgi-bin/teiviewer.php?manifest=BOOKZID1314679>), or online in *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Africae Romanae* (SIRAR), at <https://humanidadesdigitales.uc3m.es/s/sirar/item/14124>. The ILS entry can be viewed online in the volume *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (p. 234) in the *Internet Archive* library. This inscription is found earlier in this volume with a variant translation and under a different heading as #236 (p. 120). See Birley, *Hadrian*, 274, for context. Caesernius Statianus was consul (*suffectus*) in 141 C.E. (A bust sculpture of him can be found online at the *Ancient Sculpture Gallery* (<https://www.ancientsculpturegallery.com/roman-senator-titus-caesernius-statianus-bust-sculpture-identical-reproduction.html/>) and elsewhere). His older brother, Titus Caesernius Quinctianus, was consul (*suffectus*) near the end of Hadrian’s reign (c. 138 C.E.). Cf. the recruitment drive under Lucius Valerius Proculus (CIL II, 1970, etc.). The “Transpadane” (Trans—‘across’) region is north of the Po river in northern Italy as its counterpart is the “Cispadane” region south of the river.

746 Recruitment in a Province

[c. 134? C.E.]

(Inscription)

[ILS 1341]¹⁰²³

Lucius Valerius Proculus, son of Lucius, of the tribe Quirina: prefect of cohort IV Thracum in Syria; military tribune in Legio VII Claudia; . . . prefect of the fleet at Alexandria and Potamophylacia (*classis Alexandriae et Potamophylaciae*); imperial procurator of Alpes Maritimae; conscriptor for Augustus (*delectatori Augusti*); . . . procurator in the farther Spanish province of Baetica; procurator in the provincial areas of Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and Galatia; procurator of the province of Asia; procurator of the three Gallic provinces. . .

747 Transfer from Fleet to *Legio X Fretensis* [mid-2nd cent. C.E.]

(Excerpt from a Jan. 22, 150 C.E. Petition to the Governor of Syria/Palestine)

[CPL 117=Smallwood #330; cf. *CIL* XVI, 13]¹⁰²⁴

After we had served, sir, in the praetorian fleet of Misenum (*classe praetorian Misenensis*), by the indulgence of the deified Hadrian we were transferred into Legio X Fretensis, where for over twenty years we have been good soldiers.

748 A Roman Garrison at Hebron

(Roman Tile Stamp found at Hebron)¹⁰²⁵

Cohors milliaria Thracum.

¹⁰²³ The Latin text can be found in *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Dessau ed.), I, 298 [#1341]; see his notation. A *delectator* was appointed with power to conscript; see Brunt, "Conscription and Volunteering in the Roman Imperial Army." The state of the inscription suggests the conscription took place in a different province, though Eck, "The Bar Kokhba Revolt," 80, thinks it was in Alpes Maritimae. González-Conde Puente, "L. Valerius Proculus," 73, reads the inscription as more likely pointing to the province of Baetica (*Dado que el siguiente cargo debe interpretarse, a pesar de la laguna en el texto, como una procuratela en la Bética, se ha querido identificar esta provincia como el lugar en el que Proculus ostentaría también la condición de delectator para la realización de las levás.*). A quick aside: the combined fleet based at Alexandria had the principal Roman fleet (*classis Alexandriae*) and a smaller, local fleet (*classis Potamophylaciae*), which principally patrolled the Nile River.

¹⁰²⁴ The Latin text can be found in Smallwood, *Documents*, 113 [#330]. The petition by 22 men was to be allowed to return to their native Alexandria, Egypt, upon discharge. For discussion of this document, see Hopkins, "Fleet and Manpower on Land and Sea," 224–25, who concludes the document "cannot be conclusively connected with the Bar Kokhba war." Hopkins, 223, points to up to 15 *classis diplomata* from 160 C.E. that suggest enlistment in 134 C.E. and indicate a possible recruitment drive in response to the war. Eck, "The Bar Kokhba Revolt," 79, points out that given Roman citizenship was required for enlistment in the legion, these marines were thus enfranchised to join X Fretensis. That it was this legion is altogether fitting. Oorthuys, "Marines and Mariners," 171n.10 observes, "by far the most famous and only surviving imperial legion with naval service in its heritage is Legio X Fretensis. Both its epithet *Fretensis* (*Fretum Siculum*, the strait of Messina) and its emblems, the galley and dolphin, hark back to the days when this legion served in the war against Sextus Pompeius." *CIL* XVI, 13 hearkens to the reign of Vespasian.

¹⁰²⁵ Speidel, "A Tile Stamp of Cohors I Thracum Milliaria from Hebron/Palestine," argues that the unit garrisoned Ein Gedi in 124 C.E. but was localized at or near Hebron, where it was responsible not only for that population center but for the outlying desert districts. It survived the war and is noted on a military diploma of 139 C.E. See entry for *CIL* XVI, 87 on p. 719.

749 Roman Forces at Jerusalem (Uncertain Date)

(Inscription of Dedication at Jerusalem)

[CIIP I², 717]¹⁰²⁶

For Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, son of the deified Traianus Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva [-- name --]us, his freedman (had erected/built this) with the help of the vexillations of the legions ... and X Fretensis and II (Traiana?) and ... and ... and XII Fulminata.

750 Roman Naval Action

(Inscription at Rome)

[CIL VI, 1565=CIL VI, 37054]¹⁰²⁷

triumph(al?) . . . senate's delight . . . greatest bond . . . war of the Jews . . . which the decorated war fleet (*Liburni classis*) . . . maritime . . .

751 A Roman Tactic, 1

(Midrash)

[*Eichab Eichab (Lamentations) Rabbah* 1,16.45 on Lam. 1:16]¹⁰²⁸

He caused guards to be placed at the principal roads of Emmaus, Lekitaja [Lukyeh], and Beth El. "Now," said he, "if they escape from one place, they are sure to be caught in another." As great numbers had concealed themselves in woods, caves, and inaccessible spots, he, in order to draw them from their hiding-places, ordered it to be proclaimed that the emperor's anger was appeased, and that whoever wished to avail himself of the royal clemency should appear before him, at a stated period, in the valley of Rimmon. Many, confiding in the royal assurance, came and presented themselves at the appointed time. The tyrant was at dinner, in his pavilion. Beholding the assembled multitude, he said to his lieutenant: "Mind, I expect that before I finish this crust of bread, and the thigh of this fowl, not one of those wretches shall remain alive." The lieutenant obeyed, the legions were ordered to fall upon the defenceless people, and they were massacred without remorse. Those that remained concealed escaped, indeed, immediate destruction, but they were reserved for still greater calamities. Hunger and want reduced them to such extremities, that they were obliged to feed on the putrid bodies of the slain.

¹⁰²⁶ The translation follows Werner Eck (*CIIP* I.2, 717) as found in Ecker, "The Training Ground," 113.

¹⁰²⁷ The Latin may be viewed at *EDCS* (EDCS-18000428). It is unclear whether this refers to action in the Bar Kokhba revolt or the earlier revolt in the 1st century. Obviously, given the fragmentary nature of the inscription, neither the translation or any conclusions drawn from the text should be pressed. In passing, it is worth noting, as Wise, *Language and Literacy in Roman Judaea*, 1, points out, Roman military diplomas suggest the transfer of many seamen of the famous *Classis Misensis* to the legions fighting in Judea (though this matter remains vigorously debated).

¹⁰²⁸ Hurwitz [Kohut rev. ed], *Hebrew Tales*, 80–81. This rendering somewhat truncates the account. For another translation, see *Midrash Rabbah: Lamentations* (Cohen trans.), 125–26. The location of Kefar Lekitaja (or Leqitaia) remains uncertain; I have placed it south of Jerusalem, but others put it to the north (see, for example, Raviv, Har-Evan, and Tavger, "Khirbet el-Qutt"). Also see entry #755.

752 A Roman Tactic, 2—One Used Across 3 Campaigns?

(Midrash)

[*Eichab (Lamentations) Rabbah* 1,17.52 (with reference to Ps. 52:5)]¹⁰²⁹

‘*These things I remember*’: The emperor Vespasian placed watchmen eighteen miles from Emmaus who used to question the pilgrims and ask them, ‘To whom do you belong?’ They would answer, ‘We are the men of Vespasian, or Trajan, or Hadrian.’

Hypothesized Roman Engagements in Main Theater of War (Encircled Areas)

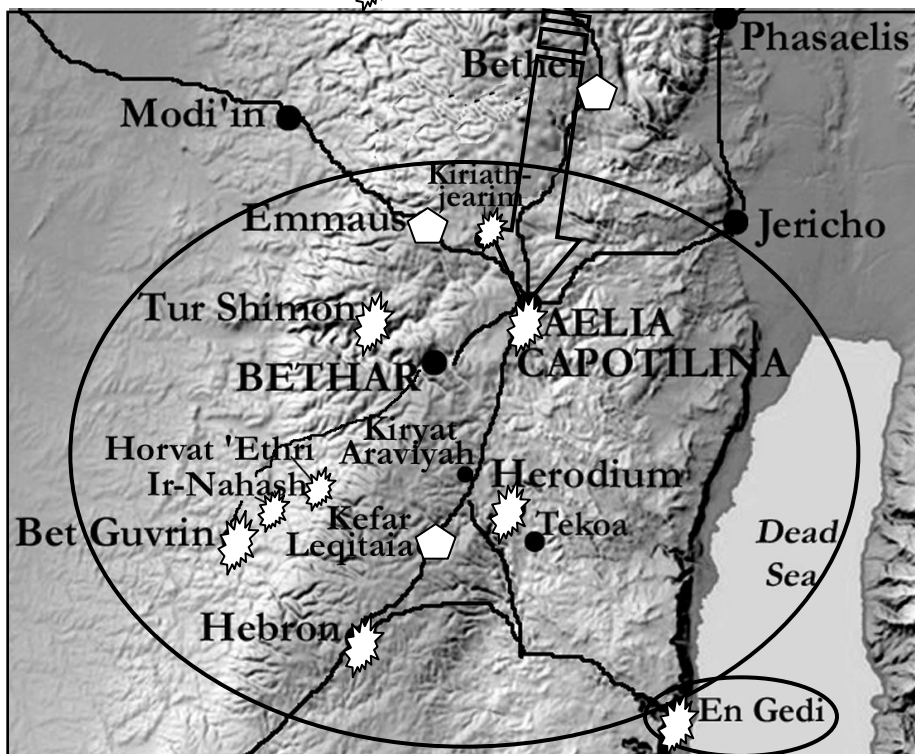


Key Roman Outposts



Key Battle Sites

Map locations approximate



134 C.E., Aelia Capitolina: Reinforced Legio X Fretensis returns and retakes Jerusalem. Rebels retreat southward.

134/135 C.E., Hebron and En Gedi: Romans retake the towns and control the roads. Rebels flee, some into caves alongside the Dead Sea.

134/135 C.E., Bet Guvrin and Judean Hills: Resistance and destruction.

134/135 C.E., Herodium: A key center of resistance until late in the revolt.

134/135 C.E., Emmaus: This vital point along the route from Aelia Capitolina to Caesarea Maritima is garrisoned by Cohors VI Ulpia Petraorum.

¹⁰²⁹ *Midrash Rabbah: Lamentations* (Cohen trans.), 140. The response was a declaration of allegiance to the Roman government.

753 The Fall of Tur Malka¹⁰³⁰

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Gittin* 57a]¹⁰³¹

Because of a rooster and a hen Tur Malka was destroyed. It was the custom that as a bride and groom were going out a rooster and hen were led before them, as if to tell them, “Be fruitful and multiply like fowls.” One day a Roman band of soldiers was passing by as this occurred and they seized the animals from the wedding party. The Jews attacked them and beat them. The soldiers then reported to Caesar that the Jews were rebelling. Caesar marched against them. But among the Jews of Tur Malka was a man called Bar Daroma. He was able to leap a *mil* (‘mile’ or kilometer) and he slaughtered the Romans. Then Caesar took his crown, set it upon the ground, and said, “Sovereign of all the world, may it be acceptable to you not to deliver myself and my kingdom into the hands of one man.” But Bar Daroma was tripped by his own mouth when he said, “Have you not, O God, forsaken us for you do not go forth with our armies” (Ps. 60:12). Did not David also say this? But he posed it as a question. Bar Daroma then went to the latrine, where a snake came upon him, and his insides dropped out and he died. Caesar said, “Since a miracle happened for me, this time I will let them be.” So he left the Jews and departed. They then began to dance, eat, drink, and light so many fires that the detail of a seal (i.e., the impression on a document) could be seen a *mil* away! Caesar then said, “Are the Jews being merry at my expense?” So he marched against them once more. R. Assi said, “Three hundred thousand men with drawn swords entered Tur Malka and made slaughter for three days and nights, while on the other side of Tur Malka dancing and feasting continued and the one group did not know about the other.”

¹⁰³⁰ As with many other stories, this one *might* be best associated with the revolt, but other possible referents cannot be excluded. Tur Malka (Aram., “King’s Mountain”) is a name uncertain in its application; Rashi thought it applied to a region (“province”)—if so, then perhaps a general descriptor for the Judean mountains where much of the conflict occurred. Alternatively, it could refer to a smaller area, or only a village. Porat et al., “The ‘Camp at Herodis,’” 289, identify it with the *Har ha-melekh* (‘the king’s mountain’) and *Tur Shim’on* (Simeon’s mountain’) of Rabbinic literature and identify Herodium and its area as the place meant; they cite this text as an event at Herodium early in the revolt. They argue, 287, “The dates in the Muraba’at cave documents (which employ the formula ‘the second year of the redemption of Israel by Simeon ben Kosiba in the camp at Herodis’) suggest that the rebels occupied Herodium no later than early in the second year of the revolt. . . .” They posit Yeshua ben Galgola as the commander of the camp there and that Herodium was held until shortly before the end of the revolt.

¹⁰³¹ See *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Gittin*, 57a (Soncino ed.) for an alternate translation (reproduced in Yassif, *The Hebrew Folktale*, 134, with comments), or see *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Gittin.57a.6?ven=Sefaria_Community_Translation&vhe=Wikisource_Talmud_Bavli&lang=bi). Yassif, *The Hebrew Folktale*, 134, writes this tale discloses an important historical truth: “the reason for the Jews’ revolt against the Romans was the latter’s belittling of Jewish custom and tradition.” *Bar Daroma* can mean ‘son of a man named Daroma’ or metaphorically, ‘son of the South.’ He is sometimes identified with Bar Kokhba. “His insides dropped out” is interpreted in the Soncino ed. as “he dropped his gut [from fright].” Also see Porat et al., “The ‘Camp at Herodis,’” 289.

754 The War Turns, 1

(Midrash)

[*Eikhab (Lamentations) Rabbah* 2]¹⁰³²

Rabbi Yoḥanan said: From Giveton to Antipatris there were six hundred thousand cities, the smallest of which was Beit Shemesh. That is what is written: “He smote among the men of Beit Shemesh...[and He smote of the people seventy men and fifty thousand men]” (I Samuel 6:19). . . .

How many attacks did Hadrian launch? Two *amora'im*, one said fifty-two and one said fifty-four. Rabbi Yoḥanan said: Happy is he who saw the downfall of Tadmor. Why? Because it played a role in two destructions. Rabbi Yudan said: In the first destruction it provided eighty thousand archers and in the second it provided forty thousand archers. Rav Huna said: In the latter destruction they were like the first.

755 The War Turns, 2

(Midrash)

[*Eikhab (Lamentations) Rabbah* I.392 (Romi ms.)]¹⁰³³

Hadrian (his bones be ground to dust!) positioned three guard forces, one at Hammat-Gader, and one at Bethlehem and one at Kefar Lekitia.

756 The War Turns, 3

(Midrash)

[*Sifre on Deuteronomy*, Piska 323]¹⁰³⁴

How can *one* pursue a thousand?” (Dt.32:30)—

[Said the Holy One to Israel:]

If you don’t observe the Torah,

how can I fulfill the promise you request from Me,

that one of *you* pursue a thousand of the *nations*,

and that two of you will put 10,000 to flight?

Yet, now,

one of the nations pursues a thousand of *you*,

and two of *them* put 10,000 of *you* to flight!

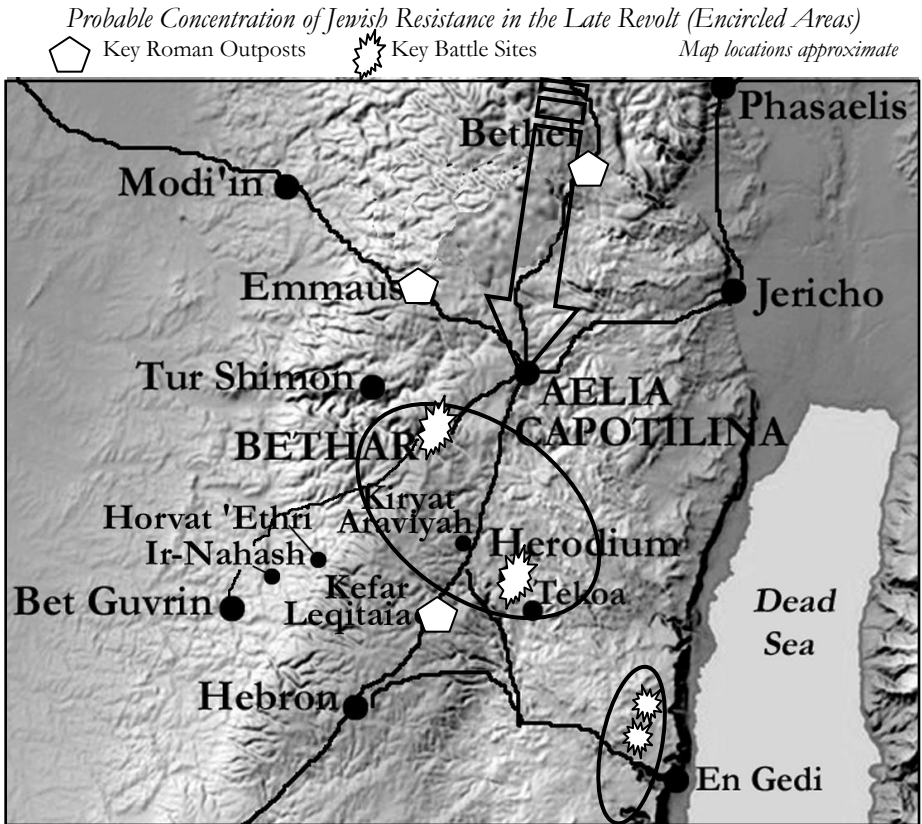
Is it not because

¹⁰³² *Eikhab Rabbah* (Schrier trans.), at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Eikhab_Rabbah.2.4?Lang=bi). This translation is made available by Creative Commons CC-BY license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/>). Tadmor=Palmyra, in the province of Arabia.

¹⁰³³ Dvorjetski, “Roman Emperors at the Thermo-Mineral Baths,” 575; see the comparison of versions there (one of which has ‘Beit el D’Yahud’ instead of ‘Bethlehem’ or ‘Beit-Lehem’), and see notes 39 and 40. Dvorjetski, 576, writes that Hammat-Gader might have been chosen for a guard force because of the strategic location of its ‘mother-town,’ Gadara. (See map, p. 458.) On another small settlement, see Sizzu and Ganor, “Horvat ‘Ethri” (and map, p. 461).

¹⁰³⁴ *Sifre Devarim* (Jaffee trans.), accessed online at <https://jewishstudies.washington.edu/book/sifre-devarim/chapter/pisqa-323/>. Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age*, II, 596n.9, argues about the last phrase, “This must mean that Jewish fugitives or fighters during the Bar Kokhba War, hiding from the Romans in caves [or in the tunnels described by Dio?] were given away by flies swarming near the airholes.”

“their Rock has sold them out, and HASHEM has imprisoned them”
 (Dt.32:30)?—
 [Said the Holy One to Israel:]
 I will not imprison you myself;
 further, I will use others as my surrogates—
 for it once happened in Judah
 that flies turned them in!



135 C.E., Herodium: The stronghold at Herodium falls; the rebels scatter. The Judean hill caves become final refuge points, including near En Gedi.
135 C.E., Bethar: After a long siege the last stronghold falls; Bar Kokhba dies.

757 Roman Persistence

(Midrash)

[*Eichah (Lamentations) Rabbah* 2.2.4]¹⁰³⁵

How many battles did Hadrian fight? Two teachers give an answer. One said it was fifty-two and the other fifty-four.

¹⁰³⁵ *Midrash Rabbah: Lamentations* (Cohen trans.), 166. See Gichon, “New Insight,” 32–34.

ROMAN VALOR

758 Roman Valor in the War, 1: Publicius Marcellus [post 138 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Statue Base at Aquileia in Northern Italy)

[*AE* 1934.231]¹⁰³⁶

For Caius Quinctius Certus Publicius Marcellus: Consul; augur; legate of the deified Hadrian to the provinces of Syria and Germania Superior; triumphal decorations (*ornamentis triumphalibus*).

759 Roman Valor on the Battlefield, 2: Sextus Cornelius Dexter

(Honorific Inscription in Mauretania Caesarensis)

[*CIL* VIII, 8934=*AE* 2012.61=*ILS* 1400]¹⁰³⁷

To Sextus Cornelius Dexter, son of Sextus, of the tribe Arnensis: procurator of Asia; senior legal administrator (*iuridicus*) at Alexandria; procurator of Neapolis and the mausoleum of Alexander; prefect of the Syrian fleet, awarded military decorations (*donis militaria*) by the deified Hadrian for the war against the Jews—the ‘headless spear’ (*bastis puris*) for wounding an enemy and a battlefield standard (*vexillum*); prefect of the cavalry I Augusta Gemina Colonomum; tribune of legion VIII Augusta; prefect of cohort V Raetorum; prefect of the workmen three times; patron of the colony. Publius Blaesus Felix, centurion of legion II Traiana Fortis, related and devout, for his merit.

760 Roman Valor on the Battlefield, 3: Caius Nummius Constans

(Honorific Inscription in Campania, Italy)

[*CIL* X, 3733=*ILS* 2083]¹⁰³⁸

To Caius Nummius Constans, son of Caius, of the tribe Falerna: *primus pilus* of legion II Traiana; twice a centurion, in legions III Cyrenaica and VII Claudius; called forth for public recognition for his exploits; soldier of the 3rd Praetorian cohort and of the 10th urban cohort; awarded decorations of the neck (*torques*)

¹⁰³⁶ The Latin text can be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-01300238). Eck, “The Bar Kokhba Revolt,” 83, argues, “Marcellus’ contribution to the final victory was decisive, or he would have had to be content with the more modest *dona militaria*, normal military reward, which included *coronae*, *vexilla*, and *bastae*.” Eck reckons Marcellus probably be considered as one of the ‘best generals’ mentioned in passing by Dio.

¹⁰³⁷ The Latin text can be found in Eck, “Hadrian, Bar Kokhba, and the Epigraphic Transmission,” 163, n. 43; it is also available online at *EDCS* (EDCS-25100032). See Eck, 163–65, who suggests Dexter may have been stationed on the Dead Sea, but thinks it most likely any significant naval battles were on the Mediterranean. Maxfield, “The *Dona Militaria* of the Roman Army,” 71–72, who offers the Latin text of this inscription and two others related to Dexter, examines briefly the question of the occasion of the military decoration. Jarrett, “A Study,” 169, remarks, “the decorations are low on a *scalae* for an *ala*.” Dexter was a native of the North African port city of Saldæ. The *procuratori Neapoleos et Mausolei* was responsible for the corn graneries of the dock area of Alexandria. Also see *CIL* VIII, 8925.

¹⁰³⁸ The Latin text is available online at *EDCS* (EDCS-17500294). The *primus pilus* was the senior centurion in the 1st cohort, thus the senior centurion of the legion. The *phalerae* were a set of discs worn on the breastplate (i.e., akin to modern medals). The *corona aurea* was an award for individual valor for having slain an enemy combatant while holding position until a battle’s conclusion.

and arm (*armillis*), and *phalerae*, by emperor Trajan for the Parthian war, and the same by emperor Hadrian as well as the gold crown (*corona aurea*) for the war in Judea. (This is set) according to his will, by his heirs.

761 Roman Valor in the War, 4: Gaius Popilius Caro Pedito

(Inscription at Tibur, Italy)

[CIL XIV, 3610]¹⁰³⁹

To Gaius Popilius Caro Pedito, son of Gaius, of the Quirine tribe; consul; member of the board of seven for conducting religious banquets; member of the priesthood of [the deified] Hadrian; legate of the Emperor Caesar Antoninus Pius with rank of praetor in Upper Germany and of the army encamped therein; commissioner of public works; prefect of the public treasury; commissioner of the Aurelian (old and new), Cornelian, and Triumphal Ways; legate of the X Fretensis, from which position he resigned; praetor; tribune of the plebs; quaestor of the deified Hadrian Augustus; candidate of the emperor in all his offices; tribune (broad stripe) of the Legion III Cyrenaica; honored with military decorations by the deified Hadrian for [bravery in] the Jewish campaign; member of the board of ten for judging lawsuits. The senate and people of Tibur [dedicated this to him], the patron of the municipality, protector of the highest type, for his excellent services to the community.

762 Roman Valor on the Battlefield, 5: Octavius Secundus

[after 138 C.E.]

(Honorific Inscription at Serrae, Macedonia)

[ILS 2080]¹⁰⁴⁰

. . . Octavius Secundus of the Sabine town of Cures: soldier of the X Urban cohort; transferred to Praetorian cohort VI; tribune's bodyguard (*singularis*); tribune's clerk; Praetorian Prefect's bodyguard; deputy (*optio*) to the centurion; standard bearer (*signifer*); overseer of the money; tribune's adjutant (*cornucularius*); reenlisted veteran (*evocatus Augusti*), centurion legion X Fretensis; awarded the gold crown (*corona aurea*), decorations of the neck (*torques*) and arm (*armillis*), and *phalerae*, by the deified Hadrian for the Judean war, and by the same promoted to succeed as *primipilus* in legion I Italica; chosen as decurion in the colony and honored with *duoviral* ornaments by Actia Nicopolis and Ulpia . . .

¹⁰³⁹ Lewis and Reinhold, *Roman Civilization Sourcebook*, II, 124. For an alternate translation, see Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 64, who adds in a footnote, "[S]eemingly through the goodwill of Hadrian he acquired the standing of a legionary legate without holding the post." Gaius Popilius Caro Pedito was a Suffect Consul in 147 C.E. It is possible he was a native of Spain; somewhere in the Western provinces seems most likely. It was during his time of service with Legio III Cyrenaica (then posted in Syria) that he won his military decorations. The 'broad stripe' referred to in the inscription signalled that he would be entering a senatorial career.

¹⁰⁴⁰ The Latin text can be found in *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 417; cf. Dobson, "The Primipilares," p. 227 [#328].

763 Roman Valor on the Battlefield, 6: Caius Arrius Clemens [after 138 C.E.]

(Honorific Inscription at Matilica in Umbria, Italy)

[CIL II, 5646=ILS 2081=Smallwood #300]¹⁰⁴¹

Caius Arrius Clemens, son of Cornelius, of the tribe Cornelia: soldier of cohort IX Praetorians and cavalryman (*equus*) of the same; awarded by Emperor Trajan decorations of the neck (*torques*) and arm (*armillis*), and *phalerae* for the Dacian War; Praetorian Prefect's bodyguard; officer of the watch (*tessararius*); adjutant; overseer of the money; tribune's adjutant (*cornucularius*); reenlisted veteran (*evocatus Augusti*), centurion of cohort I of the watchmen (*Vigiles*); centurion of Urban cohort XIX; centurion of the military police; centurion of Urban cohort XIV; centurion of Praetorian cohort VII; senior centurion (*trecanario*), awarded by Emperor Hadrian the 'headless spear' (*bastis puris*) for wounding an enemy, and the gold crown (*corona aurea*); centurion legion III Augusta; *primipilus*; served on the two man board for a five year term (*Ilviro quinquennalis*); patron of the municipality; caretaker of the public good; decurion and one of the *Augustales Viviri* of the town of Matilica.

764 Roman Valor on the Battlefield, 7: Quintus Albius Felix

(Honorific Inscription)

[CIL XI, 3108]¹⁰⁴²

To Quintus Albius Felix, son of Quintus, of the Horatian voting-tribe, centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, cornicularius of the Praetorian Prefect; decorated by the divine Trajan Augustus with torques, arm-bands and medallions in a Parthian war and by the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus with the ceremonial spear and golden crown; Avillia Soteris, his mother, (set this up) to a most dutiful and good son; place given by decree of the town-councillors.

¹⁰⁴¹ For an alternate translation, see Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 51–52. The Latin text can be found in *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, 417 cf. Dobson, "The Primipilares," p. 41 [#55]. On the *Augustales* (a society common in Roman towns), see Oliver, "Gerusiae and Augustales." Units of the III Augusta fought in the Bar Kochba War.

¹⁰⁴² Malone, "Legio XX Victoria Victrix," 104 (with Latin text); cf. the translation of Birley, "*Viri Militares*," 66. Malone, 147, comments, "A context in the campaigning in Britain in the early years of Hadrian's reign would seem most straightforward, but it has been suggested that vexillations from the British army accompanied the governor Sex. Julius Severus when he was transferred to Judaea to put down the Bar Kochba revolt in 132. As a senior centurion with Praetorian service and experience of campaigning on the eastern frontier, Felix might have been chosen to accompany him, perhaps in charge of a vexillation drawn from the Twentieth Legion, and might have earned these latter awards there." On Felix' service with Legio XX Valeria Victrix, see Malone, "Legio XX Valeria Victrix," who also offers text and translation for this inscription (p. 104), along with some comment (p. 105), where he remarks about the awards under Hadrian, "the scale of this latter award implies a rank as centurion at least, and probably as one of the *primi ordines*." The "ceremonial spear" translates *bastia pura* and "golden crown" renders *corona aurea*. He points out that the winning of these awards might have happened in Britain early in Hadrian's reign, or as suggested by its inclusion here, for action in the Bar Kokhba war.

765 Roman Valor on the Battlefield, 8: Titus Camulius Lavenus

(Latin Inscription on tombstone at Gratianopolis, Gallia Narbonensis)

[CIL XII, 2230=ILS 2313]¹⁰⁴³

To the spirits of the dead of Titus Camulius Lavenus, son of Lucius, veteran of the 3rd legion Gallica, granted discharge by the emperor Antoninus Augustus Pius, and honored at the wishes of Hadrian Augustus with necklaces and golden armbands according to the vote of his legion; Camulia, his sister, and Partegoria dedicated this to their best and most pious patron on account of his merits.

766 A Roman Soldier of the Campaign?

(Inscription by Titus Flavius Valens)

[DIMPERP 55]¹⁰⁴⁴

Titus Flavius Valens, son of Philē__, formerly decurion of the cohort (σπείρης), has made this at his own (expense) for himself and Julia Valentina, his most pious wife.

FALL OF JERUSALEM

767 The Destruction of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron

(*Samaritan Chronicle*)¹⁰⁴⁵

47 “Now if you desire to get possession of the country, send unto Rihâ and unto Lûdd and seize the mouths of the tunnels, and let not anything enter into them nor anyone go into them; and also seize Beit Lahm (Bethlehem), and demolish the duct through which there comes in unto them oil and water and sesame-oil and honey.” And the king did according to what they said unto him, and he also sent and had brought into his presence the Samaritans Afrim and Manashshih, and they were present with him in besieging Beit el-Muqaddas. And he reduced them (the inhabitants of Jerusalem) to such sore straits, that

¹⁰⁴³ Harvey, *Roman Lives*, 56 (with accompanying Latin text). Inscription can also be accessed online at EDCS (EDCS-09200638). N.B. Harvey notes that “These decorations probably came from his participation in quelling the revolt in Judea which led to the destruction of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Roman colony, Aelia Capitolina, in its place.” Similarly, Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 447, n. 73, writes, “CIL XII, 2230 records an *emeritus* of III Galica decorated by Hadian for services unspecified but almost certainly in the Jewish war, since he was discharged by Antoninus Pius.” Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 105–106 [#171], after his translation, adds the comment that, “This is the only known example of the award of decorations by an emperor in response to the wishes of the recipient’s colleagues.”

¹⁰⁴⁴ The Greek text, with an alternative English translation, may be viewed at *Database of Military Inscriptions and Papyri of Early Roman Palestine* (<https://armyofromanpalestine.com/0055-2>).

¹⁰⁴⁵ *The Samaritan Chronicle* (Crane trans.), 122–23. Afrim and Manashshih (Ephraim and Manasseh) were Samaritan brothers arrested for a crime against a Jew. Theirs is the advice quoted at the start of the entry. Beit el-Muqaddas is an Arabic name for Jerusalem. Benjamin and Oppenheimer, “The Revolt of Bar Kokhba,” 39, note, “The chronicles date to the Middle Ages and they are very probably influenced by the relationship between Jews and Samaritans as it developed in the period after the revolt.” On the Samaritan accounts of the revolt, see Mor, “The Samaritans and the Bar- Kokhba Revolt,” 25–30.

women ate their daughters and men their sons. And he rose in attack against them while they were observing the requirements of the law, and when they beheld themselves spoiled of everything they sued for protection. And when they (the Romans) took possession, Adrînûs gave [p. 123] orders that they should not molest the temple until he went in, and when he entered he took the priest who belonged to the temple, and said to him: "For whose name was this dwelling built?" The priest said unto him: "It was built for the name of the Creator of creatures." And when he had entered into the place, he beheld a painted picture and by its side an idol, and when he saw them he said to the priest: "This place was built for the name of the Creator of creatures and is this done in it?" And he seized hold of him to punish him; but he (the priest) informed him that it was a deceit which the Jews who served the idol had made, notwithstanding Harûn (Aaron) had commanded that they should worship the Creator of creatures. And this wicked king saved Afrîm and Manashshîh from being killed; and Adrinus set up in the city an image upon a pillar in accordance with the will of Afrîm and Manashshîh, for the purpose of showing unto them (the inhabitants of the city) his rank, and it is there unto this day; and he also erected two images, and named the first image after the name of Afrîm, and the second image after the name of Manashshîh; and he gave orders to the leaders of the Jews that no one should pass by in front of them, but only behind them; and they are obliged to do this even unto this day. And Adrinus went out from there unto Qiryat el-'Arba' (Kirjath-Arba) — which is Habrûn (Hebron), and did like as he had done in Beit el-Muqaddas.

768 The Destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, 1

(Midrash)

[*Deuteronomy Rabbah* 3.13 on Eccl. 3:5]¹⁰⁴⁶

R. Tanhuma said: What is the meaning of, 'A time to cast away stones'? There was a time for Hadrian, may his bones be turned to dust, to come up and break in pieces the stones of the [p. 83] Temple. 'And a time to gather stones together.' [There will be a time when God will rebuild it.

769 The Destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, 2

(Jerome, *Commentary on Zechariah* viii.19; see entry #772)¹⁰⁴⁷

... the temple, to the ignominy of the nation, was destroyed by T. Anius Rufus.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Midrash Rabbah: Deuteronomy* (Rabinowitz trans.), 82–83. Based on the coinage, Kanael, "Notes on the Dates," 45, concludes Jerusalem was held from Spr./Su., 132–Spr./Su., 134 C.E.

¹⁰⁴⁷ The Latin text can be found in Jerome, *Commentariorum in Zachariam* (Migne ed.), 1475c. Clark, "Worship in the Jerusalem Temple after A.D. 70," 274, remarks, "The statements that Hadrian again destroyed the Temple may also have an independent truth, with reference to the dilapidated and repaired Temple that survived the attack of Titus." That Hadrian might have founded a Temple to Zeus before the Revolt and destroyed the Jewish Temple at the end of the revolt might make better sense if the former was not built on the site of the latter (the Temple Mount). See Eliav, "Hadrian's Actions in the Jerusalem Temple Mount," 130.

BETHAR: THE FINAL STAND

770 Bethar

(*Bordeaux Itinerary* (*Itinerarium Burdigalense*);
cf. Jerusalem Talmud, *Ta'anit* 4 (69a))¹⁰⁴⁸

589 Some 28 miles from there on the way to Jerusalem, toward the left, is the village called Bethar. From there to Jerusalem it is 12 miles.

771 Roman Troops at Bethar

(Inscription at Bethar, post 136 C.E.)

[*AE* 1894.166= *AE* 1896.53= *CIL* III, 13586= *CIL* III, 14155]¹⁰⁴⁹

... vexillations of legion V Macedonica and XI Claudia. ...

Bethar

(Carroll, “Bittir,” 103)

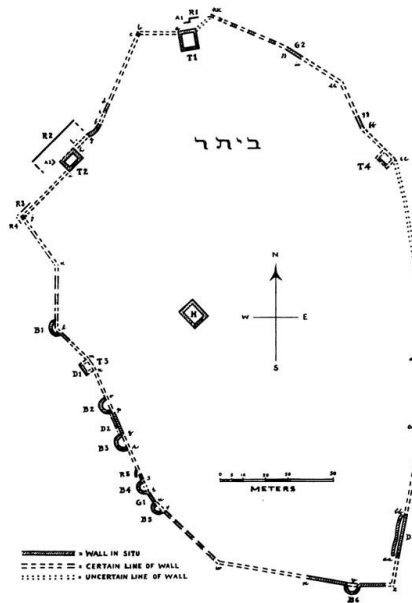
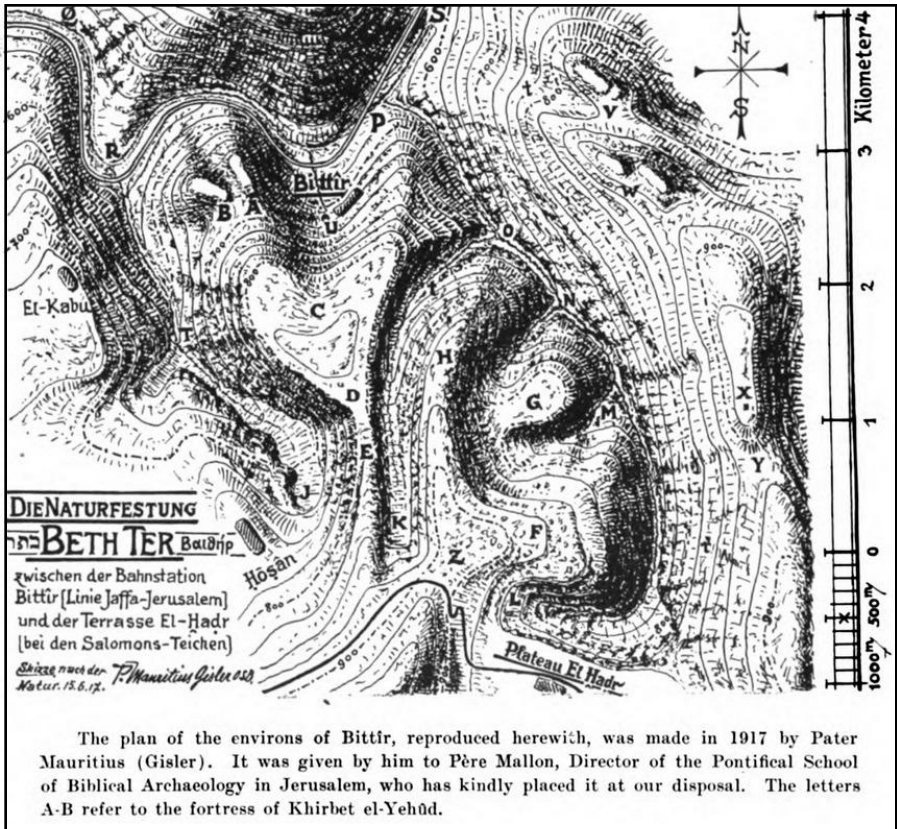


Diagram of the Wall

¹⁰⁴⁸ The Latin text can be found in *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 20 (Geyer ed.). This work is the earliest surviving account of a Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land, recounting a journey undertaken 333/334 C.E. The “miles” are Roman miles (1=1.48 kilometers). Carroll, “Bittir,” 78, pointed out a century ago the Talmud’s בִּיתָר “is transliterated in a number of different ways—*Bether*, *Bethar*, *Bettbar*, *Beth-ter*, *Beth-tar*, etc.” Also found are *Betar* and *Beitar*, among others. But the preferred transliteration today is *Bethar*.

¹⁰⁴⁹ The Latin text can be found in *L'Année épigraphique* (1896, March-June), 18 [#1896.53] (Originally in *Clermont-Ganneau, Etudes d'archéologie orientale*, 142.). The Latin text also may be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-31400007). Cf. the earlier entry by Fronto in *De Bello Parthico* 2 (end): “Again under the rule of your grandfather Hadrian what a number of soldiers were killed by the Jews. . . .”

*Bethar (Bitter) in Its Terrain*¹⁰⁵⁰
(Carroll, “Bittir,” 102)



¹⁰⁵⁰ Assuming an identification with Bittir, Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine, III*, 20–21, describe it thusly: “A village of moderate size on the precipitous slope of a deep valley, which bends sharply, the hill on which the place stands projecting at the bend of the valley. The houses stand upon rock terraces, and there is a rocky scarp below; thus from the north the place is very strong, whilst on the south a narrow neck between two ravine heads connects the hill with the main ridge. The valleys east and west are steep and deep. The spring above the village is large and good; the water is conducted down from it west of the houses in a cement-lined channel, and runs into a large reservoir, the aqueduct ending suddenly at a broken arch, of modern masonry and pointed form, the pier being over [p. 21] the east wall of the reservoir, so that the water pours down from it in a cascade. From the reservoir the water finds its way to neat vegetable gardens in the valley beneath; these occupy all the space under the rocky scarps at the junction of the main northern valley with the steep ravine (west of the village) in which the reservoir is built. Near the spring are caves and niches, with an effaced Greek inscription. “This place is probably the famous Bether of the Talmud where Bar Cocheba was slain, and the Bether (or Thether) of the Septuagint (Joshua XV. 59).”

Bethar (Khibet el-Yehud, 'Ruin of the Jews'), Seen from East (left) and West (right)
(Carroll, "Bittir," 98 [Photos 1 & 2])¹⁰⁵¹



The Ruins of Bethar (Khibet el-Yehud): Inscription Site (left) and Road (right)
(Carroll, "Bittir," 98 [Photos 3 & 4])¹⁰⁵²



¹⁰⁵¹ Carroll, "Bittir," 96, observes, "The whole fortification gives the impression of having been put up under stress, and in more or less of a hurry. Care has been taken rather for defense than for aesthetic appearance. Moreover, the fortifications show repair and restoration, as if a conqueror's hand had been at work."

¹⁰⁵² Carroll, "Bittir," 84, writes, "A few meters to the south of the place where the waters of the spring gush from the rock, and just at the foot of the rock-cut road from the khirbeh, is a vertical groove in the rock with old water-channels leading from it (Phot. 3). This is no doubt where the waters of the spring emerged in ancient times. On either side of this groove a rectangular space has been smoothed in the rock, as if for an inscription. If there was once an inscription on the southernmost one, it is now entirely obliterated. The one on the northern side, the larger of the two, is now so badly weathered that only a few letters of the inscription are to be seen. The inscription was in Latin and was published fifty years ago by Clermont-Ganneau. It mentions the Fifth and Eleventh Legions. Since these two legions were stationed in Dacia shortly before the Bar-Kokhba war, in the reign of Trajan, Clermont-Ganneau inferred that troops from these two legions were among those brought in to help put down this revolt and stationed as a garrison in the fortress after it was wrested from the Jews." The Fifth legion would be Legio V Macedonica, and the Eleventh legion would be Legio XI Claudia.

772 Jerusalem and Bethar

(Jerome, *Commentary on Zechariah* viii.19)¹⁰⁵³

The city of Bethar was captured, to which many thousands of Jews had fled; the temple, to the ignominy of the nation, was destroyed by T. Anius Rufus.

773 The Learned Men of Bethar

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Sanhedrin* 17b]¹⁰⁵⁴

R. Johanan said: The persons who are chosen to be members of the Sanhedrin must be tall, men of wisdom, of good appearance, and of a considerable age; and, also, they should understand something in cases of witchcraft; and they must also know seventy languages, so that they shall not need to hear a case through an interpreter. R. Jehudah in the name of Rabh said: In a city in which there are not to be found two persons who can speak seventy languages, and one who can understand them although he cannot speak, Sanhedrin must not be established. In the city of Bethar were three. . . .

774 The Schools of Bethar, 1

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Ta'anit* 4:5 (cf. next entry)]¹⁰⁵⁵

[IX.QQ] It has been taught: Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel says, "There were 500 schoolhouses in Betar. The smallest of them had no fewer than 500 children.

[RR] "They said, 'If the enemy comes against us, with these quills we shall go forth against them and put their eyes out.'

[SS] "On account of the sins [that caused the tragedy], they wrapped each one [of the children] in his scroll and burned him, and out of them all, I alone have survived."

[TT] He cited in his own regard the following verse of Scripture: "My eyes cause me grief at the fate of all the maidens of the city."

775 The Schools of Bethar, 2

(Midrash)

[*Eichab Rabbab* (*Lamentations Rabbab*) 2.2.4 (cf. previous entry)]¹⁰⁵⁶

Rabbi Gamaliel said: "There were five hundred schools in Bethar, and the smallest of them had no less than three hundred children. They used to say: 'If the enemy comes against us, with these styluses we will go out and stab them.' When, however, the people's sins did cause the enemy to come, they enwrapped each pupil in his book and burnt him, so that I alone was left."

He affected to himself the verse: *Mine eye affecteth my soul, because of all the daughters of my city.*

¹⁰⁵³ The Latin text can be found in Jerome, *Commentariorum in Zachariam* (Migne ed.), 1475c.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Sanhedrin*, 40 (Rodkinson trans.).

¹⁰⁵⁵ *The Talmud of the Land of Israel, 18: Besab and Ta'anit* (Neusner trans.), 277–78.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Midrash Rabbab, VII* (Cohen trans.), 161.

776 Why Bethar Fell

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Ta'anit* 4.8 (69a); cf. *Lamentations Rabbah* 2]¹⁰⁵⁷

And why was it [i.e. Bethar] destroyed? Because of the kindling of lights after the destruction of the Temple.

777 The Siege of Bethar and R. Eleazar

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Ta'anit* 4.8 (68d–69a)=*Lamentations Rabbah* 2 (51a–52a)]¹⁰⁵⁸

For three and a half years Hadrian besieged Bethar. R. Eleazar of Modi'im sat on ashes, wore sackcloth, and prayed daily, "Lord of the Universe, sit not in judgment today, sit not in judgment today." Hadrian then thought of returning home. A Cuthean said to him, "Do not go; I will do something tomorrow which will enable you to subdue the city." He immediately entered the gate of the city where he found R. Eleazar standing and praying. He pretended to whisper in his ear. The inhabitants of the city saw him, seized him, and took him to Ben Kozba, saying, "We saw this old man conversing with your uncle." "What did you say to him, and what did he say to you?" he asked. "If I tell you, replied (the Cuthean), the emperor will kill me; if I do not, you will kill me. Better to die at the hands of the emperor than at yours. Your uncle confided to me that he would surrender the city." (Ben Kozba) then went to Eleazar of Modi'im and asked him, "What did that Cuthean say to you?" "Nothing," replied R. Eleazar. "And what did you say to him?" "Nothing." Then Ben Kozba kicked him with his boot and killed him. A heavenly voice issued forth, saying "Cursed be the shepherd of nothingness, who abandons the sheep! May the sword strike his arm and his *[p. 175]* right eye! Let his arm be completely withered, his right eye utterly blinded" (Zech. 11, 17). You have killed R. Eleazar of Modi'im, the arm and right eye of Israel; may your arm be completely withered and your eye utterly blinded."

¹⁰⁵⁷ Hezer, "The (In)Significance of Jerusalem in the Talmud Yerushalmi," 18. Hezer (p. 19) points out that an accompanying story in the Talmud explains why: "The answer provided by the story is that the inhabitants of Bethar kindled lights because they had been cheated by the councilors of Jerusalem and were happy to see them destroyed together with the city."

¹⁰⁵⁸ Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem against Rome*, 174–75; cf. *The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, 18: *Ta'anit*, 276–77 (Neusner trans.), or *Ta'anit* (Greenup trans.), 125–26. An alternate translation is available online at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Eikhah_Rabbah.2.4?lang=bi). For Cohen's translation of *Lamentations Rabbah*, see Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 256. A "Cuthean" is a Samaritan. Cf. *Samaritan Chronicles*. "R. Eleazar of Modi'im says: 'Come and see how beloved of God are the righteous, for when he mentions their death, he also mentions their sin. This is in order that those who come after them should not be able to say, 'These good men committed secret sins.'" (*Sifre on Numbers* to Num. 27:16, Levertoff trans., 146). Edersheim, *History of the Jewish Nation*, 206, writes, "As long as the defenders of Bethar saw Eleazar at his post, they felt secure under the canopy of his piety, and in the assurance of Divine aid." For an alternate translation, see Schäfer, "Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis," 6, or Marks, *The Image of Bar Kokhba*, 23–24 (Talmud), 25–26 (*Lamentations Rabbah*).

778 Bethar Falls on the 9th of Ab, 1

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Ta'anit* 4.5 (V 4.8)]¹⁰⁵⁹

On the ninth of Ab the decree was made against our forefathers that they should not enter the land, the first Temple and the second [Temple] were destroyed, Betar was taken, and the city was ploughed up [after the war of Hadrian].

779 Bethar Falls on the 9th of Ab, 2

(Mishnah)

[*Ta'anit* 4.6]¹⁰⁶⁰

Five calamities befell our fathers on the seventeenth of Tammuz, and five on the ninth of Ab. . . . On the latter it was decreed that our fathers should not enter Palestine, the first and second Temples were destroyed, Bethar was captured, and the City was ploughed over.

780 Bethar Falls on the 9th of Ab, 3

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Rosh HaShanah* 18b]¹⁰⁶¹

R. Papa replied: The ninth of Ab is in a different category, because several misfortunes happened on it, as a Master has said: On the ninth of Ab the Temple was destroyed both the first time and the second time, and Bethar was captured and the city [Jerusalem] was ploughed.

781 The Fall of Bethar, 1

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Gittin* 57a (end)]¹⁰⁶²

It was in connection with the war that ensued that the Sages expounded the following verse: “He has cut off in His fierce anger all the horn of Israel” (Lamentations 2:3). Rabbi Zeira says that Rabbi Abbahu says that Rabbi Yohanan says: These are the eighty thousand officers bearing battle trumpets in their hands, who entered the city of Beitar when the enemy took it and killed men, women, and children until their blood flowed into the Great Sea. Lest you say that the city was close to the sea, know that it was a mil away.

It is similarly taught in a baraita that Rabbi Eliezer the Great says: There are two rivers in the Yadayim Valley in that region, one flowing one way and one flowing the other way. And the Sages estimated that in the aftermath of this war these rivers were filled with two parts water to one part blood. Likewise, it was taught in a baraita: For seven years the gentiles harvested their vine-

¹⁰⁵⁹ *The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, 18: *Ta'anit* (Neusner trans.), 265. Italics in source.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *The Mishnah Tractate Ta'anit* (Greenup trans.), 32–33.

¹⁰⁶¹ *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Rosh HaShanah* (Soncino ed.), 18b.

¹⁰⁶² *Koren Talmud Bavli: Gittin* (Noe ed.; Steinsaltz trans.), 323 (with original text alongside); also in Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 256.

yards that had been soaked with the blood of Israel without requiring any additional fertilizer.

782 The Fall of Bethar, 2

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Ta'anit*, Gemara on Mishnah 5]¹⁰⁶³

“Bethar was captured.” Rabbi explained twenty-four cases to which he applied the text, The Lord has swallowed up and not pitied (Lam. II, 2). . . .

783 The Dead at Bethar, 1

(Midrash)

[*Tanbuma Buber*, Toldot, Genesis 6; cf. *Lamentations Rabbah* 2.4]¹⁰⁶⁴

R. Judah bar Il'ay said: In former generations one would ask: What is the meaning (of Gen. 27:22): THE VOICE IS THE VOICE OF JACOB? The voice of the Emperor Hadrian, <who> [killed] eight thousand myriads (80,000,000) in Bethar.

784 The Dead at Bethar, 2

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Ta'anit*, Gemara to Mishnah 5; cf. *Song of Songs Rabbah* 34.1.8]¹⁰⁶⁵

Rabbi Johannon said, The voice of Hadrian, the emperor, slew in Bethar eighty thousand myriads of people.

785 The Dead at Bethar, 3

(Midrash)

[*Eichah Rabbah* (*Lamentations Rabbah*) 2 (50b–51a)]¹⁰⁶⁶

Rabbi interpreted the verse “The voice is the voice of Jacob but the hands are the hands of Esau” the voice of Jacob cries out because of what the hands of Esau did in Bethar. R. Yohannon interpreted the verse in this way: The voice is the voice of Caesar Hadrian who killed eighty thousand myriads in Bethar.

786 The Dead at Bethar, 4

(Jerusalem Talmud [*Ta'anit* 4:5])¹⁰⁶⁷

[X.UU] The evil Hadrian had a large vineyard, eighteen *mil* by eighteen *mil*. It was of the dimension of the distance from Tiberias to Sepphoris. They surrounded it by a wall made of [the bones of] those who were slain in Bethar, as tall as the height of a man, and as broad as the extent of the breadth of the hands.

¹⁰⁶³ *Ta'anit* (Greenup trans.), 123. I changed “hath” to “has.”

¹⁰⁶⁴ *Midrash Tanbuma* (*S. Buber Recension*), Vol. I, Genesis, 155 (Townsend trans.). Cf. *Gittin* 57b, “The first-named ‘voice’ alludes to the voice of lamentation caused by Hadrian, who had at Alexandria in Egypt twice the number of Jews that had come forth under Moses. ‘The voice of Jacob’ refers to a similar lamentation occasioned by Vespasian, who put to death in the city of Byther four hundred myriads, or, as some say, four thousand myriads” (Hershon, *Talmudic Miscellany*, 276).

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Ta'anit* (Greenup trans.), 124; see *Song of Songs Rabbah* (Neusner trans.), I, 206 (to verse 2:17).

¹⁰⁶⁶ Weiss, “A Double Edged Sword,” 343 (translation of Batya Stein and Galit Hasan-Rokem).

¹⁰⁶⁷ *The Talmud of the Land of Israel, 18: Besah and Ta'anit* (Neusner trans.), 279

787 The Dead at Bethar, 5

(Midrash)

[*Eichah Rabbah* (*Lamentations Rabbah*) 2.2.4=*Jerusalem Talmud Ta'anit* 4:5]¹⁰⁶⁸

Rabbi Johanan said: "The brains of three hundred children were dashed upon one stone, and three hundred baskets of capsules of phylacteries were found in Bethar, each capsule having a capacity of 2130 liters."

788 The Dead at Bethar, 6

(Midrash)

[*Tanna Debe Eliyyahu* (30)28=*Eliyyahu Rabbah*, p. 151]¹⁰⁶⁹

R. Eliezer, quoting *A Psalm of Asaph* (Ps. 79:1), said: Rome came and slew all of Bethar. At that time the Romans slew four myriads of Jews, so that blood ran out of doorways and water pipes—indeed the flow was such that Bethar seemed then to be in the rainy season. It is said further that [after the slaughter] there were found in Bethar three hundred baskets of tefillin, each basket containing three *se'ah* for a total of nine hundred *se'ah* of tefillin.

789 The Dead at Bethar, 7

(Midrash)

[*Eichah Rabbah* (*Lamentations Rabbah*) 2.2.4]¹⁰⁷⁰

They slew the inhabitants until the horses waded in blood up to the nostrils, and the blood rolled along stones (with the size of 284 liters) and flowed into the sea, staining it for a distance of six kilometers. (In case you think that Bethar is close to the sea: was it not in fact sixty kilometers distant from it?)

Now Hadrian possessed a large vineyard 46 kilometers square, as far as from Tiberias to Sepphoris, and they surrounded it with a fence consisting of the slain of Bethar. And it was decreed that they should not be buried, until a certain emperor arose and ordered their interment.

Rabbi Huna said: "On the day when the slain of Bethar were allowed burial, the benediction *Who art kind and dealest kindly* was instituted - *Who art kind* because the bodies did not putrefy, *and dealest kindly* because they were allowed burial."

790 The Dead at Bethar, 8

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Berakoth* 3d]¹⁰⁷¹

In the same manner for the benediction of the fourth section of the meal, it is thus expressed, because, according to R. Hoona, it was composed (alone) at the time of the burying of the warriors of Bethar: The word *tób* (*good*, therein

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Midrash Rabbah*, VII (Cohen trans.), 160. Text and translation also available online at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Eichah_Rabbah.2.4?ven=Livius_translation&lang=bi).

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Tanna Debe Eliyyahu* (Braude and Kapstein trans.), 370.

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Midrash Rabbah*, VII (Cohen trans.), 159. Text and translation also available online at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Eichah_Rabbah.2.4?ven=Livius_translation&lang=bi).

¹⁰⁷¹ *Talmud of Jerusalem*, I: *Berakoth* (Schwab trans.), 25.

contained) is recalled there, because these bodies had no bad smell,—and by the word *hametib* (benefactor), thanksgivings are offered to God because they have been interred.

791 The Dead at Bethar, 9

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Berakoth* 48b]¹⁰⁷²

The benediction “Who is kind and deals kindly” was instituted in Jabneh in connection with the slain of Bethar; for Rab Mattena said: On the day the slain of Bethar were allowed burial, there was instituted in Jabneh the benediction “Who is kind and deals kindly”—“Who is kind,” because the bodies did not decompose; “and deals kindly,” because they were allowed burial.

792 The 15th of Ab

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Ta’anith* 30b-31a=*Baba Bathra* 121a-b]¹⁰⁷³

“On the 15th of Ab and on the Day of Atonement,” etc. It is right that the Day of Atonement should be a day of rejoicing, because that is a day of forgiveness, and on that day the second tables of the Law were given to Moses; but why should the 15th of Ab be a day of rejoicing? . . .

R. Mathnah said: “On that day permission was given to bury the dead who were killed in battle at the city of Bethar.” And R. Mathnah said again: “On that day, when it was permitted to bury those killed at Bethar, the assembly at Yamnia ordained the benediction reading: ‘Blessed are you, God the good, that does good.’ What is meant thereby? By ‘good’ is meant that the bodies were not left to putrefy, and by ‘does good’ that burial was permitted.”

793 A Ruling for Wives of Men Killed at Bethar, 1

(Tosefta)

[*Yebamoth* 14.8]¹⁰⁷⁴

Sixty men went down to the fortress at Betar and not a single one of them came back. And the matter came before the sages, who permitted the wives to remarry.

794 A Ruling for Wives of Men Killed at Bethar, 2

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Yebamoth* 122a]¹⁰⁷⁵

Moreover, it happened that sixty men were going to the camp of Bether, and an idolater came and stated, ‘Alas for sixty men who were on the way to Bether,

¹⁰⁷² *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Berakoth* (Cohen trans.), 310. I have modernized the English (e.g., “art” to “is”; “dealest” to “deals”)

¹⁰⁷³ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Baba Bathra*, 264=*Ta’anit* (Rodkinson trans.), 91. 92. I modernized the language (“art thou” to “are you,” and “doth” to “does”). R. Mathnah=R. Mattena.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *The Tosefta: Nashim (Yebamoth)* (Neusner trans.), 56.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Yebamoth* (Soncino ed.), 122a.

for they died and I buried them’, and [on the basis of this statement] their wives were permitted to marry again.



Bar Kokhba

(Detail from the Knesset Menorah, Jerusalem; photo courtesy of Deror Avi)¹⁰⁷⁶

795 Judgment Rendered (Midrash)

[*Eichah Rabbah* (*Lamentations Rabbah*) 2:5]¹⁰⁷⁷

R. Yoḥanan said: Rabbi would expound *A star shall step forth from Jacob* thus: do not read “star” (*kokhav*) but “liar” (*koxav*).

796 The Death of Bar Kokhba

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Ta’anit* 4.8 (68d–69a)=*Lamentations Rabbah* 2 (51a–52a)]¹⁰⁷⁸

Then Bethar was captured and Ben Kozba killed. His head was taken to Hadrian: “Who killed him?” asked the emperor. “I did” said the Cuthean. “Show me his body.” They showed it to him and they found a snake around him. Hadrian exclaimed, “If his God had not killed him, who would have overcome him?” And thus was applied the verse: “Their Rock had sold them, and the Lord had shut them up” (Dt 32, 30).

¹⁰⁷⁶ The photo by Deror Avi, Elef Milim Project, is made available under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/legalcode>). The image has been modified by transformation to greyscale.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Marks, *The Image of Bar Kokhba*, 20.

¹⁰⁷⁸ English translation from Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem against Rome*, 174–75; cf. *The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, 18: *Ta’anit*, 276–77 (Neusner trans.). For Cohen’s translation of *Lamentations Rabbah*, see Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 256. A “Cuthean” is a Samaritan. Cf. *Samaritan Chronicles*. “R. Eleazar of Modi’im says: “Come and see how beloved of God are the righteous, for when he mentions their death, he also mentions their sin. This is in order that those who come after them should not be able to say, “These good men committed secret sins.” (*Sifre on Numbers* to Num. 27:16, Levertoff trans., 146).

AFTER BETHAR

797 Desperation of the Jewish Rebellion in Its Final Phase

(Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah* I.2.45 (on Isa. 2:15))¹⁰⁷⁹

I.2.45 Those who report on these things refer either to the time of Vespasian or Hadrian, saying that the things which are written have been fulfilled, because neither lofty citadel, nor most fortified wall, nor great number of ships, and not even zealous negotiations had power to prevail against Roman might. And so a great many of the inhabitants of Judea, in order to be with their wives and children, their gold and silver which they thought would help them, concealed themselves in tunnels, and were pursued into the deepest caves.

798 A Pertinent Parable

(Midrash)

[*Sifre on Numbers* §131 on Num. 25:1-15]¹⁰⁸⁰

Similarly it says (Hos. xiv.1): “*Samaria must be condemned for she hath rebelled against her God,*” and [immediately afterwards, v. 2] it says: “*O Israel return unto the Lord thy God.*” What is the connexion? Here is a parable. Whereunto can it be likened? Unto a province which rebelled against its king. The king sent out a general with orders to devastate that province. That general was experienced and cool-headed. He said to them (the rebellious province): “Take heed! Otherwise I will do unto you as I have done unto such and such a province, and with such and such a government.” Therefore it says, “*Samaria must be condemned for she hath rebelled against her God,*” and [immediately afterwards]: “*Return, O Israel.*”

¹⁰⁷⁹ Cf. in Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 258–59. The Latin text can be found in Jerome, *Commentariorum in Isaiam Prophetam* (Migne ed.), 51. Gichon, “New Insight,” 25, remarks on the caves, “The Bar Kokhba period installations were of two kinds. One kind of cave continued the earlier tradition of the hideaway caves, but they were much more grand and seem to have been constructed under a nation-wide scheme. They were built in connection with existing villages and were meant to provide the entire noncombatant population with underground shelter while the fighting lasted.” He points to examples Horbat Maran, Horbat Midras, Horbat Naqiq and Horbat Um Shaqef. The other kind, he says, was not connected directly to settlements and seem to have facilitated offensive actions, being located strategically. Examples have been found at En ‘Arub (south of Bethlehem), Horbat Hita (SW Judean piedmont), Ailabo in Galilee, Herodium, and Horbat ‘Eqed (near Emmaus, which he observes always has been of major strategic importance; he notes (p. 31) that it commands two possible approaches from the west to Jerusalem and so may have served as part of a defensive belt around Jerusalem). The desperation is evidenced also in scientific examination of the rebels’ diet in the last phase of the revolt. Kislev, “Vegetal Food of Bar Kokhba Rebels at Abi’or Cave Near Jericho,” 159, note, “The archeobotanical results show that supplementary food from wild plants was important, if not essential, to the Bar Kokhba rebels in their final weeks.” Plant remains documented (see Table I, p. 154) include cereals (e.g., barley and emmer wheat), pulses, and fruits—both cultivated (e.g., carobs, dates, olives, pomegranates, and walnuts), and wild (e.g., desert dates, fruit of the shrub *Cordia sinensis* and of the tree *Ziziphus spina-christi*, pistachios, and thornapple tree berries). Also see Tsafrir and Zissu, “A Hiding Complex,” and Zissu et al., “Archaeological Remains of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.”

¹⁰⁸⁰ *Midrash Sifre on Numbers* (Levertoff trans.), 136. The text is not directly associated with the Bar Kokhba revolt, but it can certainly be applied.

799 Continued Jewish Resistance after Bethar's Fall

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Semahot* 12.13=*Leviticus Rabbah* 3.6]¹⁰⁸¹

12.13 (end) It happened with the son of R. Hanina b. Teradion, who associated with bad company and became a robber and was executed, when, after three days, he was found all swollen, his remains were put in a cage and that in a hearse, and was brought [p. 57] in the city. They wanted to lament him for the sake of his parents, but the father did not let them do so; he instead exclaimed on him the following [Prov. v. 1 1-14] – “While you moan at your end, when your flesh and your body are coming to their end, you say: ‘How have I hated correction, and how has my heart rejected reproof, while I hearkened not to the voice of my instructors, and to my teachers I inclined not my ear; but little more was wanting and I had been in all (kinds of) unhappiness in the midst of the congregation and assembly.’” His mother also exclaimed over him the following passage [ibid. xvii. 25]: “A foolish son is a vexation to his father, and bitterness to her that has borne him.” His sister also exclaimed the following [ibid. xx. 17]: “Bread of falsehood is pleasant to a man, but afterward his mouth will be filled with gravel stones.”

800 Summary of Outcome of Jewish Rebellion

(Jerome, *Chronicle* (Hadrian))¹⁰⁸²

Ie Hadrian makes captives of the Jews, who were rebelling against Rome for a second time.

801 The Jewish Dead from the War

(Midrash)

[*Bereshit Rabbah* (*Genesis Rabbah*) 78:13]¹⁰⁸³

Rabbi Huna said in the name of Rabbi Aha, “The whole flock of the people Israel died in the days of Hadrian.”

¹⁰⁸¹ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Ebel Rabbathi* (Rodkinson trans.), or *Semahoth*, 56–57. I have modernized the language (e.g. “thou” to “you,” “thy” to “your,” “moanest” to “moan,” “sayest” to “say,” and “hath” to “has”). Cf. *Minor Tractates of the Talmud: Semahot* (Soncino ed., A. Cohen trans.), with original text accompanying at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Tractate_Semachot.12.13?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en). The activity of Ben Teradion’s son may be interpreted as rebel resistance in a lost cause and thus as futile activity disapproved by the Jewish survivors after the fall of Bethar. However, Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 83–84, reads the term *listim* as “guerrilla fighters” whom Ben Teradion’s son betrayed, was subsequently killed by them, and then—out of respect for Ben Teradion—his body returned to his parents, who being sympathetic to the rebel cause were dismayed by their son’s actions and refused to mourn him. Later, as shown earlier in a source text, Ben Teradion, his wife, and their daughter, were all arrested.

¹⁰⁸² Pearce et al. at the Tertullian Project (http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm). The Latin text can be found in Jerome. *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones*, 279.

¹⁰⁸³ Harkabi, *The Bar Kpehba Syndrome*, 48; cf. the more expansive translation in *Midrash Rabbah: Genesis* (Freedman trans.), II, 724. Rav Huna was of the second generation of Babylonian Amoraim (those post-Mishnaic scholars of the Talmud).

c136 Rome Triumphant [133–135 C.E.]
(ANS; Aureus)¹⁰⁸⁴



OBVERSE: HADRIANVS AVG(ustus) CO(n)S(ul) III P(ater) P(atricius): Head of Hadrian, right | Head of Hadrian, left | Bust of Hadrian, draped, right, viewed from rear or side | Bust of Hadrian, draped and cuirassed, right, viewed from rear or side.

REVERSE: ADVENTVS AVG(usti): Roma seated right on pile of armor, holding spear and clasping hands with Hadrian, standing left, holding scroll.

802 Roman Summary of the War

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁰⁸⁵

LXIX.14.1 Fifty of their most important outposts and nine hundred and eighty-five of their most famous villages were [*p. 451*] razed to the ground. Five hundred and eighty thousand men were slain in the various raids and battles, and the number of those that perished by famine, disease and fire was past finding out.

LXIX.14.2 Thus nearly the whole of Judaea was made desolate, a result of which the people had had forewarning before the war. For the tomb of Solomon, which the Jews regard as an object of veneration, fell to pieces of itself and collapsed, and many wolves and hyenas rushed howling into their cities.

LXIX.14.3 Many Romans, moreover, perished in this war. Therefore Hadrian in writing to the senate did not employ the opening phrase commonly affected by the emperors, “If you and our children are in health, it is well; I and the legions are in health.”

¹⁰⁸⁴ Public domain, courtesy of American Numismatic Society (ANS); it, with text, can be seen at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian>). Image has been transformed to grayscale; text abbreviations have been expanded. *RIC II*, Part 3 (2nd ed.) Hadrian 1991–1994.

¹⁰⁸⁵ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 449, 451. Wise, *Language and Literacy in Roman Judea*, 2, writes, “It is likely that 70 percent of the Judean population perished in a veritable genocide. Not a single village or town known to have existed at that time and thus far excavated lacks archaeological evidence of destruction.”

The Devastation of the Jews

(Map & Table courtesy of Dvir Raviv and Chaim Ben David)

[Raviv, Dvir, and Chaim Ben David, “Cassius Dio’s Figures for the Demographic Consequences of the Bar Kokhba War: Exaggeration or Reliable Account?” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 34 (2021) 585–607. Map is on p.592. Material is made available by Creative Commons CC-BY license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/legalcode>). Map has been rendered in grayscale.]

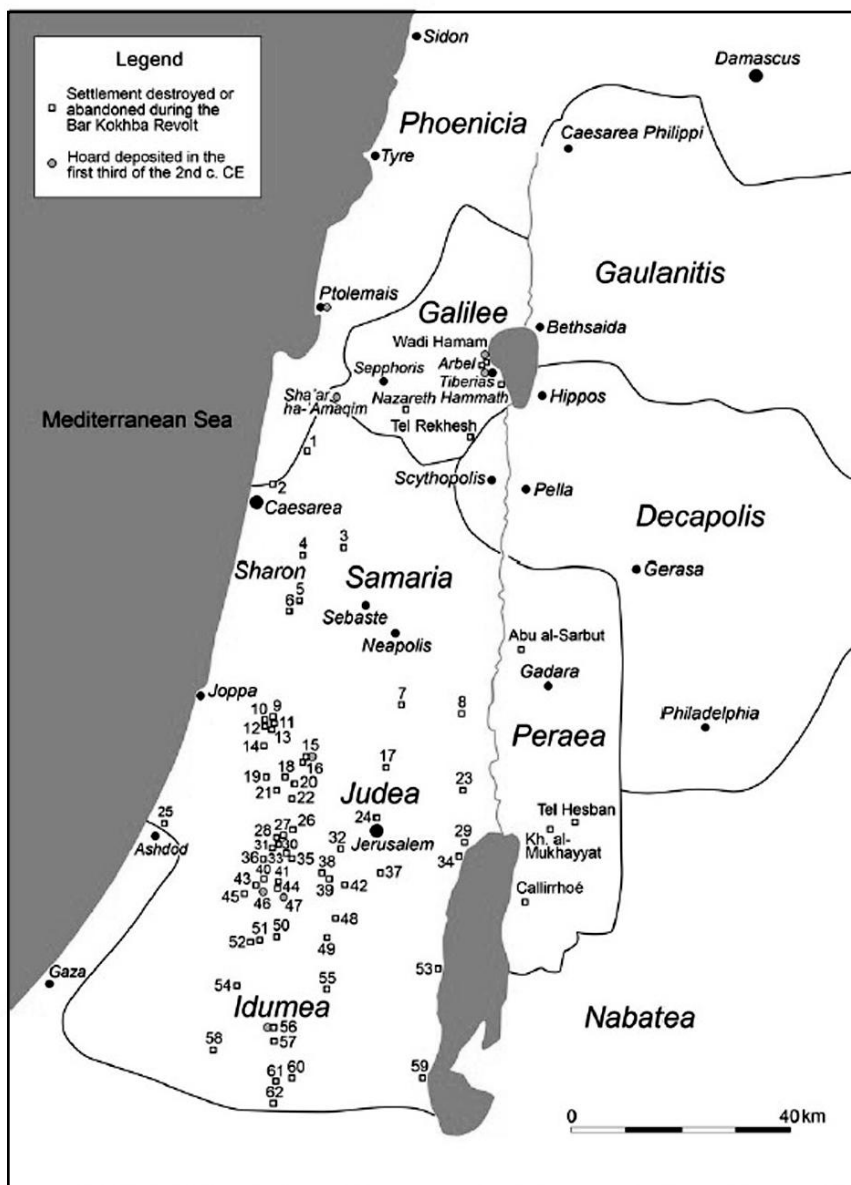


Fig. 2. Map of excavated sites in Provincia Judaea where destruction layers or abandonment deposits from the time of the Bar Kokhba War have been found. (Map by D. Raviv.)

Table 1.

Names of the sites in Figure 2. References for each of these sites and additional bibliography are provided in Supplementary Table 1.

No.	Site	No.	Site
1	Nahal Haggit	32	Bittir (Khirbet el-Yehudi)
2	Horvat 'Eleq	33	Bad el-Banat (Miqvaot Hill)
3	Khirbet el-Hamam	34	'En Feshkha
4	Ibthan	35	Khirbet el-Qut
5	Khirbet Jebara	36	Tel 'Azeqa (Tel Zakaria)
6	Zur Natan (Horvat Migdal)	37	Herodium
7	Tel Shiloh	38	Khirbet Jamjum
8	Phasaelis	39	Khirbet Hillal
9	Khirbet Bumat North	40	Midras (Dursiye)
10	Shoham (44)	41	Horvat 'Ethri
11	Khirbet Bumat South	42	Khirbet Bureikut
12	Shoham, Hill 10	43	Khirbet Abu Tabaq
13	Shoham Bypass	44	Umm Burj (Burgin)
14	Ben Shemen Junction	45	'Araq Hala
15	Khirbet Badd 'Isa	46	Khirbet Rafi – Lower site
16	Khirbet Abu ed-Dinein	47	Khirbet 'Atus
17	Khirbet el-Maqatir	48	Khirbet Ed-Duweir
18	Horvat Ashun	49	Tel Hebron
19	Horvat Beit 'Anaba	50	Khirbet El-Muraq
20	Khirbet Umm el-'Umdan	51	ed-Dawayimeh
21	Khirbet Beit Kufa	52	Esh-Sheikh Abu Khashab (Ahuzat Hazun)
22	Khirbet el-'Aqed	53	'En-Gedi
23	Jericho, Roman Vila	54	Khirbet ez-Za'aq
24	Shu'fat	55	Rujm el-Hamiri
25	Nir Galim Site	56	Khirbet es-Salantah
26	Khirbet el-Marmita	57	Nahal Yattir Site
27	Tel Beit Shemesh East	58	Be'er Sheva North (Raqaqot Site)
28	Khirbet Umm Jina	59	'En Boqeq
29	Qumran	60	Tel Malhata
30	'Einot Dekalim	61	Tel 'Aroer
31	Horvat Husham	62	Tel 'Ira

¹⁰⁸⁶ Dvir and Ben-David, "Cassius Dio's Figures," 601, write, "The current study has suggested that three independent methods yield the result that there were more than a thousand settlements in the Land of Judea during the Bar Kokhba Revolt: (1) the number of Ottoman-period villages (about 800) and the lower density of settlement then than during the Roman period; (2) the total number of Roman-period settlement sites in the region in question, according to the archaeological surveys (1,345–1,465), a number that reflects the settlement potential; and (3) the number of settled sites from the Middle Roman period that have been documented in the northern Judean hills (170–220), from which we computed the number of settlements in the rest of the Land of Judea, assuming similar density, and reached a result of more than a thousand; to this must be added settlements in the Peraea and the Galilee that were destroyed during the war. These settlements located in Judea, Peraea, and Galilee may be among Cassius Dio's 985 destroyed villages." They add (p. 602), "Regarding the number of casualties suffered by the residents of Judea in the war, given the great uncertainty about the size of settlements and the population density, we must make do with a general estimate that reflects the potential indicated by the archaeological record. Working from the total settled area in the Middle Roman period that was documented in southern Samaria, we can offer a rough estimate of 500,000–650,000 for the population of the Land of Judea. To this we must add the Jewish residents of Transjordan and the Galilee who were killed during the war. Given the scale of popular resistance and the absence of a clear distinction between military forces and civilians on the Jewish side, it seems reasonable that Dio's figure of 580,000 represents the total number of Jewish victims of the war ("the slain of Beitar"), both soldiers and noncombatants." Cf. Mor, *The Second Jewish Revolt*, 328.

c137 Victory Coin [c. 135 C.E.]
(ANS; Aureus)¹⁰⁸⁷

OBVERSE: HADRIANVS
AVG(ustus) CO(n)S(ul) III
P(ater) P(atricae): Head of
Hadrian, right | Bust of
Hadrian, draped, right,
viewed from rear or side |
Bust of Hadrian, draped,
left, viewed from rear or
side.



REVERSE: IOVI VICTORI: Jupiter seated left holding Victory and sceptre.

803 Summary of Rome's Relations with Judea (Roman Perspective)

(Appian, *The Foreign Wars*)¹⁰⁸⁸

Syrian Wars XI.8.50 The Jewish nation still resisted, and Pompey conquered them, and sent their king, Aristobulus, to Rome, and destroyed their greatest, and to them holiest, city, Jerusalem, as Ptolemy, the first king of Egypt, had formerly done. It was afterward rebuilt and Vespasian destroyed it again, and Hadrian did the same in our time. On account of these rebellions the tribute imposed upon all Jews is heavier per capita than upon the generality of tax-payers.

804 Commemoration of Victory in Judea, 1: Land Renamed Palestine [135/136 C.E.]

(Inscription in Rome)

[CIL VI, 974=CIL VI, 40524]¹⁰⁸⁹

The Senate and people of Rome to the Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, *imperator* for the 2nd time, holding tribunician power for the 19th time, Consul for the 3rd time, Father of the Fatherland, because the greatest emperor and his army, having been sent into battle, fought with ardor, conquered the enemy, and thus liberated Syria Palestina.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Public domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (ANS); it, with text can be viewed at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian>). Image has been transformed to grayscale; text abbreviations are expanded. *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 2208–2211.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Appian, *Appian's Roman History* (White's trans.), I, 310; see Vol. II, 199 in Loeb ed. The Greek text can be found in Appian, *The Foreign Wars* (Mendelssohn's ed.); cf. Loeb ed., II, 198).

¹⁰⁸⁹ The Latin text may be accessed several places online, including at *Eagle*—Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDR092946&partId=1). The inscription was discovered by the Temple of Vespasian (conqueror of the Jews in the First War of 66–73 C.E.) and appears to have been part of either a commemorative arch or a statue honoring Hadrian's victory in the Bar Kokhba War.

805 Commemoration of Victory in Judea, 2 [136/137 C.E.]

(Triumphal Arch at Tel Shalem)¹⁰⁹⁰

To the Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus|grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus|Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 20th time, imperator for the 2nd time, Consul for the 3rd time, Father of the Fatherland,|by the Senate and people of Rome.

806 Hadrian ‘Imperator’ a Second Time [135/136 C.E.]

(Inscription from Hispania Lusitania)

[CIL II, 478 (cf. IG II 478)]¹⁰⁹¹

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 19th time, *Imperator* for the 2nd time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, best of *Princeps*, restored the block of seats and stage of the theater destroyed by fire and by decree of the decurions theatrical entertainment and games in the circus were exhibited.

807 The Brevity of Roman Accounts of the War

(*Suda* entry for Φλέγων (Phlegon))¹⁰⁹²

This same Phlegon, as Philostorgius says, with respect to a complete report of those matters concerning the Jews, Phlegon and Dio briefly relate what occurred and make it parenthetical to their accounts. This is because neither draw others to piety or virtue, nor display these things whatsoever thoughtfully, nor in any respect. On the other hand, Josephus appears anxious and careful not to offend the Greeks.

808 A Veteran in *Aelia Capitolina* (Jerusalem)

(Graffiti on Basalt Block at Khanasir, Syria)¹⁰⁹³

John of Jerusalem, a veteran.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Inscription found at Tel Shalem in the middle Jordan Valley (south of modern Bet She'an, Israel), near the camp of legion VI Ferrata (stationed at Legio). See Eck, “Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and the Epigraphic Transmission.” Also see Eck, “The Bar Kokhba Revolt,” 87–88, and especially Eck and Förster, “A Triumphal Arch for Hadrian.” In opposition to Eck’s conclusions, see Mor, “What Does Tel Shalem Have to Do with the Bar Kokhba Revolt?”

¹⁰⁹¹ The Latin text can be found online at *EDCS* (EDCS-05500488). Eck, “The Bar Kokhba Revolt,” 88, argues it is likely Hadrian took the title *Imperator* for the second time only in 136 because the revolt was not completely finished until that year.

¹⁰⁹² The Greek text can be found in the *Suidae Lexicon* (Bekker ed.), 1099. Both Greek text and a translation also can be found online at the *Suda On Line* (search “Phlegon”). The “Justus” (<αν Ἰοῦστον>) is Justus Tiberiensis—a third historian. The text is difficult, but the context in Philostorgius (late 4th-early 5th century) suggests he is contrasting his religious history with that of earlier secular historians. For a discussion of this text, see Geiger, “The Bar-Kokhba Revolt: The Greek Point of View,” 513 (with original text and a translation).

¹⁰⁹³ Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, 262 [#329] (with Greek text). The fragmented inscription is susceptible to more than one possible reading; suggests ‘Elanos, a veteran,’ then offers that the name might be *Ailianos*, and therefore the reading used here.

c138 *Coin of Aelia Capitolina (Reverse of coin)*
(Stevenson, Smith, and Madden, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins*, 15)



Legend reads COL(onia) AEL(ia) KAPIT(olinia).

Figures, from left to right, are Pallas, Zeus (seated), and the Genius of the city.

c139 *Coin of Aelia Capitolina (Antoninus' Reign)*
(Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, II, 29)



THE

809 A Citizen of the New 'Aelia Capitolina' [late 2nd cent. C.E.]

(Funerary Inscription on Limestone)

[*Tituli Aquincenses* II, 499]¹⁰⁹⁴

To the *Manes* (i.e., 'In the memory of')

Aelius Silvanus, centurion of legion II Adiutrix; native of Syria Palestine at the colony at Aelia Capitolina; in military service 61 years of the 86 years he lived. Aelia Silvana, daughter and heir of her beloved father, with the aid of Aelius Filoquarius, has undertaken to construct this monument.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Both Latin text and another English translation may be found at *Judaism and Rome* (<https://www.judaism-and-rome.org/epitaph-soldier-jerusalem-titaq-ii-499>). The Latin text is also available at EDH [*Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*] (<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD068393>). The Latin *domo* can refer to a "resident" of a place as one who is "at home" there, i.e., in the sense of being "native" to the place.

AFTERMATH

810 A Devastated Generation

(Midrash)

[*Song of Songs Rabbah* I.3.3]¹⁰⁹⁵

Another explanation of MAIDENS is that it refers to the generation of destruction, as it says, *For thy sake are we killed all the day, we are accounted as sheep for slaughter* (Ps. XLIV, 23).

811 Jews Barred from Jerusalem, 1

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* ¹⁰⁹⁶)

IV.6.3b Hadrian then commanded that by a legal decree and ordinances the whole nation should be absolutely prevented from entering from thenceforth even the district round Jerusalem, so that not even from a distance could it see its ancestral home. Ariston of Pella tells the story.

IV.6.4 Thus when the city came to be bereft of the nation of the Jews, and its ancient inhabitants had completely perished, it was colonized by foreigners, and the Roman city which afterwards arose changed its name, and in honour of the reigning emperor Aelius Hadrian was called Aelia.

812 Jews Barred from Jerusalem, 2

(Justin Martyr, *Dialog with Trypho* ¹⁰⁹⁷)

XVI.2 For the circumcision according to the flesh, that was from Abraham, was given for a sign, that you should be separated from the other nations and us, and that you alone should suffer the things you are rightly suffering now, and that your lands should be desolate and your cities burned with fire, and that foreigners should eat up the fruits before your face, and none of you go up [p. 33] unto Jerusalem.

813 Jews Barred from Jerusalem, 3

(Eusebius, *The Proof of the Gospel* ¹⁰⁹⁸)

II.3.86 (71a) . . . being a second time besieged again under Hadrian they were completely debarred from entering the place, so that they were not even allowed to tread the soil of Jerusalem.

814 Jews Barred from Jerusalem, 4

(Jordanes, *On the Governing of Rome (Romana)* ¹⁰⁹⁹)

370 Jerusalem, indeed called by his family name “Aelia,” he permitted no Jews to enter.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Midrash Rabbah: Song of Songs* (Simon trans.), 40. See Hammer, “A Rabbinic Response,” 42–53.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (Lake’s Loeb ed.), I, 313 (with Greek text, p. 312).

¹⁰⁹⁷ Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* (Williams’ trans.), 32–33. The Greek text can be found in Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo* (Migne ed.), 509.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Eusebius, *The Proof of the Gospel* (Farrar’s trans.), 84 (with Isaiah 6:13 in mind). The Greek text can be found in Eusebius, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (Dindorf’s ed.), 112.

¹⁰⁹⁹ The Latin text can be found in Jordanes, *Iordanis Romana et Getica* (Mommsen’s ed.), 35.

815 Roman Vengeance on Behalf of Christians

(Paulus Orosius, *History against the Pagans*)¹¹⁰⁰

4. He also finally exterminated and subdued the Jews, who, roused up by troubles caused by their own crimes, were at the time laying waste to the province of Palestine which had once belonged to them. In this way, Hadrian avenged the Christians whom the Jews, under their leader Cocheba, had tortured because they would not join them in opposing Rome. 5. The emperor decreed that no Jew be allowed to enter Jerusalem and that only Christians be permitted in the city. He rebuilt its walls to their former glory and named it Aelia after his own name.

816 The Devastation of the Land

(Jerusalem Talmud)

[*Peab* 7.1 (20a)]¹¹⁰¹

R. Yose says, “The restrictions of ‘the forgotten sheaf’ (i.e., gleanings left for the poor) do not apply to olive trees.” R. Simeon bar Yaqim explained this as follows: “R. Yose said this regarding an earlier time when olives could not be found because the wicked Hadrian had come and destroyed the land.”

817 The Resettlement of the Land

(Tosefta)

[*Gittin* 3.10; cf. Jerusalem Talmud, *Gittin* 5.6 (47b)]¹¹⁰²

The law of confiscated property is not applied in the land of Judea for the sake of settling the province. For whom were these words said? With regard to the slain before and during the war, but with regard to those slain after it the law is applied. In the Galilee, the law is always applied.

818 Jewish Coinage Restamped by the Romans

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Bechoroth* 50a (beginning)]¹¹⁰³

R. Johanan Says: Take a Trajanic or Hadrianic denar which is rubbed off and bought for twenty-five zuz, and deduct a sixth from it, and the remainder is the

¹¹⁰⁰ Latin text from Orosius, *Pauli Orosii. Adversus Paganos*, 275. Orosius, *Orosius. Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, 345 (Fear’s translation; pp. 307–08 in Deferrari’s translation). Cf. Orosius, *Anglo-Saxon Version*, 216. This translation, commonly known as *Old English History of the World*, has: “This Emperor likewise ordered all the Jews in Palestine (which men call Judaea) to be slain, because they tortured the Christians, and that a new town should be built on the spot where Jerusalem stood, which was to be called Elia.”

¹¹⁰¹ For an alternative translation, see *The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, 2: *Peab*, 270–71. The original language text can be found online at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Jerusalem_Talmud_Peab.20a?lang=bi). Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age*, II, 601, offers a translation in his consideration of evidence for Galilee’s involvement in the revolt. He adds, “Rabbi Jose appears in the Tosefta as a man very much aware of the deterioration of agriculture after the Bar Kokhba War, and very much concerned about it . . .”

¹¹⁰² The original language text (without translation) can be found online at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Tosefta_Gittin.5?lang=bi).

¹¹⁰³ *Babylonian Talmud: Bechoroth* (Soncino ed.), 50a. “Rubbed off” refers to restamping of coins.

amount for the redemption of the first-born.

819 A Jewish Response, 1: On Bar Kokhba Coinage

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Baba Kama* 97b]¹¹⁰⁴

Raba raised an objection to this view of R. Nahman [from the following]: ‘Redemption [of the second tithe] cannot be made by means of money which has no currency, as for instance if one possessed *koziba*-coins, of Jerusalem, or of the earlier kings; no redemption could be made [by these].

820 A Jewish Response, 2: On the Use of Gold and Silver

(Babylonian Talmud)

[*Avodah Zarah* 52b; cf. *Bechoroth* 50a]¹¹⁰⁵

R. Oshia said: The sages wanted once to forbid all use of gold and silver, because the enemy carried off the gold and silver of the temple, it was, namely, feared that the money coined therefrom might reach the Israelites, and by law it is prohibited to make use of what belongs to the sanctuary. . . . [p. 113] Abayi explained the words of R. Oshia thus: The sages wanted to forbid not all the gold and silver, but only the gold and silver dinars issued by both the kings Hadrian and Trajan, on which the image has become of late undiscernible, and which were surely coined of the gold and silver of the temple.

821 A Jewish Response, 3: On Remembering the 9th of Ab

(Mishnah)

[*Ta’anit* 4.6]¹¹⁰⁶

Five calamities befell our ancestors on the seventeenth of Tammuz and five on the ninth of Ab. On the seventeenth of Tammuz the Tables were broken and the *daily burnt-offering* ceased, and the [p. 432] City was breached, and Apostomos burned the Scroll of the Law and set up an idol in the Sanctuary. On the ninth of Ab it was decreed against our forefathers that they should not enter into the Land, and the Temple was destroyed the first time and the second time, and Bettar was taken, and the city was ploughed up. With the advent of Ab we should limit rejoicing.

822 A Jewish Response, 4: The Gathering of Scholars

(Mishnah)

[*Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* (*Song of Songs Rabbah*) 2.5]¹¹⁰⁷

Our teachers congregated in Usha at the termination of the persecution. They were R. Judah [b. Ilai], R. Nehemiah, R. Meir, R. Jose, R. Simeon b. Yoḥai, R. Eliezer [son of R. Jose the Galilean], and R. Eleazar b. Jacob. They sent to the

¹¹⁰⁴ *Babylonian Talmud: Baba Kama* (Soncino ed.), 97b.

¹¹⁰⁵ *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Avodah Zarah* (Rodkinson trans.), 112–13.

¹¹⁰⁶ *Mishnayoth* (Blackman trans.), II, 431–32; this volume has the original text, translation, notes and commentary. “Bettar”=“Bethar.” Both the original text and a different English translation can be viewed online at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Mishnah_Taanit.3?lang=bi).

¹¹⁰⁷ Wright, “Synod of Usha,” 645. On this issue, see Mantel, “The Removals of the Sanhedrin.”

elders of Galilee, saying, “Those who have already learned, come and teach; those who have not yet learned, come and be taught.” They met and arranged everything that was necessary; and when the time came to depart they said, “It would be wrong to leave [without blessing] a place where we have been so well received.” The honor of the blessing they bestowed upon R. Judah because he was a son of that city, and R. Judah arose and preached. In like manner did the other rabbis also preach, as befitted the occasion.

823 Four Oaths Required by King Messiah

(Midrash)

[*Shir HaShirim Rabbah* (*Song of Songs Rabbah*) 2.7]¹¹⁰⁸

Rabbi Oniya said: Four oaths he made them swear according to the four generations that hastened the end and stumbled. These were the ones: One was in the days of Amram, one was in the days of Deinai, one was in the days of Bar Kochba, and one was in the days of Shutelach son of Ephraim.

824 A Promise

(Midrash)

[*Shir HaShirim Rabbah* (*Song of Songs Rabbah*) 40.1.18 (to Song of Songs 3:6)]¹¹⁰⁹

- A. “. . . he touched the hollow of his thigh, [and Jacob’s thigh was put out of joint as he wrestled with him]” (Gen. 32:25)
- B. He touched the righteous men and women, prophets and prophetess, who are destined to arise from him and his children.
- C. And who were these? For example, the generation that would survive the repression [after the war against Hadrian].

825 The Promised Return of the Divine Presence

(Tosefta)

[*Berakoth* 1.15]¹¹¹⁰

1.15 And from what [scriptural verse] do we learn that the Divine Presence does not return to its [Zion’s] midst until it becomes [again] a [desolate] mountain [that is, until the Temple is destroyed and the site is reduced again to the status of a desolate mountain]? As Scripture states, *His abode has been established in Salem*. We find that when it [the Temple Mount] was [yet] Salem, it was called a mountain. Thus, the Divine Presence does not return to it until it becomes [again] a [desolate] mountain [viz., God’s abode was established in Zion even before the Temple was built, while the Mount was still Salem, and so it will be again].

¹¹⁰⁸ Original text and translation can be viewed online at *Sefaria* (https://www.sefaria.org/Eichah_Rabbah.5.6?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en).

¹¹⁰⁹ *Song of Songs Rabbah* (Neusner trans.), I, 228.

¹¹¹⁰ *The Tosefta: Zeraim (Berakoth)*, 6 (Zahavy trans.). Although nonspecific, it fits.

Chapter 10

Last Years and Death (and Posthumous Matters): 134–138 C.E.



c140 Hadrian Coin

(Rouse, *Atlas of Classical Portraits*, 57 [#15])

Legend: *Hadrianus Augustus*

826 Foreign Affairs after the Bar Kokhba War

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹¹¹¹

LXIX.14.4 He sent Severus into Bithynia, which needed no armed force but a governor and leader who was just and prudent and a man of rank. All these qualifications Severus possessed. And he managed and administer both their private and their public affairs in such a manner that we are still, even today, wont to remember him. Pamphylia, in place Bithynia, was given to the senate and made assignable by lot.

LXIX.15.1 This, then, was the end of the war with the Jews. A second war was begun by the Alani (they are Massagetae) at the instigation of Pharasmanes. It [*p. 453*] caused dire injury to the Albanian territory and Media, and then involved Armenia and Cappadocia; after which, as the Alani were not only persuaded by gifts from Vologaesius but also stood in dread of Flavius Arrianus,¹¹¹² the governor of Cappadocia, it came to a stop.

LXIX.15.2 Envoys were sent from Vologaesius and from the Iazyges; the former made some charges against Pharasmanes and the latter wished to confirm the peace. He introduced them to the senate and was empowered by that body to return appropriate answers; and these he accordingly prepared and read to them.

¹¹¹¹ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 451, 453.

¹¹¹² This is the Arrian of Nicomedia (c. 89–c. 160(?)) whose works are quoted elsewhere in this volume. Frasson, “Aremenia and Armenians,” 177, writes that “modern scholars have determined that the Alans surged through the Caucasus around 135, and have identified Pharasmanes, the king of Iberia, as the character who backed their invasion and who probably allowed the horde to transit through his lands in order to cause damage to the Albanians and the Parthians, more than to the Romans.” (Also see his notes 69–73, pp. 177–80). Pharasmanes II, King of Iberia (see map, p. 177), ruled contemporaneously to Hadrian. Frasson, in the same place, also notes there is uncertainty as to which “Vologaesius” (Parthian king or Armenian ruler?) is meant here.

BUILDING PROJECTS

827 Projects in Rome [c. 134 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹¹¹³

19.11 Also he constructed the bridge named after himself, a tomb on the banks of the Tiber, and the temple of the Bona Dea.

828 Completion of the Temple of Venus and Rome [attributed to 135 C.E.]

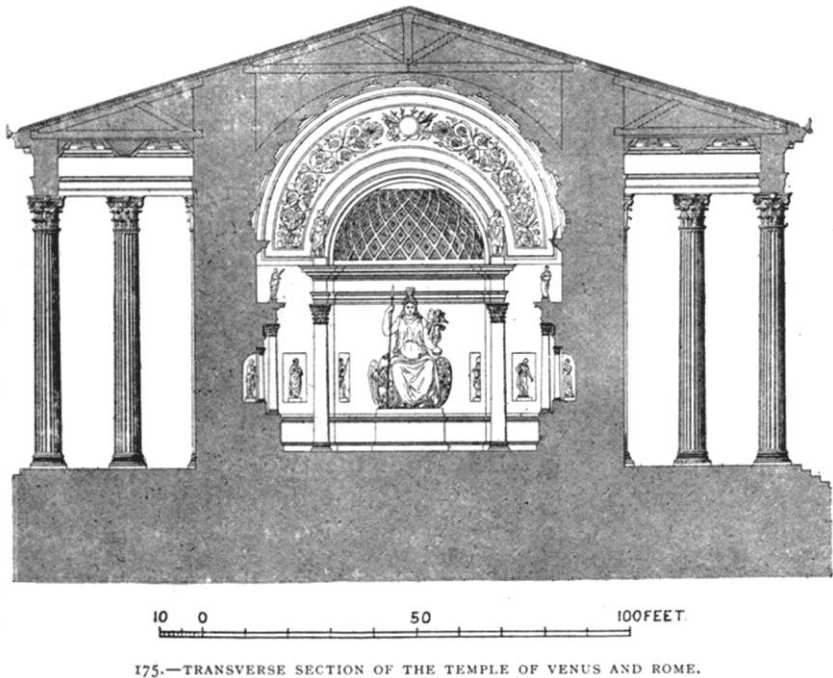
(Cassiodorus, *Chronicle*, 788–789)¹¹¹⁴

788 Pompeianus and Atilianus

789 Under these consuls the temple of Rome and Venus was built, which now is called the City Temple.

Temple of Venus and Rome, 3

(Anderson, *Architecture of Greece and Rome*, 213)



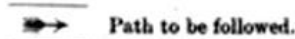
¹¹¹³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic's trans.), I, 61. The bridge is known as the *Pons Aelius*.

¹¹¹⁴ Procee, *Cassiodorus Chronicle*, 30. The Latin text can be found at *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, XI (Mommsen ed.); see pp. 109–161 for complete text. Mols, “The Cult of Roma Aeterna in Hadrian’s Politics,” 461, notes that Hadrian’s choice of the cult of Venus and Roma displayed *pietas* in choosing a location that had been an ancient site of worship for Venus. See his article for more on the temple.

THE PALATINE RUINS.

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Path to be followed.

829 Hadrian Restores the *Auguratorium* on the Palatine Hill [136 C.E.]

(Inscription at Rome)

[CIL VI, 976]¹¹¹⁵

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 20th time, hailed *Imperator* twice, three times Consul, has restored the ruined *Auguratorium* at his own expense.

¹¹¹⁵ The Latin text and an alternate translation can be found in Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 217. The Latin text also may be found in Haley, "Hadrian as Romulus," 979; Haley contends the inscription "all but confirms Hadrian's self-identification as the new Romulus and the emperor's role as the second founder of Rome." Tani, *The Palatine Hill*, 25, explains, "The *Auguratorium* was the place of meeting and observation of those priests who generally at midnight, when the sky was clear, and the sea not agitated by wind, took the auspices. It had been told by the auspices to Romulus the origin of the company which occupied the locality where he should lay the foundations of Rome." The inscription is now in the floor of St. John Lateran church—the oldest public church in Rome (since 324 C.E.).

The 'Hippodrome' of the Palace on the Palatine
(Tani, *The Palatine Hill*, 53)¹¹¹⁶



Rome: Palatine Hill - Stadium and Hippodrome - The church of S. Bonaventura and the Villa Mills

c141 Rome Eternal [134/135 C.E.]

(Mattingly, "Some Historical Coins of Hadrian," 223 [Plate XXXIII, #9])



OBVERSE: HADRIANVS AVG COS III: 'Hadrian Augustus, three times Consul.' Bust of Hadrian facing right.

REVERSE: ROMA AETERNA: 'Rome eternal.'

Goddess Roma seated, facing left, holding Victory and a spear, or holding heads of sun and moon, with spear.

¹¹¹⁶ Archaeological evidence points to ongoing work on this structure during his reign; Tani, *The Palatine Hill*, 54, calls attention to bricks stamped with Hadrian's name and dates from 123 to 134 C.E. Tani also notes the now common view that the place was a *xystus*—a covered portico—sheltering a garden. Hadrian's contribution, Tani (p. 55) writes, was in constructing three rooms on the ground floor along the southeast wall, perhaps for a library and offices. Labeled *Stadium Palatinum* on map

VARIOUS HONORS

830 Honored as “Panhellenios” [136/137 C.E.]

(Honorary Inscription on a Marble Base at Megara, Greece)

[IG IV² 1125= IG VII 72, cf. IG VII 3491]¹¹¹⁷

The twice *imperator*, Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus *Olympios* Pythios Panhellenios, its founder and lawgiver and benefactor, have the *Hadrianidai* (honored) under supervision of Julius Candidus, the most excellent proconsul; (an offering of) Aischron, when Demokrates was *strategos*.

831 Statues Erected to Hadrian: An Example [130s C.E.]

(Arrian, *Circumnavigation of the Black Sea*)¹¹¹⁸

To the emperor, Caesar Hadrian Augustus, Arrian wishes health.

1.1 We came in the course of our voyage to Trapezus, a Greek city in a maritime station, a colony from Sinope, as we are informed by Xenophon, the celebrated historian. We surveyed the Euxine Sea with the greater pleasure, as we viewed it from the same spot whence both Xenophon and yourself had formerly observed it.

1.2 Two altars of rough stone are still standing there; but, from the coarseness of the materials, the letters inscribed upon them are indistinctly engrave, and the inscription itself is incorrectly written, as is common among barbarous people, I determined, therefore, to erect altars of marble, and to engrave the inscription in well-marked and distinct characters.

1.3 Your statue, which stands there, has merit in the idea of the figure, and of the design, as it represents you pointing towards the sea; but it bears no resemblance to the original, and the execution is in other respects but indifferent.

1.4 Send therefore a statue worthy to be called yours, and of a similar design to one which is there at present, [p. 2] as the situation is well-calculated for perpetuating, by these means, the memory of any illustrious person.

¹¹¹⁷ The Greek text is available at *Inscriptiones Graecae* (<http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/digitale-edition/inschrift/IG%20IV%C2%B2%202,%201125>). The phrase τὸν δις Αὐτοκράτορα occurs in a series of inscriptions at Megara (IG VII 70, 71, and 72, as well as 3491). On Megara, see Pausanias, *Description of Greece* I.42.5. Julius Candidus was proconsul of Achaia.

¹¹¹⁸ Arrian. *Arrian's Voyage Round the Euxine Sea* (Falconer's trans.), 1. Also see Madsen and Rees, "Introduction: A Roman Greek." The Greek text can be found in Arrian, *Arriani Nicomediensis Scripta Minora*, 86 (Hercher and Eberhard ed.). Xenophon the Athenian (4th cent. B.C.E.), a former pupil of Socrates, was exiled by Athens for joining Sparta as a mercenary. At the end of the 4th century he was part of a mercenary Greek force fighting for the Persian Cyrus the Younger—an experience leading to his history *Anabasis*, in which he narrates reaching Trapezus (end of Bk. IV). On statues erected for Hadrian around the empire, see Hoyte, "Imperial Visits as Occasions for the Erection of Portrait Statues?" He answers 'No' to the question his title poses. His examination included a total of 427 statue bases (350 (82%) outside Italy) for Hadrian.

ILLNESS

[579 repeated] Illness Proposed as a Reason for Going to Egypt

(Epiphanius, *On Weights and Measures*)¹¹¹⁹

14 (54b) For this Hadrian, when leprosy¹¹²⁰ appeared in his body and he had summoned the whole multitude of the physicians under his dominion before him, demanded of them healing for his body. And when they had labored much and done many things and availed nothing, they were scorned by him. He wrote an abusive letter concerning them, assailing their art as devoid of knowledge. But as a result of the illness that befell him he went on a journey to the land of Egypt.¹¹²¹

832 Prayers for Hadrian

(Arrian, *Circumnavigation of the Black Sea*)¹¹²²

2.3 . . . I need not mention to you in whose behalf we first offered our prayers,

2.4 as you are well acquainted with our custom on such occasions, and you must be conscious that you deserve the prayers of all, and especially of those who are under less obligations of gratitude than myself.

833 Hadrian Falls Ill, 1 [c. 136 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹¹²³

23.1 After traversing, as he did, all parts of the world with bare head and often in severe storms and [p. 71] frosts, he contracted an illness which confined him to his bed.

834 Hadrian Falls Ill, 2 [c. 136 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹¹²⁴

LXIX.17.1a He now began to be sick; for he had been subject even before this to a flow of blood from the nostrils, and at this time it became distinctly more copious.

¹¹¹⁹ Epiphanius, *Epiphanius' Treatise* (Dean's ed.), 29–30. The Syriac text can be seen in Baker, "Hadrian's Journey," 164 (following Moutsoulas' 1973 critical edition). On Hadrian's disdain for the physicians attending him, also see Dio, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* LXIX.22.4(end).

¹¹²⁰ Dean, in his edition of *Epiphanius' Treatise* (29 n. 116), notes that the Syriac version adds in the margin, "I.e., he became lionlike" (leprosy; Greek *λωβηθεές*).

¹¹²¹ This is repeated because it suggests Hadrian, as Dio indicates, already had experienced some notable illness before the 130 C.E. trip to Egypt; if so, the illness in his final years may be a continuation and worsening of that earlier sickness. Dvorjetski, "Roman Emperors at the Thermo-Mineral Baths," 577, suggests Hadrian on his visit to Judea in 129/130 C.E. may have used the warm mineral springs at Hammat-Gader. Dvortjetski cites the 6th century account of Antoninus of Placentia, which describes the springs, then called the 'Baths of Helias.' Grant, *Sick Caesars*, 59 (quoting Henderson, *Life and Principate*, 264), writes, "It is a fact not without its paths that he alone of all the Roman emperors issued coins on which was stamped the allegorical figure of PATIENTIA."

¹¹²² Greek text from Arrian, *Arriani Nicomediensis Scripta Minora*, Hercher and Eberhard edition, 87; English translation from Arrian, *Arrian's Voyage Round the Euxine Sea*, Falconer's translation, 2.

¹¹²³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 69, 71.

¹¹²⁴ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 455.

AN HEIR: LUCIUS CEIONIUS COMMODUS (LUCIUS AELIUS VERUS)

835 An Heir Named: Aelius Verus (Commodus), 1 [136 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹¹²⁵

LXIX.17.1b He therefore despaired of his life, and on this account appointed Lucius Commodus to be Caesar for the Romans¹¹²⁶, although this man frequently vomited blood.

836 An Heir Named: Aelius Verus (Commodus), 2 [136 C.E.]

(*Historia Augusta: Aelius*)¹¹²⁷

1.2 . . . I must tell first and foremost of Aelius Verus, who through his adoption by Hadrian became a member of the imperial family, and was the first to receive only the name of Caesar.

837 An Heir Named: Aelius Verus (Commodus), 3 [136 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹¹²⁸

23.10 Hadrian then determined to adopt Ceionius Commodus, son-in-law of Nigrinus, the former conspirator, and this in spite of the fact that his sole recommendation was his beauty.

23.11 Accordingly, despite the opposition of all, he adopted Ceionius Commodus [p. 73] Verus and called him Aelius Verus Caesar.

23.12 On the occasion of the adoption he gave games in the Circus and bestowed largess upon the populace and the soldiers.

23.13 He dignified Commodus with the office of praetor and immediately placed him in command of the Pannonian provinces, and also conferred on him the consulship together with money enough to meet the expenses of the office. He also appointed Commodus to a second consulship.

838 Celebration of Adoption of Aelius Verus Caesar

(*Historia Augusta: Aelius*)¹¹²⁹

3.3 On the occasion of his adoption largess was given to the populace, three hundred million sesterces were distributed among the soldiers, and races were held in the Circus; in short, nothing was omitted which could signalize the public rejoicing.

¹¹²⁵ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 455. Born Lucius Ceionius Commodus, he was of a line of Consuls (his father in 106 C.E., his grandfather in 78 C.E.), who bore the same name.

¹¹²⁶ Højte, "The Epigraphic Evidence," 220, writes, "Unfortunately the exact date of the event is unknown. L. Aelius Caesar was consul ordinarius in 136, and he appears under the name L. Ceionius Commodus in an inscription from Rome (CIL VI, 10242) dated 19 June 136, thus providing a terminus post quem for the adoption."

¹¹²⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 83. See Barnes, "Hadrian and Lucius Verus," who focuses on the *HA's Vita Veri*.

¹¹²⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 71, 73.

¹¹²⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 87.

Aelius Verus

(Below left: Lee, *Roman Imperial Profiles*,
Plate 44)

(Below right: Duruy, *History of Rome and
the Roman People*, V, 2, 419)

XLIV.



AELIUS CAESAR.



L. AELIUS VERUS CAESAR. HADRIAN'S
ADOPTED SON.

c142 Aelius Verus Coin (below)
(Greudber, *Catalogue of Roman Medallions*
[description, p. 6])



OBVERSE: L. AELIUS CAESAR. 'L. Aelius Caesar.' Bust of Aelius, bearded, head bare, wearing *paladumentum* and cuirass: border of dots.



REVERSE: CONCORDIA (In exergue) COS II. Aelius and Hadrian, both togate, standing face to face and grasping right hands; between them, Concordia, facing, wearing tunic and peplum, resting a hand on the shoulder of each; border of dots.

839 Aelius Verus Caesar: Background

(*Historia Augusta: Aelius*)¹¹³⁰

2.6 This man, then, of whom I shall write, was at first called Lucius Aurelius Verus, but on his adoption by Hadrian he passed into the family of the Aelii, that [p. 87] is, into Hadrian's, and received the name of Caesar.

2.7 His father was Ceionius Commodus, whom some have called Verus, others, Lucius Aurelius, and many, Annius.

2.8 His ancestors, all men of the highest rank, had their origin for the most part in Etruria or Faventia.

2.9 Of his family, however, we will speak at greater length in the life of his son, Lucius Aurelius Ceionius Commodus Verus Antoninus, whom Antoninus was ordered to adopt.

840 Aelius Verus Caesar: Influence on Hadrian

(*Historia Augusta: Aelius*)¹¹³¹

3.4 He had, moreover, such influence with Hadrian, even apart from the affection resulting from his adoption, which seemed a firm enough tie between them, that he was the only one who obtained his every desire, even when expressed in a letter.

841 Aelius Verus Caesar: Nature

(*Historia Augusta: Aelius*)¹¹³²

5.1 Verus was a man of joyous life and well versed in letters, and he was endeared to Hadrian, as the malicious say, rather by his beauty than by his character.

5.2 In the palace his stay was but a short one; in his private life, though there was little to be commended, yet there was little to be blamed. [p. 93] Furthermore, he was considerate of his family, well-dressed, elegant in appearance, a man of regal beauty, with a countenance that commanded respect, a speaker of unusual eloquence, deft at writing verse, and, moreover, not altogether a failure in public life.¹¹³³

5.3 His pleasures, many of which are recorded by his biographers, were not indeed discreditable but somewhat luxurious.

¹¹³⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 85, 87. Etruria names a region in central Italy; Faventia (modern Faenza) is a town in central Italy, on the Via Aemilia near the Lamone River.

¹¹³¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 87.

¹¹³² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 91, 93.

¹¹³³ His movement up the *cursus honorum* led to his being Consul in 136 C.E., the year of his adoption, followed by a competent stint as governor with proconsular imperium in the Pannonian provinces, then Consul for a second time in 137 C.E. On the tie between his tenure as governor and the importance of Pannonia, see Juhász, "Die Pannonia-Münze des Aelius Caesar," who points to the significance of the message Hadrian sends in appointing Verus to this region with its sizable military force.

842 Aelius Verus Caesar: Career as Heir

(*Historia Augusta: Aelius*)¹¹³⁴

3.1 Aelius Verus was adopted by Hadrian at the time when, as we have previously said, the Emperor's health was beginning to fail and he was forced to take thought for the succession.

3.2 He was at once made praetor and appointed military and civil governor of the provinces of Pannonia; afterwards he was created consul, and then, because he had been chosen to succeed to the imperial power, he was named for a second consulship.

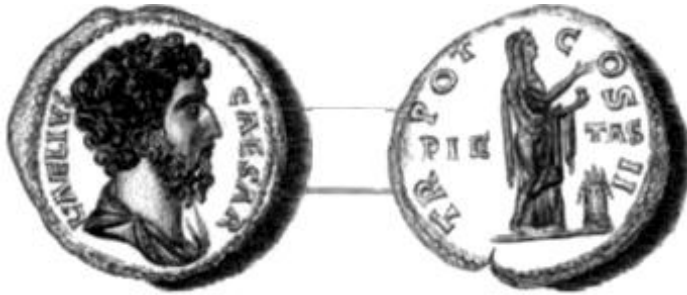
....

3.5 Besides, in the province to which he had been appointed he was by no means a failure;

3.6 for he carried on a campaign with success, or rather, with good fortune, and achieved [p. 89] the reputation, if not of a preeminent, at least of an average, commander.

c143 Aelius Verus Caesar (Aureus and Denarius)

(Akerman, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 226 [#8]; description 252)



OBVERSE: L. AELIUS CAESAR: 'Lucius Aelius Caesar.'

REVERSE: PIETAS TR. POT. COS. II: 'Pietas, holding tribunician power, twice Consul.' Goddess Pietas (veiled female), sacrificing.

843 Aelius Verus Caesar: A Reason for Regret, 1

(*Historia Augusta: Aelius*)¹¹³⁵

3.7 Verus had, however, such wretched health that Hadrian immediately regretted the adoption, and since he often considered others as possible successors, he might have removed him altogether from the imperial family had Verus chanced to live longer.

¹¹³⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 87, 89.

¹¹³⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 89, 91. The verses quoted are from the *Aeneid* (VI.869–886).

844 Aelius Verus Caesar: A Reason for Regret, 2

(*HLA: Vita Hadrian*)¹¹³⁶

23.14 And when he saw that the man was diseased, he used often to say: “We have leaned against a tottering wall and have wasted the four hundred million sesterces which we gave to the populace and the soldiers on the adoption of Commodus.”

845 Aelius Verus Caesar: Hadrian’s Musings

(*Historia Augusta: Aelius*)¹¹³⁷

4.1 Furthermore, it is generally known that he often said about Verus:

“This hero Fate will but display to earth
Nor suffer him to stay.”

4.2 And once when Hadrian was reciting these verses while strolling about in his garden, one of the literary men, in whose brilliant company he delighted, happened to be present and proceeded to add,

“The race of Rome,
Would seem to You, O Gods, to be too great,
Were such gifts to endure.”

4.3 Thereupon the Emperor remarked, it is said, “The life of Verus will not admit of these lines,” and added, [*p. 91*]

“Bring lilies with a bounteous hand;
And I the while will scatter rosy blooms,
Thus doing honour to our kinsman’s soul
With these poor gifts — though useless be the task.”

4.4 At the same time, too, Hadrian, it is reported, remarked with a laugh: “I seem to have adopted, not a son, but a god.”

4.5 Yet when one of these same literary men who was present tried to console him, saying: “What if a mistake has been made in casting the horoscope of this man who, as we believe, is destined to live?” Hadrian is said to have answered: “It is easy for you to say that, when you are looking for an heir to your property, not to the Empire.”

4.6 This makes it clear that he intended to choose another heir, and at the end of his life to remove Verus from the government of the state.

¹¹³⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 73.

¹¹³⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 89, 91. The verses quoted are from the *Aeneid* (VI.869–886). There, Vergil has in mind Augustus’ presumptive heir Marcus Claudius Marcellus (42–23 B.C.E.), son of Augustus’ sister Octavia and the emperor’s closest living male kin. Marcellus had served in Spain during Augustus’ Cantabrian Wars, and was married to Augustus’ daughter Julia (see Dio, LIII.17). But both he and Augustus fell prey to an illness in Rome; Augustus recovered, but Marcellus, just 22 years old, did not, dying at Baiae in Campania. On 4.5, with respect to the horoscope for Aelius Verus, recall that Hadrian placed great stock in such. He would have taken very seriously a horoscope setting out Verus’ near demise.

846 Aelius Verus Caesar: Illness and Death, 1

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹¹³⁸

23.15 Moreover, because of his ill-health, Commodus could not even make a speech in the senate thanking Hadrian for his adoption.

23.16 Finally, too large a quantity of medicine was administered to him, and thereupon his illness increased, and he died in his sleep on the very Kalends of January. Because of the date Hadrian forbade public mourning for him, in order that the vows for the state might be assumed as usual.

847 Aelius Verus Caesar: Illness and Death, 1

(*Historia Augusta: Aelius*)¹¹³⁹

4.7 For after Verus had returned from his province, and had finished composing, either by his own efforts or with the help of imperial secretaries or the rhetoricians, a very pretty speech, still read nowadays, wherein he intended to convey his thanks to his father Hadrian on the Kalends of January, he swallowed a potion which he believed would benefit him and died on that very day of January.

848 Inscription for Adopted L. Aelius Verus, 1 [137 C.E.]

(Inscription on Statue Base at Ostia, Italy)

[*CIL* XIV, 4356=*AE* 1889.128]¹¹⁴⁰

Lucius Aelius Caesar, of *Imperator* Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 21st time, consul three times, Father of the Fatherland—son; of the deified Trajan Parthicus—grandson; of the deified Nerva—great-grandson; holding tribunician power, twice consul.

849 Inscription for Adopted L. Aelius Verus, 2 [137 C.E.]

(Inscription at Tifernum Mataurense, Italy)

[*CIL* XI, 5989]¹¹⁴¹

Lucius Aelius Caesar, son of Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 21st time, consul three times, Father of the Fatherland; grandson of the deified Trajan Parthicus; great-grandson of the deified Nerva; holding tribunician power, twice consul. (Provided by) the boys and girls receiving *alimentary* assistance.

¹¹³⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 73. The ill-health of Hadrian's heir is commonly thought to have been from tuberculosis (or as it is often known, 'consumption').

¹¹³⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 91. Both the account in the 'Life of Hadrian' and 'Life of Aelius' attribute Verus' taking a medicine as his immediate cause of death, but only the former suggests it was particularly because of an overdose. Since opium was used to treat coughs, it may be that an overdose of it led to his death (often indicated by the bluish discoloration of skin accompanying cyanosis). Also see *Dio Cassius' Roman History* LXIX.20.1 (entry #872).

¹¹⁴⁰ An alternate rendering can be found in Højte, "The Epigraphic Evidence," 230 (along with the Latin text). See this article for a complete discussion of the epigraphic evidence for Aelius Caesar.

¹¹⁴¹ I have rendered the Latin *alimentari* as "receiving *alimentary* assistance." An alternate rendering can be found in Højte, "The Epigraphic Evidence," 231 (along with the Latin text).

850 Inscription for Adopted L. Aelius Verus, 3 [137 C.E.]

(Inscription at)
[IGBulg II, 602]¹¹⁴²

Good fortune! To Lucius Aelius Caesar, son of Emperor Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus, grandson of the deified Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of the deified Nerva, holding tribunician power, designate for Consul for a 2nd time; by the council (ἡ βουλὴ) and people (ὁ δῆμος) of Ulpia Nicopolis ad Istrum.

851 Inscription for Adopted L. Aelius Verus, 4 [136/137 C.E.]

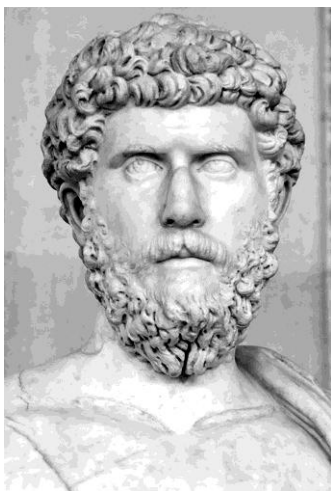
(Inscription)
[Levick, #37=Smallwood #323(a)]¹¹⁴³

Dedicated to the Augustan Good Fortune, for the welfare of Lucius Aelius Caesar at the prompting of a vision: Titus Flavius Secundus, prefect of the first cohort of Hamian Archers, discharged his vow gladly and deservedly.

852 Inscription for Adopted L. Aelius Verus, 5 [post 138 C.E.]

(Inscription at Mausoleum in Rome)
[CIL VI, 985 = CIL VI, 31220]¹¹⁴⁴

Lucius Aelius Caesar, son of the deified Hadrian Augustus, consul twice.



Lucius Aelius Caesar [c. 136 C.E.]
(Photo courtesy of Marie-Lan Nguyen)¹¹⁴⁵

¹¹⁴² IGBulg II=*Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, II (Mihailov ed.). The Greek text can be seen at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/168658?hs=91-115>). The town, placed at the junction of the rivers Iatrus and Rositsa, was in the Danube region where Aelius Caesar was placed in 136 C.E.

¹¹⁴³ Levick, *The Government of the Roman Empire*, 42 (with comments); original text in Smallwood.

¹¹⁴⁴ An alternate rendering can be found in Højte, “The Epigraphic Evidence,” 230 (along with the Latin text).

¹¹⁴⁵ The image of Lucius Aelius Caesar (of a marble portrait presently at the Louvre) is courtesy of Marie-Lan Nguyen, through Wikimedia Commons, and is made available by Creative Commons Attribution 2.5 Generic license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.5/deed.en>). It has been transformed to grayscale.

‘THE FINAL TERRORS’

853 Hadrian’s Illness Leads to Final Terrors

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome* ¹¹⁴⁶)

14.9 This internal disease, though he had endured it quietly, at last defeated him by its burning pain and he then destroyed many Senators.

854 Hadrian’s Fear of Conspiracies against Himself

(Marcus Aurelius, Letter to Verus, 166 C.E.?)

[Fronto, *Correspondence*]¹¹⁴⁷

For you know yourself what your grandfather Hadrian said: *Wretched indeed is the lot of princes, who only by being slain can persuade the world that they have been conspired against!* I have preferred to father the remark on him rather than Domitian, who is said to have made it first, for in the mouths of tyrants even fine sayings do not carry as much weight as they ought.

855 Julius Ursus Servianus: Hadrian’s Respect

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹¹⁴⁸

8.11 On his brother-in-law Servianus, to whom he showed such respect that he would advance to meet him as he came from his chamber, he bestowed a third consulship, and that without any request or entreaty on Servianus’ part; but nevertheless he did not appoint him as his own colleague, since Servianus had been consul twice before Hadrian, and the Emperor did not wish to have second place.

856 Julius Ursus Servianus: Considered as Hadrian’s Heir

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹¹⁴⁹

23.2 And becoming anxious about a successor he thought first of Servianus.

857 Julius Ursus Servianus and Pedanius Fuscus, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹¹⁵⁰

LXIX.17.1c Servianus and his grandson Fuscus, the former a nonagenarian and the latter eighteen years of age, were put to death on the ground that they were displeased at this action.¹¹⁵¹

¹¹⁴⁶ For an alternate translation, see Banchich’s online rendering at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. The Latin text can be found in the *Epitome* in the collected works of *Sexti Aurelii Victoris* (Pichlmayr’s ed.), 150;

¹¹⁴⁷ Fronto, *Correspondence* (Haines trans.), II, 311 (with Latin text, p. 310).

¹¹⁴⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 27.

¹¹⁴⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 71.

¹¹⁵⁰ *Dio Cassius’ Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 455.

¹¹⁵¹ They were upset at the adoption of L. Ceionius Commodus (L. Aelius Verus); Servianus, as Hadrian’s brother-in-law, might reasonably have expected either himself or his grandson Fuscus to have been named as heir. Geer, “Second Thoughts on the Imperial Succession,” 51, offers the opinion that, with respect to Servianus, Hadrian “had, indeed, so high an opinion of his ability and so much regard for the strength of the claim to succession based on relationship, that when he did pass over him and his grandson . . . he felt it necessary to get rid of both of them by forcing them to suicide.”

858 Julius Ursus Servianus and Pedanius Fuscus, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹¹⁵²

23.3a Afterwards, however, as I have said, he forced him to commit suicide; and Fuscus, too, he put to death on the ground that, being spurred on by prophecies and omens, he was hoping for imperial power.

859 Julius Ursus Servianus: Hadrian's Suspicion

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹¹⁵³

23.8 Then he threw aside all restraint and compelled Servianus to kill himself, on the ground that he aspired to the empire, merely because he gave a feast to the royal slaves, sat in a royal chair placed close to his bed, and, though an old man of ninety, used to arise and go forward to meet the guard of soldiers. He put many others to death, either openly or by treachery.

860 Julius Ursus Servianus: Compelled to Commit Suicide

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹¹⁵⁴

25.8 Just before his death, he compelled Servianus, then ninety years old, to kill himself, as has been said before, in order that Servianus might not outlive him, and, as he thought, become emperor. He likewise gave orders that very many others who were guilty of slight offences should be put to death; these, [p. 79] however, were spared by Antoninus.

861 Servianus' Curse

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹¹⁵⁵

LXIX.17.2 Servianus before being executed asked for fire, and as he offered incense he exclaimed: "That I am guilty of no wrong, ye, O Gods, are well aware; as for Hadrian, this is my only prayer, that he may long for death but be unable to die." And, indeed, Hadrian did linger on a long time in his illness, and often prayed that he might expire, and often desired to kill himself.

LXIX.17.3 There is, indeed, a letter of his in existence which gives proof of precisely this—how dreadful it is to long for death and yet be unable to die. This Servianus had been regarded by Hadrian as capable of filling even the imperial office. For instance, Hadrian had once at a banquet told his friends to name him ten men who were competent to be sole ruler, and then, after a [p. 457] moment's pause, had added: "nine only I want to know; for one I have already—Servianus."

¹¹⁵² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 71. It is worth lingering over the phrase "being spurred on by prophecies and omens"; although Hadrian had himself sought oracles and paid attention to prophecies, he did not want others with possible ambitions for the throne to do likewise. Whether Fuscus' grandfather supported such efforts is unknown, as is whether, despite his advanced age, he desired the highest power for himself or merely hoped for it for his grandson.

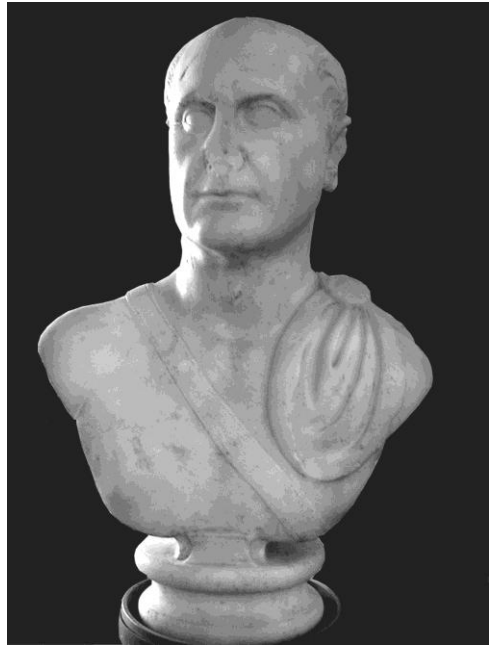
¹¹⁵³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 71.

¹¹⁵⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 77.

¹¹⁵⁵ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 455, 457.

Servianus: Marble Bust
(Museo Gregoriano Profano,
Vatican Museums, Rome)¹¹⁵⁶

Servianus
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the*
Roman People, V, 2, 420)



862 An Historical Echo of Servianus' Curse on Hadrian

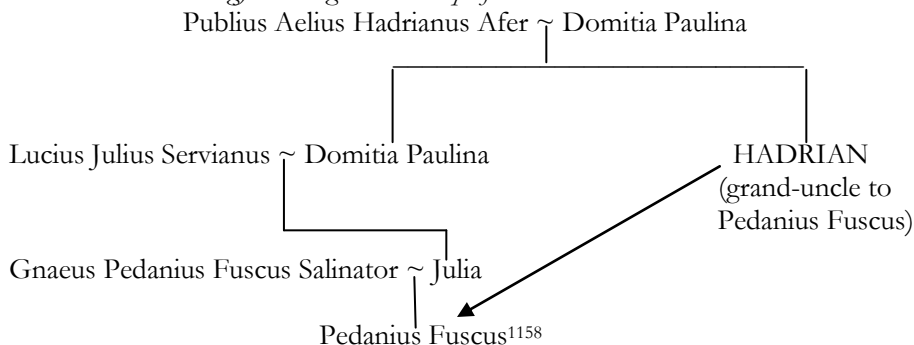
(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹¹⁵⁷

LXXVII.7.5 [On Quintillus, a blameless victim of informers made to die during reign of Severus:] And then, as he burnt incense, he remarked: "I make the same prayer as Servianus made for Hadrian."

¹¹⁵⁶ Photo by Olga Lyubimova (2009), made available by Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>). The original photo has been transformed to grayscale.

¹¹⁵⁷ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), IX, 253.

Genealogy Showing Relationship of Pedanius Fuscus to Hadrian



863 On Pedanius Fuscus' Family

(Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, VI—*Letter 36: To Servianus*)¹¹⁵⁹

I am extremely rejoiced to hear, that you have betrothed your daughter to Fuscus Salinator, and congratulate you upon it. His family is patrician, and both his father and mother are persons of the most exalted merit. As for himself, he is studious, learned, even eloquent, and with all the innocence of a child, unites the sprightliness of youth to the wisdom of age. I am not, believe me, duped by my affection; for though I do love him beyond measure (as his services and respect to me well deserve) I yet can judge him, and the more vigorously for loving him so well. Take my word for it (and I speak from thorough knowledge), you will have a son-in-law who is all your fancy can paint, or your heart desire. It only remains to wish that he may right speedily present you with grand-sons who shall resemble their father. Happy the day when I shall receive from the arms of two such friends the children of one and grand-children of the other, even as if I were myself their father or grandsire, and hold them, as though by equal right, in my embrace! Farewell.

¹¹⁵⁸ Champlin, "Hadrian's Heir," 79, remarks, "This Pedanius Fuscus leaves little mark in the literary records of Hadrian's reign, be it as inept conspirator, foolish dupe, or innocent victim." He is sometimes identified as 'Gnaeus Pedanius Fuscus Salinator II,' but most often simply as 'Pedanius Fuscus' to avoid confusion. These kin of Hadrian were likewise from Spain, but their roots were in Tarraconensis province rather than Baetica. The family there was associated with a town founded by Augustus—Colonia Julia Augusta Paterna Faventia Barcino, or more simply, Barcino. Levick, *Faustina I and II*, 42, writes that when Hadrian went on his Western tour it was likely Servianus and his wife were part of the company and that the emperor then stayed with them at Barcino for a time. She notes, "The family had produced the first Spaniard to reach the consulship since the Triumviral period: L. Pedanius Secundus, consul in 43, went on to the prefecture of the city. The decisive step up had come in the period 103–107 when Salinator—the name links him to a patrician family—became engaged to Julia, daughter of L. Julius Salinator (cos. II 102)."

¹¹⁵⁹ Pliny the Younger, *Pliny. Letters* (Loeb ed., Melmouthe trans.), I, 511 (with Latin text, p. 408). The daughter of Servianus was Julia, who married Gn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator (of Barcino in Spain); their child was Pedanius Fuscus, grandson of Servianus (see genealogy above, and horoscope, next page). Fuscus Salinator rose to the consulship in 118 C.E., as Hadrian's colleague in the office.

864 The Horoscope of Pedanius Fuscus

(Antigonos of Nicaea in Hephaestion, *Apotelesmatika*)¹¹⁶⁰

II.18.65 He was of most eminent and illustrious birth on both his father's and his mother's side.... He was brought up with great expectations and was already looking forward to acceding to the imperial power. Through ill counsel, he came to grief at the age of about twenty-five, and, being denounced to the Emperor he was destroyed along with an old man of his family (who was falsely accused because of him). . . .

II.18.66 . . . he was given to passion and fond of gladiators.

865 Platorius Nepos

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹¹⁶¹

23.4 Carried away by suspicion, he held in the greatest abhorrence Platorius Nepos,¹¹⁶² whom he had formerly so loved that, once, when he went to see him while ill and was refused admission, he nevertheless let him go unpunished.

866 Platorius Nepos, Esteemed of Hadrian

(Excerpt from *CIL* V, 877=*ILS* 1052)¹¹⁶³

To Aulus Platorius . . . consul, augur; legate of the emperor with praetorian powers of the province of Britain. . . .

867 Terentius Gentianus et al. [c. 136 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹¹⁶⁴

23.5 Also he hated Terentius Gentianus,¹¹⁶⁵ but even more vehemently, because he saw that he was then beloved by the senate.

23.6 At last, he came to hate all those of whom he had thought in connection with the imperial power, as though they were really about to be emperors.

¹¹⁶⁰ Birley, *Hadrian*, 291; cf. Champlin, "Hadrian's Heir," 82 and Hephaestios of Thebes, *Apotelesmatika* II, 63–64 (Schmidt trans.). On Fuscus, see Champlin, "Hadrian's Heir." The Greek text may be found online at ΑΣΤΡΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ (<https://www.astrologicon.org/hephaestion-hephaestion-apotelesmatika2.html#18>); Heilin, 52 n. 25 offers ἐρωτικὸς δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο καὶ φιλομον<όμ>αχος. Champlin, "Hadrian's Heir," 82, adds "moreover everyone of his family died miserably because of him" (accounting for πρὸς ταπεινοὺς ἀπηλλαγμένων). Calculations of Pedanius Fuscus' birthdate based on the horoscope have yielded a date of April 6, 113, making him 25 years old in 137/138 C.E..

¹¹⁶¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 71.

¹¹⁶² See also *HA: Vita Hadriani* 4.2, 15.2; *CIL* V, 877; *CIL* VII, 498=*RIB* 1051 a-b; *CIL* XVI, 69; *RIB* 1634, and *RIB* 2401.6. Nepos appears in several earlier entries in this volume, especially in connection with Britain (see #s 102, 104, 253, 254, 259, 260, and 273).

¹¹⁶³ The full text is at entry #104 (p. 62). See Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 119–24 [#18].

¹¹⁶⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 71. His full name was Decimus Terentius Gentianus. A familiar to Trajan he rose to be suffect consul in July–September, 116 C.E.—before reaching age 30, as his sister notes (entry #868).

¹¹⁶⁵ Benario, *Commentary*, 131, notes, "*Terentium Gentianum* The author errs, for Gentianus had been dead for some years." He then quotes the Latin text of the poem in the entry below [# 868] and speculates it may have been inscribed in 130 C.E. while Gentianus' sister was part of Hadrian's touring group in Egypt.

23.7 However, he controlled all the force of his innate cruelty down to the time when in his Tiburtine Villa he almost met his death through a hemorrhage.

868 Epitaph for Gentianus by His Sister Terentia [c. 130 C.E.?]

(Inscription on a Pyramid)

[CIL III, 21=ILS 1046a]¹¹⁶⁶

I saw the pyramids without you, my dearest brother, and here I sadly shed tears for you, which is all I could do. And I inscribe this lament in memory of our grief. May thus be clearly visible on the high pyramid the name of Decimus Gentianus, who was a pontifex and companion to your triumphs, Trajan, and both censor and consul before his thirtieth year.

869 (Alleged) Orders against Others

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹¹⁶⁷

25.8b He likewise gave orders that very many others who were guilty of slight offences should be put to death; these, [p. 79] however, were spared by Antoninus.

870 The Final Terrors End

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Elagabalus*)¹¹⁶⁸

7.8 As for this city of Oresta,¹¹⁶⁹ Hadrian, after he had begun to suffer from madness, ordered that it should be called after his own name — also acting in obedience to a divine response, for he had been told to steal into the house or into the name of some madman.

7.9 Thereupon, they say, he recovered from his madness, which had caused him to order the execution of many senators,

7.10 all of whom, however, were saved by Antoninus; for he won the surname of Pius by leading them into the senate after all supposed that they had been put to death by the Emperor's order.

¹¹⁶⁶ Hemelrijk, *Matrona Docta*, 171; see text and accompanying note for commentary. The Latin text can be viewed online at EDCS (http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_einzel.php?s_sprache=de&p_belegstelle=CIL+03%2C+00021&r_sortierung=Belegstelle). There is uncertainty as to when this was composed. Although it is not uncommon to find that she is presumed to have been part of Hadrian's company in 130 C.E., it may be that she visited later.

¹¹⁶⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 77, 79.

¹¹⁶⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), II, 121. The city was refounded as Hadrianopolis.

¹¹⁶⁹ Oresta (or Orestia), named after its mythological founder Orestes, was a city in Thrace. Centrally located at a junction of roads, it was expanded by Hadrian, renamed Hadrianopolis, and made the capital of Thrace. The phrase "he had been told to steal into the house or into the name of some madman" is explained by the story of Orestes. The son of the famed Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, he avenged his father's death at the hands of his mother and her lover Aegisthus. Though both the god Apollo and Orestes' sister, Electra, urged him to avenge Agamemnon's death, killing his mother—matricide—earned him the attention of the Furies (*Erinyes*), who drove him mad. Thus, Hadrian, "acting in obedience to a divine response," both stole into the house and name of a madman (Orestes) by changing the city's name to Hadrianopolis.



Hadrian
(Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 276 [Fig. 474])

871 A Coda on the Final Terrors: Rumination of Marcus Aurelius

(*Historia Augusta: Avidius Cassius*)¹¹⁷⁰

VIII.15 When the head of Cassius was brought to him, Antoninus showed no exultation or pride, but even lamented that *he had been robbed of an opportunity for compassion, for he had wished to take him alive*, he said, *that he might reproach him with the benefits he had done him, and then spare his life*. Lastly when one said that Antoninus was to blame for his clemency toward his enemy and his enemy's children and relations and all whom he had found to be accomplices in the usurpation, the man who had imputed the blame going on to say, "What if he had been successful?" Marcus is said to have answered, *My worship of the Gods has not been such, my life is not such, that he could be successful*. He then, enumerating all the Emperors who had been killed, pointed out that *they had deserved their fate, and that no good Emperor had easily been overcome by a usurper or slain, adding that Nero had [p. 373] deserved, Caligula had earned his death, Ottho and Vitellius ought never to have reigned*. His opinion of Galba was similar, for he remarked that *in an Emperor avarice was the most hateful of faults. In a word, rebels had never been able to overcome either Augustus or Trajan or Hadrian or his own father, for many as they were, they had been crushed against the wish or without the knowledge of the reigning Emperor*. Antoninus himself, however, besought the Senate *not to proceed, with severity against accomplices in the rebellion*, asking at the same time that *no Senator should in his reign be punished with death*; and this won for him the love of all.

¹¹⁷⁰ Marcus Aurelius, *The Communings with Himself* (Haines trans.), 371, 373 (with Latin text on facing pages). This and other sayings are collected by Haines at the end of his translation of the *Meditations*. Cf. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 249, 251. Minor changes to the English have been made (e.g., "shewed" to "showed").

A NEW HEIR: ARRIUS ANTONINUS (ANTONINUS 'PIUS')¹¹⁷¹

872 Antoninus Named as New Heir, 1 [Feb., 138 C.E.]¹¹⁷²

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹¹⁷³

LXIX.20.1 Hadrian became consumptive as a result of his great loss of blood, and this led to dropsy. And as it happened that Lucius Commodus was suddenly carried off by a severe haemorrhage,¹¹⁷⁴ the emperor convened at his house the most prominent and most respected of the senators; and lying there upon his couch, he spoke to them as follows:¹¹⁷⁵

LXIX.20.2 “I, my friends, have not been permitted by nature to have a son, but you have made it possible by legal enactment. Now there is this difference between the two methods—that a begotten son turns out to be whatever sort of person Heaven pleases, whereas one that is adopted a man takes to himself as the result of a deliberate selection.

LXIX.20.3 “Thus by the process of nature a maimed and witless child is often given to a parent, but by [p. 461] process of selection one of sound body and sound mind is certain to be chosen. For this reason I formerly selected Lucius before all others—a person such as I could never have expected a child of my own to become.

LXIX.20.4 “But since Heaven has bereft us of him, I have found as emperor for you in his place the man whom I now give you, one who is noble, mild, tractable, prudent, neither young enough to do anything reckless nor old enough to neglect aught, one who has been brought up according to the laws and one who has exercised authority in accordance with our traditions, so that he is not ignorant of any matters pertaining to the imperial office, but could handle them all effectively.

LXIX.20.5 “I refer to our Antoninus here. Although I know him to be the least inclined of men to become involved in affairs and to be far from desiring any such power still I do not think that he will deliberately disregard either me or you, but will accept the office even against his will.”

LXIX.21.1a So it was that Antoninus became emperor.

¹¹⁷¹ His full name was Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus; as emperor he is known simply as Antoninus Pius.

¹¹⁷² The date of his formal adoption is variously given as Feb. 25 or Feb. 28, 138 C.E.

¹¹⁷³ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 459, 461.

¹¹⁷⁴ Cf. *Historia Augusta* 23.14–16 (parallel to Dio, LXIX.17.1a) and see note 1139 (p. 502). Tuberculosis (TB) can lead to massive pulmonary hemorrhage (bleeding into the lower respiratory tract); so, too, on rare occasions can opiod overdose. It might be, taking the various hints of the ancient sources together, that the combination of TB and too much opium led to a severe pulmonary hemorrhage—which can be of sudden onset—that killed Verus.

¹¹⁷⁵ For more on this speech, see Davenport and Mallan, “Hadrian’s Adoption Speech.”

XLVI. *Antoninus Pius, 1 (left)*
(Lee, *Imperial Roman Profiles*, Plate 46)



ANTONINUS PIUS.

Antoninus Pius, 2
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 422)



ANTONINUS.

873 Antoninus Named as New Heir, 2 [Feb., 138 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹¹⁷⁶

24.1 After the death of Aelius Verus Caesar, Hadrian was attacked by a very severe illness, and thereupon he adopted Arrius Antoninus (who was [p. 75] afterwards called Pius), imposing upon him the condition that he adopt two sons, Annius Verus and Marcus Antoninus.

24.2 These were the two who afterwards ruled the empire together, the first joint Augusti.

24.3 And as for Antoninus, he was called Pius, it is said, because he used to give his arm to his father-in-law when weakened by old age.

24.4 However, others assert that this surname was given to him because, as Hadrian grew more cruel, he rescued many senators from the Emperor;

24.5 others, again, that it was because he bestowed great honors upon Hadrian after his death.

24.6 The adoption of Antoninus was lamented by many at that time, particularly by Catilius Severus, the prefect of the city, who was making plans to secure the throne for himself.

24.7 When this fact became known, a successor was appointed for him and he was deprived of his office.

¹¹⁷⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 73, 75. Catilius Severus (Lucius Catilius Severus Julianus Claudius Reginus), who served important posts under both Trajan and Hadrian, was strongly favored by the latter, who entrusted him with Syria upon his accession in 117 C.E. (through 119 C.E.), granted him a second consulship (120 C.E.), and made him Prefect of Rome.

874 Antoninus Named as New Heir, 3 [Feb., 138 C.E.]

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹¹⁷⁷

4.1 The manner of his adoption, they say, was somewhat thus: After the death of Aelius Verus, whom Hadrian had adopted and named Caesar, a day was set for the meeting of the senate,

4.2 and to this Arrius Antoninus came, supporting the steps of his father-in-law.

4.3 For this act, it is said, Hadrian adopted him. But this could not have been the only reason for the adoption, nor ought it to have been, especially since Antoninus had always done well in his administration of public office, and in his proconsulship [p. 109] had shown himself a man of worth and dignity.

4.4 At any rate, when Hadrian announced a desire to adopt him, he was given time for deciding whether he wished to be adopted.

4.5 This condition was attached to his adoption, that as Hadrian took Antoninus as his son, so he in turn should take Marcus Antoninus, his wife's nephew, and Lucius Verus, thenceforth called Verus Antoninus, the son of that Aelius Verus¹¹⁷⁸ whom Hadrian had previously adopted.

4.6 He was adopted on the fifth day before the Kalends of March, while returning thanks in the senate for Hadrian's opinion concerning him,

4.7 and he was made colleague to his father in both the proconsular and the tribunician power.

c144 Coin of Antoninus Pius [138 C.E.]

(ANS; Aureus)¹¹⁷⁹

OBVERSE: IMP(erator) T(itus) AEL(ius) CAES(ar) ANTONINVS: Head of Antoninus Pius, right | Bust of Antoninus Pius, draped, right, viewed from rear or side.

REVERSE: TRIB(unicia)
POT(estas) CO(n)S(ul) ||
PIETAS (in field): Pietas standing right, raising hand and holding incense box; to right, altar.



¹¹⁷⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 107, 109.

¹¹⁷⁸ I.e., the first heir, Lucius Ceionis Commodus (L. Aelius Verus Caesar); see *Historia Augusta: Hadrian* 23 (above).

¹¹⁷⁹ Public domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (ANS); it, with text, can be seen at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Antoninus>). Image has been transformed to grayscale and abbreviations expanded. *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 2720–2721; reference: *RIC* II Hadrian 418A, *RIC* II Hadrian 418B, *RIC* II Hadrian 419.

875 Antoninus Named as New Heir, 4 [Feb., 138 C.E.]

(Aurelius Victor, *Book of the Caesars*)¹¹⁸⁰

14.10 Meanwhile, after the death of Aurelius Caesar, since he himself was not mentally strong enough and was for that reason treated with contempt, he convened the senators to appoint a Caesar.

14.11 As they were hurriedly assembling by chance he caught sight of Antoninus supporting with his hand the faltering steps of an old man, his father-in-law or his father. Singularly delighted by this, he gave orders for him (Antoninus) to be formally adopted as Caesar and for a large number of the senators, to whom he had been a laughing-stock, to be immediately executed by him.

876 Hadrian Reconciles Antoninus and Polemo [138 C.E.?]

(Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*)¹¹⁸¹

I.25 [534] Moreover, the Emperor reconciled his own son Antoninus, with Polemo, at the time when he handed over his sceptre and became a god instead of a mortal. I must relate how this happened. Antoninus was proconsul of the whole of Asia without exception, and once he took up his lodging in Polemo's house because it was the best in Smyrna and belonged to the most notable citizen. However, Polemo arrived home at night from a journey and raised an outcry at the door that he was outrageously treated in being shut out of his own house, and next he compelled Antoninus to move to another house. The Emperor was informed of this, but he held no inquiry into the affair, lest he should reopen the wound. But in considering what would happen after his death, and that even mild natures are often provoked by persons who are too aggressive and irritating, he became anxious about Polemo. Accordingly in his last testament on the affairs of the Empire, he wrote: "And Polemo, the sophist, advised me to make this arrangement." By this means he opened the way for him to win favour as a benefactor, and forgiveness enough and to spare.

877 Omens of His Future

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹¹⁸²

3.1 An omen of his future rule occurred while he was administering Italy; for when he mounted the tribunal, among other greetings someone cried, "God save you, Augustus." His proconsulship in Asia he conducted in such a fashion that he alone excelled his grandfather; and in this proconsulship, too, he received another omen foretelling his rule; for at Tralles a priestess, being about to greet him after the custom of the place (for it was their custom [*p. 107*] to greet the proconsuls by their title), instead of saying "Hail, proconsul," said

¹¹⁸⁰ Aurelius Victor, *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus* (Bird trans.), 17. The Latin text can be found in Aurelius Victor. *Liber de Caesaribus* (Pichlmayr's ed.), 93.

¹¹⁸¹ Philostratus, *The Lives of the Sophists* (Wright's trans.), 113. The Greek text can be found in Philostratus, *Flavii Philostrati Opera*, II, 44–45.

¹¹⁸² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 105, 107. I modernized the English.

“Hail, emperor”; at Cyzicus, moreover, a crown was transferred from an image of a god to a statue of him.

HADRIAN’S LAST DAYS AND DEATH

878 Prophecies and Miracles [137/138 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹¹⁸³

25.1 About this time there came a certain woman, who said that she had been warned in a dream to coax Hadrian to refrain from killing himself, for he was destined to recover entirely, but that she had failed to do this and had become blind; she had nevertheless been ordered a second time to give the same message to Hadrian and to kiss his knees, and was assured of the recovery of her sight if she did so.

25.2 The woman then carried out the command of the dream, and received her sight after she had bathed her eyes with the water in the temple from which she had come.

25.3 Also a blind old man from Pannonia came to Hadrian when he was ill with fever, and touched him; whereupon the man received his sight, and the fever left Hadrian.

25.4 All these things, however, Marius Maximus declares were done as a hoax.

879 Premonitions and Portents [138 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹¹⁸⁴

26.6 The premonitions of his death were as follows: On [p. 81] his last birthday, when he was commending Antoninus to the gods, his bordered toga fell down without apparent cause and bared his head.

26.7 His ring, on which his portrait was carved, slipped of its own accord from his finger.

26.8 On the day before his birthday someone came into the senate wailing; by his presence Hadrian was as disturbed as if he were speaking about his own death, for no one could understand what he was saying.

26.9 Again, in the senate, when he meant to say, “after my son’s death,” he said, “after mine.”

26.10 Besides, he dreamed that he had asked his father for a soporific; he also dreamed that he had been overcome by a lion.¹¹⁸⁵

¹¹⁸³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 79, 81. Another emperor to whom healing miracles are attributed is Vespasian (Suetonius’ *Life of Vespasian* 7; a blind man and a lame one).

¹¹⁸⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 79, 81.

¹¹⁸⁵ Trowbridge, “Folklore in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*,” 78, remarks, “Hadrian dreamed that he had been overpowered by a lion—a sign of death (*Hadri.* Xxvi.10).” She offers the same explanation for the dream about his father.

880 Hadrian's Suffering, 1 [c. 138 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹¹⁸⁶

LXIX.22.1 By certain charms and magic rites Hadrian would be relieved for a time of his dropsy, but would soon be filled with water again. Since, therefore, he was constantly growing worse and might be said to be dying day by day, he began to long for death; and often he would ask for poison or a sword, but no one would give them to him.

LXIX.22.2 As no one would listen to him, although he promised money and immunity, he sent for Mastor, one of the barbarian Iazyges, who had become a captive and had been employed by Hadrian in his hunting because of his strength and daring; and partly by threatening him and partly by making promises, he compelled the man to promise to kill him.

LXIX.22.3 He drew a coloured line about a spot beneath the nipple that had been shown him by Hermogenes, his physician, in order that he might there be struck a fatal blow and perish painlessly. But even this plan did not succeed, for Mastor became afraid of the business and drew back in terror. The emperor lamented bitterly the plight to which his malady and his helplessness had brought him,

LXIX.22.4 in that he was not able to make away with himself, though he still had the power, even when so near death, to destroy anybody else. Finally he abandoned his careful regimen and by indulging in unsuitable foods and drinks met his death, shouting aloud the popular saying: "Many physicians have slain a king."

881 Hadrian's Suffering, 2 [c. 138 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹¹⁸⁷

24.8 But Hadrian was now seized with the utmost disgust of life and ordered a servant to stab him with a sword.

24.9 When this was disclosed and reached the ears of Antoninus, he came to the Emperor, together with the prefects, and begged him to endure with fortitude the hard necessity of illness, declaring furthermore that he himself would be no better than a parricide, were he, an adopted son, to permit Hadrian to be killed.

24.10 The Emperor then became angry and ordered the betrayer of the secret to be put to death; however, the man was saved by Antoninus.

24.11 Then Hadrian immediately drew up his will, though he did not lay aside the administration of the empire.

24.12 Once more, however, after making [p. 77] his will, he attempted to kill himself, but the dagger was taken from him.

¹¹⁸⁶ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 463.

¹¹⁸⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 75, 77.

24.13 He then became more violent, and he even demanded poison from his physician, who thereupon killed himself in order that he might not have to administer it.

882 (Purported) Letter to Antoninus While Ill

(*P. Fayum* 19¹¹⁸⁸)

Greetings from the emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus to his most esteemed Antoninus. Above all, I want you to know that I am being released from my life neither before my time, nor unreasonably, nor piteously, nor unexpectedly, nor with faculties impaired, even though I almost seem, as I have found, to do injury to you who are by my side whenever I am in need of attendance, consoling and encouraging me to rest. From such considerations I am impelled to write you as follows, not by Zeus, as one who subtly devises a tedious account contrary to the truth, but rather making a simple and most accurate record of the facts themselves. . . .

My father by birth died at the age of forty a private person, so that I have lived more than half as long again as my father, and have reached about the same age as that of my mother when she died.¹¹⁸⁹

883 Hadrian Writes a Final Poem [July, 138 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹¹⁹⁰

25.9 And he is said, as he lay dying, to have composed the following lines:

“O blithe little soul, thou, flitting away,
Guest and comrade of this my clay,
Whither now goest thou, to what place
Bare and ghastly and without grace?
Nor, as thy wont was, joke and play.”

25.10 Such verses as these did he compose, and not many that were better, and also some in Greek.¹¹⁹¹

25.11 He lived 62 years, 5 months, 17 days. He ruled 20 years, 11 months.

¹¹⁸⁸ The English translation for the first part is from Jones and Milns, *The Use of Documentary Evidence*, 160–61 (which see for commentary); the last part is from Grenfell et al., 114. The Greek text can be found in Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth, *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*, 115–16; also see Bollansée, “‘P. Fay.’ 19,” 279–80. See additional comment in note for this entry in ch. 14, below.

¹¹⁸⁹ On the death of Hadrian’s natural father—Hadrianus Afer—see entry #13. The “mother” here might be Plotina, who may have been about 60 when she died (her birth date is uncertain); Hadrian’s natural mother—Domitia Paulina of Cadiz (see entry #2)—is thought to have died while Hadrian was still a child.

¹¹⁹⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 79. Dill, *Roman Society*, 503, offers his opinion that, “His last words to his soul, in their mingled lightness and pathos, seem to express rather regret for the sunlight left behind than any hope of entering on a dim journey into the unknown.”

¹¹⁹¹ It is not surprising the bilingual Hadrian composed verses in both Greek and Latin. For examples of his writings, see chapter 15.

884 Hadrian's Final Journey [July, 138 C.E.]

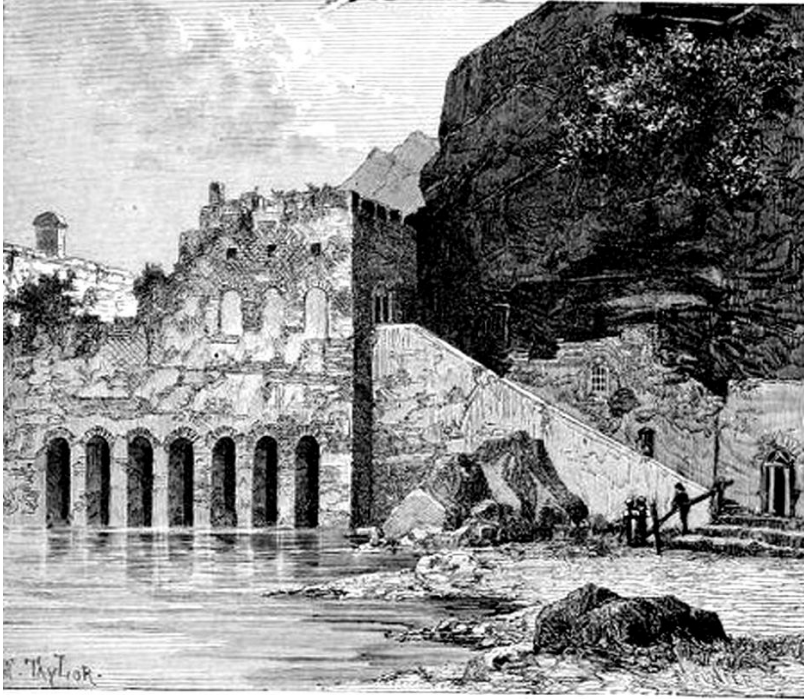
(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹¹⁹²

25.5 After this Hadrian departed for Baiae, leaving Antoninus at Rome to carry on the government.

25.6 But he received no benefit there, and he thereupon sent for Antoninus, and in his presence he died there at Baiae on the sixth day before the Ides of July.

Baiae

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, IV, 2, 479)



Baths of Nero at Baiae, seen from the sea.

885 Cause of Death [July 10, 138 C.E.]

(Aurelius Victor, *Book of the Caesars*)¹¹⁹³

14.12 Not long afterwards he died of consumption at Baiae at a rather ripe old age in the twenty-second year of his reign.

¹¹⁹² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic's trans.), I, 75, 77. The 6th day before the Ides of July was July 10th.

¹¹⁹³ Aurelius Victor, *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus* (Bird trans.), 17. The Latin text can be found in Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus* (Pichlmayr's ed.), 93.

886 Death at Baiae, Italy [July 10, 138 C.E.]

(Jordanes, *On the Governing of Rome (Romana)*)¹¹⁹⁴

370 Because of disease Hadrian died at Baiae.

887 Cause of Death and Age [July 10, 138 C.E.]

(John Malalas, *Chronicle* ¹¹⁹⁵)

XI.21 Suffering dropsy, Hadrian died in Baiae, age 65.

888 Hadrian's Horoscope

(Hephaistios of Thebes, *Apotelesmatics* II.18)¹¹⁹⁶

II.18 What caused his dropsy¹¹⁹⁷ and shortness of breath and the change of his life to an evil death? Because the two lights were enclosed by the malefics, with all the stars having a position in watery *zōidia*, the Descendant being in a terrestrial *zōidion* and enclosed by malefics by a figure, we would say the cause of the dropsy and the shortness of breath was made clear ahead of time from these things; for always when the destroyers enclose the Sun or the Moon against the pivots, the causes of evil death come about.

889 Agony and Death [138 C.E.]

(*Samaritan Chronicle*)¹¹⁹⁸

47 And after this Adrînûs died—may God have no mercy upon him—and he died in woe and every kind of [p. 126] affliction, and his reign had lasted twenty-one years—may God crush his bones. And the space of time from Adam up to his death was four thousand five hundred and thirteen years and seven months.

890 Last Days and Death Summarized[138 C.E.]

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)¹¹⁹⁹

14.12 He lived 62 years; then he was consumed by a wretched death, tortured by fierce pain in all his limbs to such an extent that he frequently begged his

¹¹⁹⁴ The Latin text can be found in Jordanes, *Iordanis Romana et Getica* (Mommensen's ed.), 35.

¹¹⁹⁵ The Greek text can be found in Malalas, *Chronographia*, 280..

¹¹⁹⁶ Hephaistios of Thebes, *Apotelesmatics* (Schmidt trans.), II, 61. The Greek text can be viewed at ΑΣΤΡΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ [Astrologicon.org] (<https://www.astrologicon.org/hephaestion/hephaestion-apotelesmatika2.html#18>). Petrakis, "Diagonal Earlobe Creases," 88, writes, "The history of recurrent epistaxis and edema suggests the possibility of an underlying hypertension which progressed to congestive heart failure. There is no record of dyspnea, cough or angina pectoris. Possibly, anemia from the nosebleeds may have been the precipitating factor." He hypothesizes that Hadrian died from hypertensive and coronary arteriosclerotic disease. For a brief treatment of the same matter, see Oppen, *Hadrian*, 58–59. Also see n. 1280 (p. 542).

¹¹⁹⁷ "Dropsy" (Greek ὕδρωσις) is an old and imprecise medical term referring to the swelling of soft tissues of the body due to excess water. Today medical professionals refer instead to things like "edema."

¹¹⁹⁸ Arabic *The Samaritan Chronicle* (Crane trans.), 125–26.

¹¹⁹⁹ For an alternate translation see Banchich's at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. The Latin can be found in the *Epitome in Sexti Aurelii Victoris* (Pichlmayr's ed.), 151.

loyalest attendants to kill him, lest he in his agony vent his rage on those valued ones who watched over him.

891 Length of Life

(*Paschal Chronicle (Chronicon Paschale)*)¹²⁰⁰

[229th Olympiad] During the days of these Consuls, Aelius Hadrian became sick; after a few days he died in his 77th year.

892 Length of Life and Reign

(Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*)¹²⁰¹

VIII.7.3a He died in Campania, more than sixty years old, in the twenty-first year, tenth month, and twenty-ninth day of his reign.

893 Length of Reign, 1

(Excerpts from Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*)¹²⁰²

I.144(1) I fancy that it is no less important to introduce alongside these the chronology of the emperors of Rome to establish the date of the Savior's birth.

(2) . . . Hadrian for twenty-one . . .

(4) Some people give the following account of Roman chronology. . . . Hadrian for twenty years ten months twenty-eight days. . . .

894 Length of Reign, 2

(Epiphanius, *On Weights and Measures*)¹²⁰³

13 (54a) Hadrian, 21 years.

895 Summary of Hadrian's Life and Character

(Summary from the *Suda*)¹²⁰⁴

Hadrian—Roman emperor, a descendant of a Senator, his father General Afer, for so he was named. By nature he loved language and was fluent in different ones, and he left various writings of prose and verse. For his love of being distinguished (φιλοτιμία) he used insatiably, and accordingly pursued everything, even the most trivial. For example, he sculpted and painted, and said there was nothing about peace or war, about being emperor or a private citizen

¹²⁰⁰ The Greek text can be found in *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed.), I, 477: 'Ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων Ἀἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς νοσήσας ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐτελεύτησεν, ὧν ἐτῶν οἷ'. The consuls named immediately preceding this entry are those of 137 C.E., (Lucius) Aelius Caesar and Balbinus (Vibulus Pius).

¹²⁰¹ Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History* (Watson's trans.), 510. The Latin text can be found in Eutropius, *Breviarum ab Urbe Condita* (Rühl's ed.), 56.

¹²⁰² Clement of Alexandria, *Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis, Books One to Three* (Ferguson trans.), 130–31. Cf. the late 2nd century's Theophilus of Antioch, *Theophilus to Autolytus*, III.27 (end).

¹²⁰³ Greek text from Baker, "Hadrian's Journey," 164; translation (p. 29) from Epiphanius, *Epiphanius' Treatise* (Dean's ed.; also in Baker, 158).

¹²⁰⁴ The Greek text with a translation can be found *Suda On Line* (<http://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/alpha/527>). The Greek also can be found in *Suidae Lexicon* (Bekker ed.), 27–28. He points out the *Suda* draws principally on Dio. I have rendered φθόνος as "desire to be ahead" rather than "envy" or "jealousy" to better catch the sense of the preceding thought.

that he was not cognizant of. And this did no harm to anyone. But his desire to be ahead of anyone who excelled in anything was fearsome, bringing many to ruin or utter destruction. For he wished to surpass everyone in all things; he hated anyone who outdid him in something. And this is what led to his efforts to put down the sophists Favorinus the Gaul and Dionysius of Miletus, using various means, but chiefly by lifting up their rivals, though they be worthy of little or nothing.

This same person in a letter wrote various arrogant things, and swore he would do nothing outside of public interest, nor kill any senator, and even wished his own throat to be cut should he depart from what he said, swearing it strongly. But even so he was accused of doing so on many things.

This same person was pleasant to meet and at least superficially favored by grace, as both Latin and Greek he spoke excellently; indeed, people marvelled at his mild good manners, as well as being someone eager concerning the amassing of public funds.

This same person was by nature envious not just of the living, but also of the dead; at any rate, he put down Homer and instead brought in Antimachus, whose name previously had been unknown to many. He was censured for other things about him, such as his strictness, his curiosity, and his meddlesomeness. However, these things were balanced and repaired by others such as his careful oversight, foresight, magnificence and cleverness of mind. Moreover, he started no war and ended those already going on. He deprived no one of money unjustly, yet on many cities and people—both public officials and private citizens—he bestowed large sums.

But he was superstitious, and consulted oracles and magical arts of every sort. And what becomes of his child (*paidika*)¹²⁰⁵ Antinous?—He founded and colonized a city in his name. And also said he saw Antinous (in a vision).

This same person arrived in Pannonia and crossed the Danube (river) with men at arms. And these were amazed at the barbarians there.

896 The Fate of All Men

(Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*)¹²⁰⁶

VIII.5.1 In the first place, be not troubled; for all things are according to Universal Nature, and in a little while you will be no one and nowhere, even as Hadrian and Augustus are no more.

¹²⁰⁵ The Greek *paidika* (παῖδικά) can carry the sense of ‘like an *erōmenos*,’ i.e., a youth who serves as the passive sexual partner to an adult man. That is why the translation at *Suda On Line* (SOL) renders it “boyfriend.” My neutral rendering avoids making a common presumption about the relationship between Hadrian and Antinous; the presumption may be correct, but that is not for me to decide here. There is more on Antinous and his relationship with Hadrian in chapter 14.

¹²⁰⁶ Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, 69. The Greek text can be found in Marcus Aurelius, *M. Antonius Imperator Ad Se Ipsum*, H ε’ (pages are otherwise unnumbered).

HADRIAN'S BURIAL

897 Hadrian's Burial

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹²⁰⁷

LXIX.23.1 He had lived sixty-two years, five months and nineteen days, and had been emperor twenty years and eleven months. He was buried near the river itself, close to the Aelian bridge; for it was there that he had prepared his tomb, since the tomb of Augustus was full, and from this time nobody was deposited in it.

898 Hadrian's Burial

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹²⁰⁸

25.7 Hated by all, he was buried at Puteoli on an estate that had belonged to Cicero.¹²⁰⁹

899 Antoninus' Loyalty and Filial Piety toward Hadrian

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹²¹⁰

5.1 His father, as long as he lived, he obeyed most scrupulously, and when Hadrian passed away at Baiae he bore his remains to Rome with all piety and reverence, and buried him in the gardens of Domitia; moreover, though all opposed the measure, he had him placed among the deified.

Hadrian's Tomb (Mausoleum), 3

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 266)

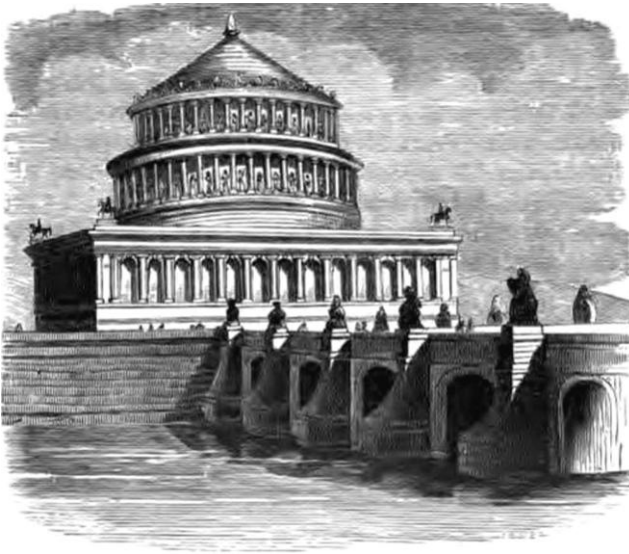


¹²⁰⁷ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 465.

¹²⁰⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 77.

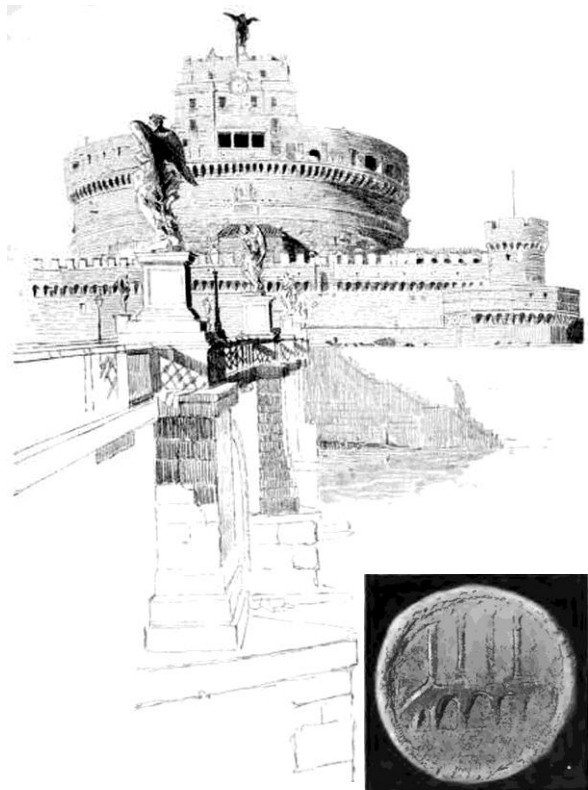
¹²⁰⁹ This can be interpreted as an initial interment of his ashes, which were subsequently moved by Antoninus to the mausoleum in Rome. Also see entry #930.

¹²¹⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 109. The "gardens of Domitia" (*horti Domitiae*), originally private gardens of Domitian's wife, sat on the Caelian Hill along the right bank of the Tiber River and encompassed the area around Hadrian's tomb.



*Hadrian's Tomb
(Mausoleum), 1
(Leighton, *A History
of Rome*, 463)*

*Hadrian's Tomb
(Mausoleum), 2
(Richards, *Rome: A
Sketch-Book*, #5)*



*c145 Coin Showing Bridge
to Mausoleum
(Gusman, *La villa
imperiale*, 11 [Fig. 36])*

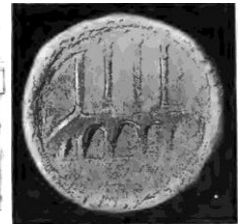


FIG. 46. — LE PONT AELIUS
À ROME.

Hadrian's Tomb (Mausoleum), 4
(Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 554)

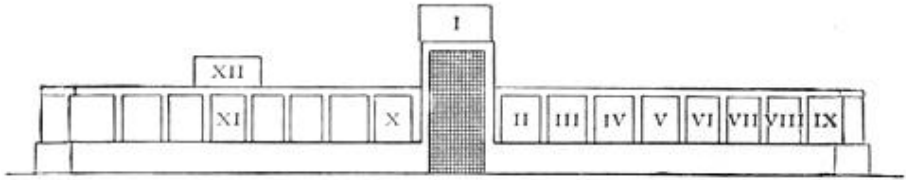


Fig. 212. — Diagram showing the Order in which the Imperial Tombstones were placed in the Mausoleum.

- I**———Inscription of Hadrian and Sabina (139 C.E.).
- II**———Inscription of Antoninus Pius (d. 161 C.E.).
- III**———Inscription of Faustina the elder (d. 141 C.E.).
- IV**———Inscription of Marcus Aurelius Fulvus.
- V**———Inscription of Marcus Galerius Antoninus.
- VI**———Inscription of Aurelia Fadilla.
- VII**———Inscription of Titus Aurelius Antoninus.
- VIII**———Inscription of Titus Aelius Aurelius.
- IX**———Inscription of Domitia Faustina.
- X**———Inscription of Lucius Aelius Caesar (d. 138 C.E.).
- XI**———Inscription of Lucius Verus (d. 169 C.E.)
- XII**———Inscription of Commodus (d. 192 C.E.).

MEMORIALS & STATEMENTS BY ANCIENT WRITERS

900 A Statue Erected to Hadrian

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹²¹¹

(Fragment) After Hadrian's death there was erected to him a huge equestrian statue representing him with a four-horse chariot. It was so large that the bulkiest man could walk through the eye of each horse, yet because of the extreme height of the foundation persons passing along on the ground below believe that the horses themselves as well as Hadrian are very small.

901 Antoninus Honors the Deified Hadrian

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹²¹²

5.2 (end) In honor of Hadrian he set up a superb shield and established a college of priests.

¹²¹¹ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 467. According to Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 24:15 (entry #664), Hadrian placed such a statue in Jerusalem's Temple, at the site of the Holy of Holies (*Adriani equestri statua quae in ipso sancto sanctorum loco usque in praesentem diem stetit*). See Norbert and Weber-Karyotakis. "Two Bronze Equestrian Statues," 102 (with Latin text).

¹²¹² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 111. In addition to establishing a cult of Hadrian, Antoninus may have issued a coin series honoring Hadrian (though this has been a matter of debate).

902 Pausanias (Greek Geographer, 2nd cent.)

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)¹²¹³

I.5.5 These are the Athenian *eponymoi* who belong to the ancients. And of later date than these they have tribes named after the following, Attalus the Mysian and Ptolemy the Egyptian, and within my own time the emperor Hadrian, who was extremely religious in the respect he paid to the deity, and contributed very much to the happiness of his various subjects. He never voluntarily entered upon a war,¹²¹⁴ but he reduced the Hebrews beyond Syria, who had rebelled. As for the sanctuaries of the gods that in some cases he built from the beginning, in others adorned with offerings and furniture, and the bounties he gave to Greek cities, and sometimes even to foreigners who asked him, all these acts are inscribed in his honour in the sanctuary at Athens common to all the gods.

903 Aelius Aristides (Greek Sophist, late 2nd cent.)

(Aelius Aristides, *Oration* 27)¹²¹⁵

27.22 You [Kyzikenes] have had written [on the temple] the name of the best of rulers up to that time.

904 Athenaeus of Naucratis (Greek writer, late 2nd, early 3rd cent.)

(Athenaeus, *The Diopnosophists*)¹²¹⁶

VIII.63 “. . . that best and most enlightened of emperors, Hadrian.”

905 Dio Cassius (Roman Senator, 3rd cent.)

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹²¹⁷

LXIX.23.2 Hadrian was hated by the people, in spite of his generally excellent reign, on account of the murders committed by him at the beginning and end of his reign, since they had been unjustly and impiously brought about. Yet he was so far from being of a bloodthirsty disposition that even in the case of some who clashed with him he thought it sufficient to write to their native places the bare statement that they did not please him.

¹²¹³ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Jones' trans.), I, 27 (with Greek text, p. 26). Geiger, “The Bar-Kokhba Revolt,” 505, remarks, “[I]t is remarkable that Pausanias singles out the war of Bar-Kokhba from among all the actions and events of the long reign of Hadrian, though he does not expressly say that he does so because of its being the most devastating, and by far the longest military engagement of his rule.”

¹²¹⁴ Although in the case of the Bar Kokhba War, Hadrian was forced by the opening of hostilities by the Jews to make war, it should be observed that Roman propaganda rarely, if ever, conceded that Rome going to war was for other than ‘defensive’ purposes. Romans routinely justified their wars as forced upon them and not as a matter of their own aggression.

¹²¹⁵ Aelius Aristides, *Oration* 27 (§22) in Burrell, *Neokoroi*, 88 (with Greek text); cf. Aelius Aristides, *Aristides, the Complete Works* II, 98–106 (commentary 379–382). The Kyzikenes were the people of Cyzicus (or Kyzikos). The “best of rulers” is widely viewed as an allusion to Hadrian, who was closely associated with the temple at Kyzikos (or Cyzicus).

¹²¹⁶ Athenaeus, *The Diopnosophists* (Gulick's ed.), IV, 137 (with Greek text, p. 136).

¹²¹⁷ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 465.

906 *Historia Augusta*, 1 (Roman history, late 4th cent.?)

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Elagabalus*)¹²¹⁸

1.2 But, just as the selfsame earth bears not only poisons but also grain and other helpful things, not only serpents but flocks as well, so the thoughtful reader may find himself some consolation for these monstrous tyrants by reading of Augustus, Trajan, Vespasian, Hadrian, Pius, Titus, and Marcus. At the same time he will learn of the Romans' discernment, in that these last ruled long and died by natural deaths. . . .

907 *Historia Augusta*, 2 (Roman history, late 4th cent.?)

(*Historia Augusta: Aurelian*)¹²¹⁹

42.3 Now what shall I say of this, that whereas so many have borne the name of Caesar, there have appeared among them so few good emperors? For the list of those who have worn the purple from Augustus to the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian is contained in the public records.

42.4 Among them, however, the best were Augustus himself, Flavius Vespasian, Titus Flavius, Cocceius Nerva, the Deified Trajan, the Deified Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Antoninus, Severus the African, Alexander the son of Mamaea, the Deified Claudius, and the Deified Aurelian.

908 Zosimus (Greek historian, late 5th, early 6th cent.)

(Zosimus, *New History (Historia Nova)*)¹²²⁰

I.7.1 After him several worthy sovereigns succeeded to the empire: Nerva, Trajan, and afterwards Adrian, Antoninus Pius, and the brothers Verus and Lucius, who reformed many abuses in the state, and not only recovered what their predecessors had lost, but made likewise some new additions.

THE LINE OF SUCCESSION SET

909 On the Principle of Adoption

(*Historia Augusta: Tacitus*)¹²²¹

6.8 And so I bring and offer thanks to the gods in heaven in behalf, indeed, of the entire commonwealth, and I appeal to you, Tacitus Augustus, asking and entreating and openly demanding in the name of our common fatherland and our laws that, if Fate should overtake you too speedily, you will not name your young sons as heirs to the Roman Empire, or bequeath to them the commonwealth, the Conscript Fathers, and the Roman people as you would your farm, your tenants, and your slaves.

¹²¹⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), II, 105.

¹²¹⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), III, 279, 281.

¹²²⁰ Zosimus, *The History of Count Zosimus* (Davis' translation), 9. The Latin text can be found in Zosimus, *Zosimi Historiae*, 13 (Reitemeier ed.; the Greek text is on the same page).

¹²²¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), III, 307

6.9 Wherefore look about you and follow the example of a Nerva, a Trajan, and a Hadrian. It is a great glory to a dying prince to love the commonwealth more than his own sons.

910 A Reflection on Succession by Adoption

(*Historia Augusta: Severus*)¹²²²

XX.1 I can remember reading in Aelius Maurus, the freedman of that Phlegon who was Hadrian's freedman, that Septimius Severus rejoiced exceedingly at the time of his death, because he was leaving two Antonini to rule the state with equal powers, herein following the example of Pius, who left to the state Verus and Marcus Antoninus, [2] his two sons by adoption; and that he rejoiced all the more, because, while Pius had left only adopted sons, he was leaving sons of his own blood to rule the Roman state, namely Antoninus Bassianus, whom he had begotten from his first marriage, [3] and Geta, whom Julia had borne him. In these high hopes, however, he was grievously deceived; [4] for the state was denied the one by murder, the other by his own character. [5] And in scarcely any case did that revered name long or creditably survive.

XXI.3 What of Augustus, who could not get a worthy son even by adoption, though he had the whole world to choose from? Even Trajan was deceived when he chose for his heir his fellow-townsmen and nephews. [4] But let us except sons by adoption, lest our thoughts turn to those two guardian spirits of the state, Pius and Marcus Antoninus, and let us proceed [5] to sons by birth. What could have been more fortunate for Marcus [6] than not to have left Commodus as his heir?

911 Hadrian Establishes a Line of Succession

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹²²³

LXIX.21.1 So it was that Antoninus became emperor. And since he had no male offspring, Hadrian adopted for him Commodus' son Commodus, and, in addition to him, Marcus Annius Verus¹²²⁴; for he wished to appoint those who were afterwards to be emperors for as long a time ahead as possible. This Marcus Annius, earlier named Catilius, was a grandson of Annius Verus who had been consul thrice and prefect of the city.

LXIX.21.2 And though had kept urging Antoninus to adopt them both, yet he preferred Verus on account of his kinship and his age and because he was already giving indication of exceptional strength of character. [p. 463] This led Hadrian to apply to the young man the name Verissimus, thus playing upon the meaning of the Latin word.¹²²⁵

¹²²² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 419, 421).

¹²²³ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 459, 461. On Catilius, see entry #873.

¹²²⁴ Better known to history as Marcus Aurelius (121–180), the 'Philosopher King,' who reigned 161–180 C.E.

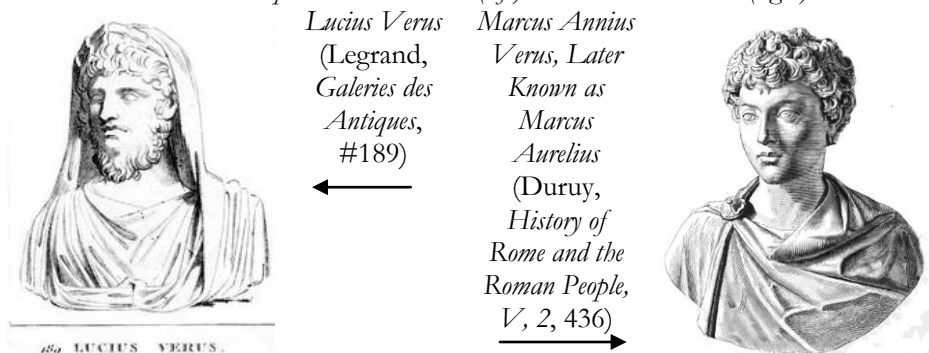
¹²²⁵ *Verissimus* is an adjective referring to something that is "real" or "true"—i.e., genuine, right, and proper. In modern English vernacular we might say, "the real deal."

[874 excerpt] Condition Set on Antoninus' Adoption

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹²²⁶

4.5 This condition was attached to his adoption, that as Hadrian took Antoninus as his son, so he in turn should take Marcus Antoninus, his wife's nephew, and Lucius Verus, thenceforth called Verus Antoninus, the son of that Aelius Verus whom Hadrian had previously adopted.

Antoninus Adoptees: Lucius Verus (left) and Marcus Aurelius (right)



912 The Adoption of Antoninus and Marcus

(*Historia Augusta: Marcus Antoninus*)¹²²⁷

V.1 [W]hen, after the death of Lucius Caesar, Hadrian looked about for a successor to the throne. Marcus did not seem suitable, being at the time but eighteen years of age; and Hadrian chose for adoption Antoninus Pius, the uncle-in-law of Marcus, with the provision that Pius should in turn adopt Marcus and that Marcus should adopt Lucius Commodus.

913 The Connection between Marcus and Lucius

(Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*)¹²²⁸

IX. After him reigned Marcus Antoninus Verus, a man indisputably of noble birth; for his descent, on the father's side, was from Numa Pompilius, and on the mother's from a king of the Sallentines, and jointly with him reigned Lucius Antoninus Verus. Then it was that the commonwealth of Rome was first subject to two sovereigns, ruling with equal power, when, till their days, it had always had but one emperor at a time.

X. These two were connected both by relationship and affinity; for Verus Antoninus had married the daughter of Marcus Antoninus; and Marcus Antoninus was the son-in-law of Antoninus Pius, having married Galeria Faustina the younger, his own cousin.

¹²²⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 109.

¹²²⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 143. In actuality, it was Antoninus Pius who adopted Lucius Commodus, who became 'Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus.'

¹²²⁸ Eutropius. *Abridgement of Roman History* (Watson's trans.), 511.

THE SUCCESSORS, 1: ANTONINUS PIUS

Antoninus Pius, 3

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 426)



914 Why Antoninus Is Called “Pious”

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹²²⁹

2.3 He was given the name of Pius by the senate, either because, when his father-in-law was old and weak, he lent him a supporting hand in his attendance at the senate (which act, indeed, is not sufficient as a token of great dutifulness, since a man were rather undutiful who did not perform this service than dutiful if he did),

2.4 or because he spared those men whom Hadrian in his ill-health had condemned [*p. 105*] to death,¹²³⁰

2.5 or because after Hadrian’s death he had unbounded and extraordinary honours decreed for him in spite of opposition from all,

2.6 or because, when Hadrian wished to make away with himself, by great care and watchfulness he prevented him from so doing,

2.7 or because he was in fact very kindly by nature and did no harsh deed in his own time.

¹²²⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 103, 105.

¹²³⁰ Note *Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius* 6.3: “He besought the senate to pardon those men whom Hadrian had condemned, saying that Hadrian himself had been about to do so.” (*Is quos Hadrianus damnaverat in senatu indulgentias petiit, dicens etiam ipsum Hadrianum hoc fuisse facturum.*)

915 Brief Summary of Antoninus' Career

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹²³¹

2.9 As quaestor he was generous, as praetor illustrious, and in the consulship he had as colleague Catilius Severus.

916 Brief Summary of Antoninus' Life as a Private Citizen

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹²³²

2.10 His life as a private citizen he passed mostly on his estates but he was well-known everywhere.

917 Member of Hadrian's Inner Circle

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹²³³

3.8 On returning from his proconsulship he lived for the most part in Rome, being a member of the councils of Hadrian, and in all matters concerning which Hadrian sought his advice, ever urging the more merciful course.

918 Generous Nature and Support of Hadrian's Public Works

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹²³⁴

4.10 To the people he gave largess on his own account and also paid the moneys that his father had promised. He contributed a large amount of money, too, to Hadrian's public works. . . .

919 Continuity of Antoninus' Governance with Hadrian's

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹²³⁵

5.3 After his accession to the throne he removed none of the men whom Hadrian had appointed to office, and indeed, was so steadfast and loyal that he retained good men in the government of provinces for terms of seven and even nine years.

920 Antoninus Protects Hadrian's Legacy

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹²³⁶

6.3 He besought the senate to pardon those men whom Hadrian had condemned, saying that Hadrian himself had been about to do so.

¹²³¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 105.

¹²³² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 105.

¹²³³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 107. The phrase 'a member of the councils of Hadrian' renders the Latin *in consiliis Hadriani*. Using advisors as emperor was a practice inaugurated by Augustus, and used informally by his successors through the first century C.E. Many scholars regard Hadrian as having reformed and reorganized the imperial *consilium*. Crook, *Consilium Principis*, 56–65, reviews the matter of Hadrian's 'reforms' and, p. 59, argues that if there is a new element it is one of regularity—"what Hadrian introduced was a new professionalism." He does *not* find that Hadrian retained a formal, permanent council. Distinguishing between legal work and administrative labor, Crook (p. 65) concludes there is little evidence of the latter.

¹²³⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 109.

¹²³⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 111.

¹²³⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 113. See n. 1226.

THE SUCCESSORS, 2: MARCUS AURELIUS

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus
(Lee, *Roman Imperial Profiles*, Plate XLVIII)



MARCUS AURELIUS
(as Caesar.)

921 On Marcus' Name

(*Historia Augusta: Marcus Antoninus*)¹²³⁷

I.9 At the beginning of his life Marcus Antoninus was named Catilius Severus after his mother's grandfather. After the death of his real father, however, Hadrian called him Annius Verissimus, and, after he assumed the toga virilis, Annius Verus.

922 On Marcus' Upbringing, 1

(*Historia Augusta: Marcus Antoninus*)¹²³⁸

IV.1 He was reared under the eye of Hadrian, who called him Verissimus, as we have already related, and did him the honor of enrolling him in the equestrian order when he was six years old and appointing him in his eighth year to the college of the Sali.

¹²³⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 135. For a biography, see Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*.

¹²³⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 141. The *Salii* were members of one of Rome's oldest colleges of priests. They originated under Numa Pompilius as priests of Mars.

923 On Marcus' Upbringing, 2

(*Historia Augusta: Marcus Antoninus*)¹²³⁹

IV.5–6 In the fifteenth year of his life he assumed the toga virilis, and straightway, at the wish of Hadrian, was betrothed to the daughter of Lucius Ceionius Commodus. Not long after this he was made prefect of the city during the Latin Festival, and in this position he conducted himself very brilliantly both in the presence of the magistrates and at the banquets of the Emperor Hadrian.

924 On Marcus' Adoption

(*Historia Augusta: Marcus Antoninus*)¹²⁴⁰

V.3 When he discovered, moreover, that Hadrian had adopted him, he was appalled rather than overjoyed, and when told to move to the private home of Hadrian, reluctantly departed from his mother's villa.

925 On Marcus' Precocious Advancement

(*Historia Augusta: Marcus Antoninus*)¹²⁴¹

V.6 And so he was adopted in his eighteenth year, and at the instance of Hadrian exception was made for his age and he was appointed quaestor for the year of the second consulship of Antoninus, now his father.

926 On Marcus Aurelius' Education

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹²⁴²

LXXII.35.1–3 His education also was of great assistance to him, for he had been trained both in rhetoric and in philosophical disputation. In the former he had Cornelius Fronto and Claudius Herodes for teachers, and, in the latter, Junius Rusticus and Apollonius of Nicomedeia, both of whom professed Zeno's doctrines. As a result, great numbers pretended to pursue philosophy, hoping that they might be enriched by the emperor. Most of all, however, he owed his advancement to his own natural gifts; for even before he associated with those teachers he had a strong impulse toward virtue. Indeed, while still a boy he so pleased all his relatives, who were numerous, influential and wealthy, that he was loved by them all; and when Hadrian, chiefly for this reason, had adopted him, he did not become haughty, but, though young and a Caesar, served Antoninus most loyally throughout all the Jatter's reign and without giving offence showed honour to the others who were foremost in the State.

¹²³⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 141.

¹²⁴⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 143. The 'him' refers to Antoninus Pius. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, 49, notes this move was from the Caelian hill to Hadrian's private residence. and not to the official imperial residence on the Palatine (the so-called Tiberian House).

¹²⁴¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 145.

¹²⁴² *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), IX, 63. The Athenian philosopher Zeno founder the school of Stoicism, to which Marcus was devoted. On Fronto, see the immediately following entries. Claudius Herodes (Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, c. 101–177 C.E.), a Greek Sophist and rhetorician, Consul in 143 C.E., taught both Marcus and Lucius Commodus. Q. Junius Rusticus (c. 100–170 C.E.) is named by Marcus (*Meditations*, I.7) as an important influence. On Apollonius of Nicomedia (aka Apollonius of Chalcis, or of Chalcedon), see *Meditations*, I.8.

927 Cornelius Fronto (Tutor of Marcus Aurelius) about Hadrian

(Excerpts from Fronto, *Correspondence*)¹²⁴³

To Marcus Aurelius (143 C.E.)

I often praised your grandfather, the deified Hadrian, in the Senate, with a steady zeal, aye, and a ready, and those speeches are constantly in everyone's hands. Yet, if your filial feeling towards him will allow me to say so, I wished to appease and propitiate Hadrian, as I might Mars Gradivus or Father Dis, rather than loved him. Why? Because love requires some confidence and intimacy. Since, in my case, confidence was lacking, therefore I dare not love one whom I so greatly revered.

...

Again, as the runaway syce is reported to have said, *I have run sixty miles for my master, I will run a hundred for myself, to escape*; so I, too, [p. 113] when I praised Hadrian, ran for my master, but today I run for myself.

928 About Fronto: His Character Revealed in an Anecdote

(Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*)¹²⁴⁴

XIX.8 When I was a young man at Rome, before I went to Athens, I often paid a visit to Cornelius Fronto, when I had leisure from my masters and my lectures, and enjoyed his refined conversations which abounded besides in excellent information. Whenever I saw him and heard him speak, I almost never failed to come away improved and better informed. An example is the following little talk of his, held one day on a trivial subject, it is true, but not without importance for the study of the Latin language. For when an intimate friend of his, a learned man and an eminent poet of the day, said that he had been cured of dropsy by the use of hot sand (*ententes harenae*), thereupon Fronto in jesting fashion said: "You are indeed freed of your complaint, but not of the complaint of improper language. For Gaius Caesar . . . a man of wonderful talent, surpassing all others of his time in the purity of his diction, . . . wrote that *harenae* is an improper term, since *harena* ought never to be [p. 373] used in the plural any more than *caelum* (heaven) and *triticum* (wheat)."

¹²⁴³ Fronto, *The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto* (Haines trans.), I, 111, 113 (Latin text on pp. 110, 112). Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome*, 95, remarks on the ending of the first part of this entry: "The structure of the final sentence should be observed with care. To love, one needs *fiducia* and *familiaritas*; because there was no *fiducia* in their relationship, Fronto did not dare to love. It should follow from this that there was indeed *familiaritas* between Hadrian and Fronto, that he was in fact already *amicus Caesaris*." As for the second part. 'syce' here translates the Latin *cursores*, a 'runner' as in a 'messenger' or a footman who runs before a carriage. Davenport and Manley, *Fronto: Selected Letters*, 1, write that Fronto's relationship with Hadrian "appears to have been a difficult one, although he continued to praise the emperor in the senate as required for his career. . . ." They provide an alternative translation for this entry (p. 58), with comments. They point out that Fronto's speeches were a way to enhance his reputation as an orator and liken his efforts to those of Pliny the Younger with his *Panegyricus* for Trajan. Fronto, by virtue of the preservation of his letters with Marcus, is the best known of Marcus Aurelius' teachers. Marcus, *Meditations* I.11 attributes to him learning of the evils of absolute rule and the emotional want of Patricians.

¹²⁴⁴ Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* (Rolfe trans.), III, 371, 373 (with Latin text, 370, 372).

HADRIAN AMONG THE GODS

929 Pius Lives Up to His Name, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹²⁴⁵

LXX.1.1 It should be noted that the account of Antoninus Pius is not found in the copies of Dio, probably because the books have met with some accident, so that the history of his reign is almost wholly unknown; save that when Lucius Commodus, whom Hadrian had adopted, died before Hadrian, Antoninus was both adopted by him and became emperor,

LXX.1.2 and that when the senate demurred to giving divine honors to Hadrian after his death on account of certain murders of eminent men, Antoninus addressed many words to them with tears and lamentations, and finally said: “Well, then, I will not govern you either, if he has become in your eyes base and hostile and a public foe.

LXX.1.3 “For in that case you will, of course, soon annul all his acts, of which my adoption was one.” On hearing this the senate, both through respect for the man and through a certain fear of the soldiers, bestowed the honors upon Hadrian.

930 Pius Lives Up to His Name, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹²⁴⁶

27.1 Much was said against him after his death, and by many persons.

27.2 The senate wished to annul his acts, and would have refrained from naming him “the Deified” had not Antoninus requested it.

27.3 Antoninus, moreover, finally built a temple for him at Puteoli¹²⁴⁷ to take the place of a tomb, and he also established a quinquennial contest and flamens and sodales and many other institutions which appertain to the honor of one regarded as a god.

27.4 It is for this reason, as has been said before, that many think that Antoninus received the surname Pius.¹²⁴⁸

931 Pius Lives Up to His Name, 3

(Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*)¹²⁴⁹

VII.7.3b The senate was unwilling to allow him divine honors; but his successor Titus Aurelius Fulvius Antonius, earnestly insisting on it, carried his point, though all the senators were openly opposed to him.

¹²⁴⁵ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 469.

¹²⁴⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 81.

¹²⁴⁷ Hadrian's ashes first had been put in Puteoli (entry #898); the temple now replaced the tomb.

¹²⁴⁸ Also see *Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius* 2.3–7 (above).

¹²⁴⁹ Eutropius, *Abridgment of Roman History* (Watson's trans.), 510. The Latin text can be found in Eutropius, *Breviarium ab Urbe Condita* (Rühl's ed.), 56.

932 Hadrian Is Deified by the Roman Senate: A Footnote

[see entries above on Antoninus Pius]

(Aurelius Victor, *Book of the Caesars*)¹²⁵⁰

14.13 On the other hand the senators were not even swayed by the entreaties of the emperor to accord him the honour of deification, so deeply did they mourn the loss of so many men of their order.

14.14 However, after those whose death they were grieving suddenly appeared and each one embraced his relatives and friends, they sanctioned what they had refused.

933 Antoninus Honors the Deified Hadrian

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹²⁵¹

5.2 (end) In honor of Hadrian he set up a superb shield and established a college of priests.

934 Dream about Hadrian, 1

(*Historia Augusta: Antoninus Pius*)¹²⁵²

3.5 . . . and frequently he was warned in dreams to include an image of Hadrian among his household gods.

935 Dream about Hadrian, 2

(Aelius Aristides, *Sacred Tales*)¹²⁵³

And the last of my dreams was *the Emperor Hadrian in the court of the Temple, honoring me, who had just now become acquainted with him, and offering great hopes.*

936 Hadrian's Birthday on the Religious Calendar [c. 223–227 C.E.]

(From the *Calendar of Religious Festivals (Feriale Duranum)*, line 13)

[P. Dura 54]¹²⁵⁴

January 24. For the birthday [of the deified Hadrian, to the deified Hadrian an ox.]

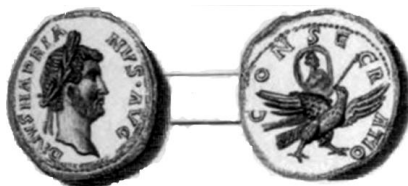
c146 Consecration of the Deified Hadrian

(Akerman, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 226 [#3])

OBVERSE: DIVUS HADRIANUS
AUG.: 'Deified Hadrian Augustus.'

REVERSE: CONSECRATIO.

The emperor, holding a scepter, is borne by an eagle in full flight.



¹²⁵⁰ Aurelius Victor, *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus* (Bird trans.), 17. The Latin text can be found in Aurelius Victor. *Liber de Caesaribus*, Pichlmayr's edition, 93.

¹²⁵¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 111.

¹²⁵² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 107. 'He' is Antoninus Pius.

¹²⁵³ Aelius Aristides, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (Behr trans.), 277. The Greek text can be found in Aelius Aristides, *Aelii Aristidis Smyrnae Quae Supersunt Omnia*, vol. II, 451.

¹²⁵⁴ Helgeland, "Roman Army Religion," 1483 (with Latin text). For the whole list, see Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 128 [#207]. Also see Welles, Fink, and Gilliam, *The Excavations of Dura-Europos*. On the dating of the document, see Benario, "The Date of the 'Feriale Duranum.'"

937 Worshipped in His Native Land [c. 138 C.E.]

(Honorific Inscription at Tarraco, Spain)

[CIL II, 4230]¹²⁵⁵

To Cnaeus Numisius Modestus, son of Cnaeus, of the tribe Sergia, from Carthage, who having discharged the duties of all of the public offices of his community, has been selected by the provincial council to overlay with gold the statues of the deified Hadrian as his priest of the province Nearer Spain (Hispania Citerior); by the province Nearer Spain.

938 A Priest of the Divine Hadrian, 1 [c. 138–150 C.E.]

(Limestone Inscription on Statue Base at Tergeste (Trieste), Italy)

[CIL V, 545]¹²⁵⁶

To Lucius Varius Papirius Papirianus, appointed *duumvir*, appointed *duumvir quinquennalis*, *Praefectus fabrum* at Rome and at Tergeste, priest of Hadrian, *pontifex*, auger, by the Association of Builders, for the merit of their patron.

939 A Priest of the Divine Hadrian, 2 [c. 161–200 C.E.]

(Inscription at Island of Gaulos (Gozo), off the coast of Sicily)

[CIL X, 7507]¹²⁵⁷

To (Caius Vallius) Postumus, (son of ...), of the Quirine tribe, Patron of the municipium, permanent flamen of the divine Hadrian, raised to the rank of a *quadrigenarius* and made *ex quinque decuriis index* by the divine Antoninus Augustus Pius, after having filled all the offices of his city in a remarkable way and after having served on a free embassy to the divine Hadrian and the most honourable Order concerning the restoration of the ... , the plebs Gaultitana, having collected the money, has donated and dedicated (this statue?) for his many services.

940 A Priest of the Divine Hadrian, 3 [203 C.E.]

(Excerpt from *P. Oxy.* VIII.1113)¹²⁵⁸

To the comogrammateus¹²⁵⁹ of Sento and other villages in the middle toparchy from Didymus also called Didymion, ex-chief-priest of the most august temple of Hadrian in the city of Oxyrhynchus. . .

¹²⁵⁵ The Latin text can be found in Fiske, “Notes on the Worship of the Roman Emperors in Spain,” 110. The Latin text also can be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-05503261).

¹²⁵⁶ The Latin text can be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-04200635). A *duumvir* (or *duovir*) was a city magistrate. The *duumvir quinquennalis* was a title of special honor and high status as such an official had the task (once every five (*quinquennalis*) years) of updating the local census and enrolling new members to the city council. The *Praefectus fabrum* was also an appointed post, of lesser status, and more flexible and diverse duties. The *collegium fabrum* was a long-recognized association whose members were carpenters, construction workers, and the like. See Bitner, “*Praefect Fabrum*,” for more on this organization.

¹²⁵⁷ Busuttill, “Postumus,” 279. The Latin text can be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-22100626).

¹²⁵⁸ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Hunt ed. and trans.), VIII, 191 (with Greek text, 190).

¹²⁵⁹ The *comogrammateus* was a village official who served as scribe and was involved in keeping and checking records, among other things.

941 A Priest of the Divine Hadrian, 4 [c. 225–250 C.E.]

(Inscription at Ariminum (Rimini), Italy)

[Excerpt from *CIL* XI, 376]¹²⁶⁰

To Marcus Aelius Aurelius Theo, most excellent man, administrator of justice throughout all Flaminia, Umbria, and Piceno; of the priesthood of the Emperor Hadrian (*sodali Hadrianali*)

942 Hadrian at the Celestial Banquet for Gods and Emperors

(Julian, *Satire: The Caesars* ¹²⁶¹)

311d Next entered an austere-looking man with a long beard, an adept in all the arts, but especially music, one who was always gazing at the heavens and prying into hidden things. Silenus when he saw him said, “What think you of this sophist? Can he be looking here for Antinous? One of you should tell him that the youth is not here, and make him cease from his madness and folly.”

943 The Deified Hadrian [Reign of Antoninus]

(Inscription on Marble, Ostia, Italy)

[*IED* 434=*AE* 1998.277a–d]¹²⁶²

From the founding of the city To the deified Hadrian, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, Consul three times. To the deified Trajan son of the deified Nerva, Consul six times. By order of the Decurions.

944 A Final Word

(Macarius Magnes, *Answer Book*)¹²⁶³

IV.20 But let us make a thorough investigation concerning the single rule of the only God and the manifold rule of those who are worshipped as gods. You do not know how to expound the doctrine even of the single rule. For a monarch is not one who is alone in his existence, but who is alone in his rule. Clearly he rules over those who are his fellow-tribesmen, men like himself, just as the Emperor Hadrian was a monarch, not because he existed alone, nor because he ruled over oxen and sheep (over which herdsmen or shepherds rule), but because he ruled over men who shared his race and possessed the same nature.

IV.26 The case of Hadrian is not a parallel, for as man he cannot be master of his fellow-men (who are like himself), but only as having the added power of tyrant.

¹²⁶⁰ The Latin text can be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-24600978). There are many inscriptions noting those who held a position in the priestly brotherhood for Hadrian.

¹²⁶¹ Julian, *Works of the Emperor Julian* (Wright's Loeb ed.), II, 357. At the Festival of the Kronia, Romulus invited all the gods and emperors to a banquet. The gods were hosted on Olympus; the emperors in the “upper air, just below the moon.” See Pack, “Notes on the Caesars of Julian.”

¹²⁶² The Latin text can be found in *Italia Epigraphica Digitale*, II, 324 [#434].

¹²⁶³ Macarius Magnes, *The Pocritus of Macarius Magnes* (Crafer's trans.), 143, 144. For an alternate translation, with the Greek text, see Rizzi, “Hadrian and the Christians,” 12, who comments (p. 13), “In Macarius' text . . . the divine monarchy is defined by the effective exercising of power and command and not through generic features of uniqueness or superiority.” The Greek text can be found in Macarius Magnes, *Apokritikos*, Blondel ed., 199, 212.

PART III

Emperor Trajan Hadrian Augustus
(Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, 246 [Fig. 1])



Statue of Hadrian in a Coat of Mail. Olympia, Museum Phot. Alinari

Chapter 11

Physical Description & Character

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

945 Physical Description of Hadrian, 1

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹²⁶⁴

26.1 He was tall of stature and elegant in appearance; his hair was curled on a comb, and he wore a full beard to cover up the natural blemishes on his face; and he was very strongly built.

946 Physical Description of Hadrian, 2

(John Malalas, *Chronicle*)¹²⁶⁵

XI.13b He was of medium height, sturdy, white-skinned, with greyn hair, handsome, with a bushy beard¹²⁶⁶ and grey eyes; he was peaceful, eloquent and priestly.

947 Hadrian's Eyes, 1 [c. 130 C.E.?]

(Polemo, *Physiognomy*)¹²⁶⁷

Leiden ch.1 A16 The eyes of King Hadrian were of this description, except that they were full of beautiful light. They were blueish-black, with sharp vision. No one has been seen with more luminous eyes than he.

948 Hadrian's Eyes, 2

(Anonymous Latinus, *Book of Physiognomy*)¹²⁶⁸

35 (=A16 above) Eyes covered with darkness are imbued with evil arts, unfaithful and intemperate. From which it should be understood that the best eyes are the opposite, that is very bright, if no other contrary sign is present. Our authority Polemon reported that the eyes of the emperor Hadrian were such: χαρποί, moist, sharp, large, and full of light.

¹²⁶⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 79.

¹²⁶⁵ Malalas, *Chronicle*, 147. The Greek text can be found in Malalas, *Chronographia*, 277. Merivale, *History of the Romans*, VII, 324, praises him as follows: "The high places of Roman society had seen no such universal talent since those of the incomparable Julius, and Hadrian might rival, moreover, the son of Venus himself in the majestic beauty of his person, and the gracefulness of his manners." Also see Evans, "The Study of Physiognomy in the Second Century A.D."

¹²⁶⁶ Some scholars view the beard as a conscious affectation of the Greek style (e.g., as a philosopher), a reflection of his love for the culture that won him the nickname 'the Greekling' (regardless of whether it originally served to cover blemished skin). Others take a different view. Schnorr, "A Hairy Situation," 5, for example, points out that earlier emperors like Augustus implemented Greek styles into his portraiture without being seen as a Greek devotee. Schnorr suggests (p. 6) it might have been as part of his portraiture to forge a readily marked link to the Roman soldiers of the time. Vout, "A Revision of Hadrian's Portraiture," provides more in-depth coverage of the matter. Also see Bonanno, "Imperial and Private Portraiture."

¹²⁶⁷ Elsner, "Physiognomics," 208. The Greek original is lost; it survives in an Arabic version.

¹²⁶⁸ Repath, "Anonymous Latinus," 579 (with Latin text, p. 578).

949 A Preface

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹²⁶⁹

LXIX.8.1 This is a kind of preface, of a summary nature, that I have been giving in regard to his character.

CONDUCT

950 [see #968] Impeccable Conduct, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹²⁷⁰

LXIX.6.1 He led the Roman people rather by dignity than by flattery.

[#17 (end) excerpt] Impeccable Conduct, 2

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)¹²⁷¹

14.2 Hadrian was so adept in correct conduct that seldom have human affairs ever seemed to have experienced anything finer.

951 Impeccable Conduct, 3

(*Suda*)¹²⁷²

This same person was pleasant to meet and at least superficially favored by grace, as both Latin and Greek he spoke excellently; indeed, people marvelled at his mild good manners, as well as being someone eager concerning the amassing of public funds.

952 Vigilance for Propriety Extended to Conduct of Others

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹²⁷³

11.3 He removed from office Septicius Clarus, the prefect of the guard, and Suetonius Tranquillus, the imperial secretary, and many others besides, because without his consent they had been conducting themselves toward his wife, Sabina, in a more informal fashion than the etiquette of the court demanded . . .

11.4 Moreover, his vigilance was not confined to his own household but extended to those of his friends, and by means of his private agents he even pried into all their secrets, and so skillfully that they were never aware that the Emperor was acquainted with their private lives until he revealed it himself.

11.5 In this connection, the insertion of an incident will not be unwelcome, showing that he found out much about his friends.

¹²⁶⁹ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 439.

¹²⁷⁰ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 435.

¹²⁷¹ For a different rendering, see Banchich's at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. Renan, "The Emperor Hadrian and Christianity," 492, expresses the opinion, "Hadrian was a man of doubtful morality, but he was a great ruler." With respect to Hadrian's government and contribution to law, he, adds (p. 493), "A great and noble spirit of true liberality and humanity was apparent in everything. . . ."

¹²⁷² The Greek text can be found in *Suidae Lexicon* (Bekker ed.), 27–28. The text and a translation can be found online at the *Suda On Line* (<http://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/alpha/527>).

¹²⁷³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 35, 37; *HA* 11.3 excerpted from an earlier entry.

11.6 The wife of a certain man wrote to her husband, complaining that he was so preoccupied by [p. 37] pleasures and baths that he would not return home to her, and Hadrian found this out through his private agents. And so, when the husband asked for a furlough, Hadrian reproached him with his fondness for his baths and his pleasures. Whereupon the man exclaimed: “What, did my wife write you just what she wrote to me?”

11.7 And, indeed, as for this habit of Hadrian’s, men regard it as a most grievous fault, and add to their criticism the statements which are current regarding the passion for males and the adulteries with married women to which he is said to have been addicted, adding also the charge that he did not even keep faith with his friends.

DISPOSITION

953 Hadrian’s Disposition, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹²⁷⁴

LXIX.2.6 Hadrian was a pleasant man to meet and he possessed a certain charm.¹²⁷⁵

954 Hadrian’s Disposition, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹²⁷⁶

20.1 Most democratic in his conversations, even with the very humble, he denounced all who, in the belief that they were thereby maintaining the imperial dignity, begrudged him the pleasure of such friendliness.

“GREEKLING”

[#17 repeated] The “Greekling”: Hadrian’s Education, 2

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)¹²⁷⁷

14.2 Hadrian was so skilled in Greek literary matters he was called by many ‘Greekling.’ He consumed all things Athenian through devoted study, becoming a master of not only speaking, but of many other disciplines as well: singing, playing the *cithara*, understanding the healing arts and musical language, becoming an able geometer, painter, and a sculptor in the style of Polycleus and Euphranoras with either bronze or marble. In like manner Hadrian was so adept in correct conduct that seldom have human affairs ever seemed to have experienced anything finer.

¹²⁷⁴ Dio Cassius’ *Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 429.

¹²⁷⁵ Cf. *Historia Augusta* 20.7–8.

¹²⁷⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 61.

¹²⁷⁷ For a different rendering, see Banchich’s online rendering at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. While the Latin *musicus* naturally references music it can also refer to ‘musical language’ like poetry, and given that the author has already mentioned Hadrian’s musical abilities it seems more likely that the reference here is to poetry, which Hadrian is known to have enjoyed writing. However, “music” as in playing an instrument and/or singing certainly cannot be ruled out (see entries #942 and #958).

MANIFEST FORMS OF INSATIABLE CURIOSITY

[233 repeated] A Travelling Man, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹²⁷⁸

LXIX.9.1a Hadrian travelled through one province after another, visiting the various regions and cities

[234 repeated] A Travelling Man, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹²⁷⁹

17.8b So fond was he of travel, that he wished to inform himself in [*p.* 55] person about all that he had read concerning all parts of the world.

955 “Insatiable”

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*; cf. *Suda*)¹²⁸⁰

LXIX.3.2 For his ambition was insatiable, and hence he practiced all conceivable pursuits, even the most trivial; for example, he modelled and painted, and declared that there was nothing pertaining to peace or war, to imperial or private life, of which he was not cognizant.

c147 Hadrian’s Manliness

[120–121 C.E.]

(Münzkabinett Wien; Aureus)¹²⁸¹



OBVERSE: IMP
CAESAR TRAIAN
HADRIANVS
AVG

Bust of Hadrian,
laureate, draped and
cuirassed, right,
viewed from front.

REVERSE: P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunica) P(otestas) CO(n)S(ul) III: Virtus standing facing, holding spear and *parazonium*, resting foot on helmet.

¹²⁷⁸ *Dio Cassius’ Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 441.

¹²⁷⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 53, 55.

¹²⁸⁰ *Dio Cassius’ Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 429. With this text in mind, physician Nicholas Petrakis, “Diagonal Ear Lobe Creases,” 90, suggests Hadrian had a “Type A” personality—an aggressive personality pattern associated with heart disease. Also see n. 1196 (p. 519).

¹²⁸¹ The image (© Münzkabinett Wien) is made available by Creative Commons (CC by 3.0) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/legalcode>); the image has been transformed to grayscale. Text of obverse omits descriptive detail; abbreviations are expanded. *RIC II*, Part 3 (2nd ed.) Hadrian 326. *Virtus* stands for all the chief traits associated by Romans with masculinity (e.g., courage and character). A *parazonium* is a long knife (15–19 inches), wider at the base and tapering to its point. It was especially associated with the god Virtus.

REMARKABLE MEMORY

956 Hadrian's Memory, 1

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹²⁸²

20.7 Hadrian's memory was vast and his ability was unlimited; for instance, he personally dictated his speeches and gave opinions on all questions. ...

20.9 Even without the aid of a nomenclator¹²⁸³ he could call by name a great many people, whose names he had heard but once and then all in a crowd; indeed, he could correct the nomenclators when they made mistakes, as they not infrequently did,

20.10 and he even knew the names of the veterans whom he had discharged at various times. He could repeat from memory, after a rapid reading, books which to most men were not known at all.

957 Hadrian's Memory, 2

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)¹²⁸⁴

14.3 His exceptional remembering seems beyond belief, for he was able to review by name places, activities, and every soldier—even those absent!

958 Manifold Interests

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹²⁸⁵

14.8 In poetry and in letters Hadrian was greatly interested. In arithmetic, geometry, and painting he was very expert.

14.9 Of his knowledge of flute-playing and singing he even boasted openly. He ran to excess in the gratification of his desires, and wrote much verse about the subjects of his passion. He composed love-poems too.

14.10 He was also a connoisseur of arms, had a thorough knowledge of warfare, and knew how to use gladiatorial weapons.

¹²⁸² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 63.

¹²⁸³ This assistant helped remind an emperor of names and provided other social details.

¹²⁸⁴ For an alternate translation of Ps. Aurelius Victor see Banchich's online rendering at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. The Latin text can be found in Pichlmayr's edition of the *Epitome* in the collected works of *Sexti Aurelii Victoris*, 150.

¹²⁸⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 47. Syme, "Hadrian the Intellectual," 103, writes, "Hadrian might be defined as an 'intellectual,' with all that the term connotes of good or bad, serious or frivolous. The intellectual falls into a recognizable category, all too familiar in the cultivated societies of the modern world. He is curious and conceited, instable and petulant; against birth and class, authority and tradition. He dabbles in the arts, he admires the beauties of nature. A cosmopolitan by his tastes, he is devoted to foreign travel; he detests nationalism, militarism, and the cult of power; and he will defend 'les droits de l'homme' or the cause of universal peace." Renan, "The Emperor Hadrian and Christianity," 492, remarks, "Brilliant, intellectual, and eager, his breadth of mind exceeded that of any other of the Caesars." He later adds (p. 493), "His capacity for painting, sculpture, and architecture was surprising, and he composed pretty verses, but his taste was not pure; he had his favorite actors, and peculiar preferences." On Hadrian and music (14.9), cf. entries #17 and #942.

NOTABLE WIT

959 Hadrian's Wit, 1

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹²⁸⁶

20.8 He was also very witty, and of his jests many still survive.¹²⁸⁷ The following one has even become famous: When he had refused a request to a certain grey-haired man, and the man repeated the request but this time with dyed hair, Hadrian replied: "I have already refused this to your father."¹²⁸⁸

960 Hadrian's Wit, 2

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)¹²⁸⁹

14.7 He was equally keen to challenge and to respond seriously, whether in jest or reproach. He rendered verse for verse when replying to a speaker, doing it so utterly well you might believe he prepared beforehand everything he said.

961 Hadrian's Wit, 3

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹²⁹⁰

17.5 He surpassed all monarchs in his gifts. He often bathed in the public baths, even with the meanest crowd.

17.6 And a jest of his made in the bath became famous. For on a certain occasion, seeing a veteran, whom he had known in the service, rubbing his back and the rest of his body against the wall, he asked him why he had the marble rub him, and when the man replied that it was because he did not own a slave, he presented him with some slaves and the cost of their maintenance.

17.7 But another time, when he saw a number of old men rubbing themselves against the wall for the purpose of arousing the generosity of the Emperor, he ordered them to be called out and then to rub one another in turn.

¹²⁸⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 63.

¹²⁸⁷ Cf., for example, *HA* 16.3–4 (his exchange with the poet Flavius).

¹²⁸⁸ Reekmans, "Notes on the Verbal Humor in the *Historia Augusta*," 191, cites this as an example of 'feigned non-understanding,' and comments, "As most of the jokes narrated in the *Vita Hadriani*, the jest in question is in all probability historical."

¹²⁸⁹ For an alternate translation of Ps. Aurelius Victor see Banchich's online rendering at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. The Latin text can be found in Pichlmayr's edition of the *Epitome* in the collected works of *Sexti Aurelii Victoris*, 150.

¹²⁹⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 53. The Latin *iocus balnearis* means 'bathhouse joke.' Cicero, *De Oratore* II.58 (Guthrie trans.), 166, in discussing the characteristics of an orator, notes that good humor procures an audience's favor and can display the orator as "a man of politeness, learning and good breeding; but above all, because it softens or unbends sorrow and severity, and very often by a joke or a laugh it discusses very ugly matters, which will not bear to be cleared up by proofs." Beard, *Laughter in Ancient Rome*, 135–36, remarks, "The point of the story was to show that Hadrian was a man of the people, warmhearted, but no fool—not to mention the kind of person who would respond to a transparent scam with a jest." She adds (p. 136), "If Hadrian really did visit the ordinary baths, my guess is that any joking encounters he had with the great unwashed (or washed) would have been very carefully choreographed and closely policed." Bekker-Nielsen, "The Emperor Goes to the Baths," see this as originally about Vespasian.

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

962 Hadrian's Multi-tasking Abilities

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹²⁹¹

20.11 He wrote, dictated, listened, and, incredible as it seems, conversed with his friends, all at one and the same time. He had as complete a knowledge of the state-budget in all its details as [p. 65] any careful householder has of his own household.

963 Love of Language

(*Suda*)¹²⁹²

By nature he loved language and was fluent in different ones, and he left various writings of prose and verse.

964 Superstitious

(*Suda*; see entries #20–21, 26–30)¹²⁹³

But he was superstitious, and consulted oracles and magical arts of every sort.

Hadrian

(Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 275 [Fig. 472])



FIG. 472. — STATUE D'HADRIEN
(D'APRÈS PENNA).

¹²⁹¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 63, 65.

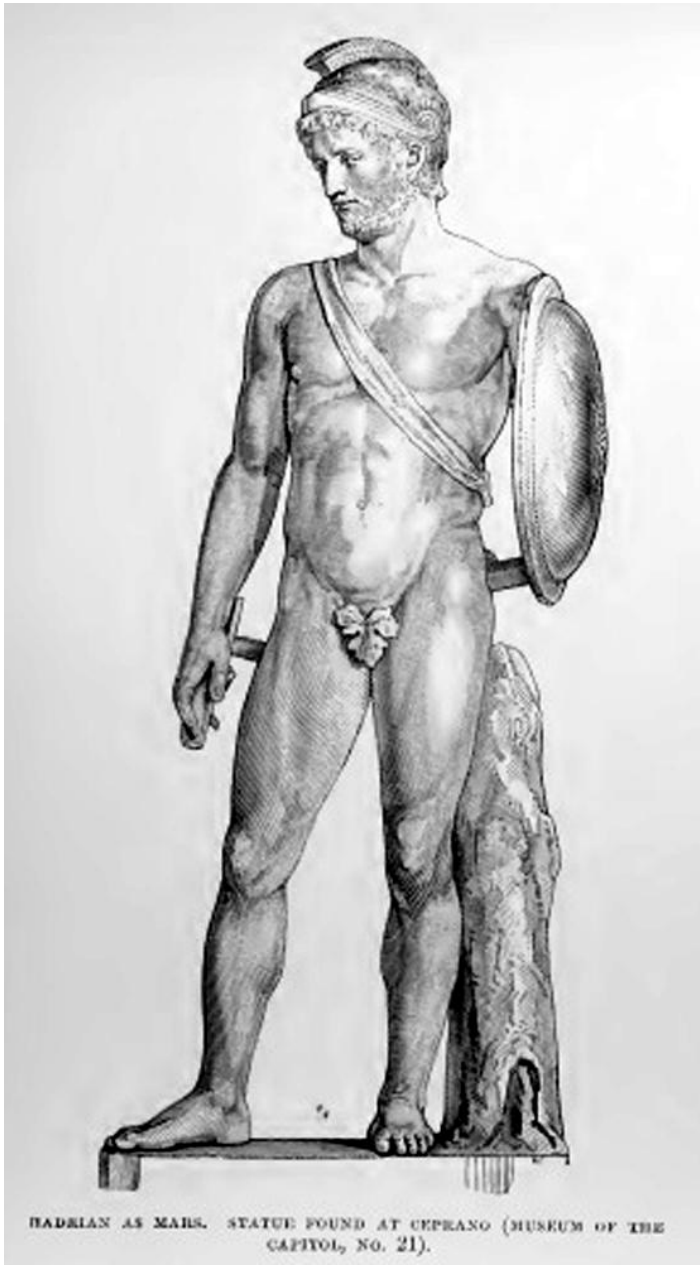
¹²⁹² Greek text can be found in *Suidae Lexicon* (Bekker ed.), 27–28. The Greek text and an English translation can also be found online at the *Suda On Line* (<http://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/alpha/527>).

¹²⁹³ Greek text can be found in *Suidae Lexicon* (Bekker ed.), 27–28. The Greek text and an English translation can also be found online at the *Suda On Line* (<http://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/alpha/527>).

IDENTIFICATION WITH DEITIES

Hadrian as Mars

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 344)



HADRIAN AS MARS. STATUE FOUND AT CEPFRANO (MUSEUM OF THE CAPITOL, NO. 21).



c148 *Hadrian as Hercules,*
1 (Gruber, *Roman*
Medalions, 5 [#17])¹²⁹⁴

OBVERSE:
HADRIANVS
[AVGVSTVS]:
'Hadrian Augustus.'
Head of Hadrian, facing
right.

REVERSE: COS III: 'Consul three times.' Figure of Hercules.

c149 *Hadrian as Hercules, 2*
[c. 136 C.E.]

(Gnecci, *I Medaglioni*
Romani: Volume Terzo:
Bronzo, Plate 145 [#12])¹²⁹⁵

OBVERSE:
HADRIANVS AVG COS
III P P:

'Hadrian Augustus, three
times Consul, Father of
the Fatherland.'

Bust of Hadrian as Hercules, wearing lion's skin.



REVERSE: TELLVS STABIL(ITA): 'The earth firmly established.'

Goddess Tellus (Terra Mater, 'Mother Earth'), facing left, reclining with her left arm resting on a basket, with her left hand holding a vine branch while her right hand is on a globe, around which are the four seasons (represented as children).

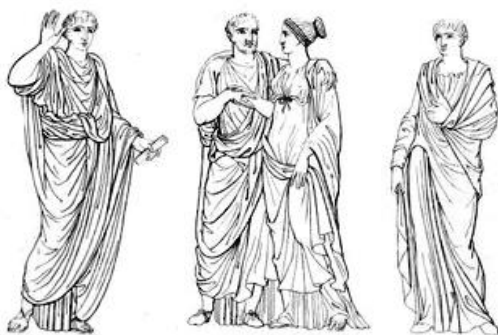
¹²⁹⁴ Hekster, "Propagating Power," 3, remarks that Hadrian "issued a massive number of coins depicting Hercules, but his god was very different from Trajan's. Where Trajan had, unsurprisingly, emphasised the quality of Hercules as a fighter, Hadrian depicted the god as more of a traveller." Searle, *Sketches of Tivoli*, 44, addressing the cult of Hercules in the area around Tiber, where Hadrian had his villa, observes, "He was the special Protector of travelers, and the abstract idea of Force and Strength." Searle (p. 45) adds, "Hercules seems to have been identified with the Sabine god Semo Sancus, as also with *Dius Fidius* of the Romans, the solemn oath *me Dius Fidius*, and *me Hercule* being synonymous, and always taken in the open air, under the light of heaven." Hadrian's coins feature many gods, including Apollo, Bacchus, Ceres, Cybelle, Diana, Hercules, Aesclepius, Janus, Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Mercury, Minerva, Neptune, Roma, Romulus, Sol, Venus, and Vesta. Gnecci, *The Coin Types of Imperial Rome*, 9, provides this list and observes that only Antoninus Pius displayed more divine figures on his coins.

¹²⁹⁵ This coin is much remarked upon. See Gnecci, *I Medaglioni Romani*, 19, for description, and—in English, *Catalogue of the Roman Coins in the British Museum*, 5 [#17]. Tellus was the Roman equivalent to the Greek deity Gaea. Positively, Tellus was a goddess of marriage and fertility, as well as of agriculture; negatively, she was associated with earthquakes. A temple to Tellus was built in Rome on the Esquiline Hill mid-3rd century B.C.E.

INTERACTIONS WITH THE PUBLIC

Romans

(Illustrations from Hope, *Costume of the Ancients*)



965 Professed Love of the Common Folk

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹²⁹⁶

17.8a His love for the common people he loudly expressed.

[excerpt from #961] Mixing with Common Folk

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹²⁹⁷

17.5b He often bathed in the public baths, even with the common crowd.

966 A Provision for Invalids

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹²⁹⁸

22.7 None but invalids were allowed to bathe in the public baths before the eighth hour of the day.

967 A Sensibility for Fairness

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹²⁹⁹

22.9a Those men whom he saw to be poor and innocent he enriched of his own accord, but those who had become rich through sharp practice he actually regarded with hatred.

¹²⁹⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 53. With respect to this trait, Birley, "Hadrian and Greek Senators," 223, in comparing him to the influential Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV 'Epiphanes', refers to Hadrian in the same words of the *Vita Hadriani* as *plebis iactantissimus amator*—'proudest lover of the people.'

¹²⁹⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 53: *publice frequenter et cum omnibus lavit*. The Latin *omnibus* means "all persons," which in context—the public baths—meant Hadrian mixed with people from various social strata, as the ensuing incident [entry #961] makes plain. Thus Hadrian's profession of affection for the common people was demonstrated in very public fashion. Hadrian's three baths at his villa at Tibur (Tivoli) featured a larger bath for workers and two smaller ones for personal use by Hadrian and members of his court. See Pucci and Blanco, "Ad Thermas."

¹²⁹⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 69.

¹²⁹⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 69.

968 Public Interactions with Citizens

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹³⁰⁰

LXIX.6.1 He led the Roman people rather by dignity than by flattery. Once at a gladiatorial contest, when the crowd was demanding something very urgently, he not only would not grant it but further bade the herald proclaim Domitian's command, "Silence."

LXIX.6.2 The word was not uttered, however, for the herald raised his hand and by that very gesture quieted the people, as heralds are accustomed to do (for crowds are never silenced by proclamation), and then, when they had become quiet, he said: "That is what he wishes." And Hadrian was not in the least angry with the herald, but actually honored him for not uttering the rude order.

LXIX.6.3 For he could bear such things, and was not displeased if he received aid either in an unexpected way or from ordinary men. At any rate, once, when a woman made a request of him as he passed by on a journey, he at first said to her, "I haven't time," but afterwards, when she [p. 437] cried out, "Cease, then, being emperor," he turned about and granted her a hearing.

969 A Story Sometimes Thought to Apply to Hadrian

(Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives; Demetrius*; cf. entry #968)¹³⁰¹

42.2 On one occasion, when he was thought to be riding abroad in a more affable mood than usual, and seemed to encounter his subjects without displeasure, there was a large concourse of people who presented him with written petitions. He received them all and folded them away in his cloak, whereupon the people were delighted and escorted him on his way; but when he came to the bridge over the Axios, he shook out the folds of his cloak and cast all the petitions into the river.

42.3 This was a great vexation to the Macedonians, who thought themselves insulted, not ruled, and they called to mind, or listened to those who called to mind, how reasonable Philip used to be in such matters, and how accessible. An old woman once assailed Demetrius as he was passing by, and demanded many times that he give her a hearing. "I have no time," said Demetrius. "Then don't be king," screamed the old woman.

42.4 Demetrius was stung to the quick, and after thinking upon the matter, went back to his house, and postponing every thing else, for several days devoted himself entirely to those who wished audience of him, beginning with the old woman who had rebuked him.

¹³⁰⁰ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 435.

¹³⁰¹ *Plutarch's Lives*, IX (Perrin's Loeb ed., 105 (with Greek text, p. 104). Cf. the English translation by Austin in *The Hellenistic World*, 109–10 [#52].

TREATMENT OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS

970 Hadrian's Envy of Excellence in Others, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*; cf. *Suda*)¹³⁰²

LXIX.3.2 For his ambition was insatiable . . .

LXIX.3.3 All this, of course, did people no harm; but his jealousy of all who excelled in any respect was most terrible and caused the downfall of many, besides utterly destroying several. For, inasmuch as he wished to surpass everybody in everything, he hated those who attained eminence in any direction.

LXIX.3.4 It was this feeling that led him to undertake to overthrow two sophists, Favorinus the Gaul, and Dionysius of Miletus, by various methods, but chiefly by elevating their antagonists, who were of little or no worth at all.

LXIX.3.5 Dionysius is said to have remarked then to Avidius Heliodorus, who had had charge of the [p. 431] emperor's correspondence: "Caesar can give you money and honor, but he cannot make you an orator."

LXIX.3.6 And Favorinus, who was about to plead a case before the emperor in regard to exemption from taxes, a privilege which he desired to secure to his native land, suspected that he should be unsuccessful and receive insults besides, and so merely entered the court-room and made this brief statement: "My teacher stood beside me last night in a dream and bade me serve my country, as having been born for her."

971 Hadrian's Envy of Excellence in Others, 2

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*; cf. *Suda*)¹³⁰³

LXIX.4.6 Indeed, his nature was such that he was jealous not only of the living, but also of the dead; at any rate he abolished Homer and introduced in his stead Antimachus, whose very name had previously been unknown to many.

972 Envy of Others

(Likening Emperor Valentinian I to Hadrian)

(Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Roman History*)¹³⁰⁴

XXX.8.10 Besides this there was a fire of envy in the very marrow of this same emperor, and knowing that most vices are wont to assume the appearance of virtues, he had ever upon his lips the saying, that malice of severity is the inseparable associate of rightful power. And as men of the highest position always think that everything is allowed them, and they are strongly inclined to suspect those who oppose them and to overthrow better men than themselves, so he hated the well dressed, the learned, the rich, and the high-born; and he depreciated brave men, in order to give the appearance of surpassing all men in good qualities, a fault, as we read, by which the emperor Hadrian was inflamed.

¹³⁰² Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 429, 431.

¹³⁰³ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 433.

¹³⁰⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History* (Rolfe's Loeb edition), III, 367 (with Latin text, p. 366).

973 Hadrian's Relationship with Apollodorus of Damascus, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹³⁰⁵

LXIX.4.1 Now Hadrian spared these men, displeased as he was with them, for he could find no plausible pretext to use against them for their destruction. But he first banished and later put to death Apollodorus, the architect, who had built the various creations of Trajan in Rome—the forum, the odium and the gymnasium.¹³⁰⁶

LXIX.4.2 The reason assigned was that he had been guilty of some misdemeanor; but the true reason was that once when Trajan was consulting him on some point about the buildings he had said to Hadrian, who had interrupted with some remark: “Be off, and draw your gourds. You don’t understand any of these matters.” (It chanced that Hadrian at the time was pluming himself upon some such drawing.)

LXIX.4.3 When he became emperor, therefore, he remembered this slight and would not endure the man’s freedom of speech. He sent him the plan of the temple of Venus and Roma by way of showing him that a great work could be accomplished without his aid, and asked Apollodorus whether the proposed structure was satisfactory.

LXIX.4.4 The architect in his reply stated, first, in regard to the temple, that it ought to have been built on [*p. 433*] high ground and that the earth should have been excavated beneath it, so that it might have stood out more conspicuously on the Sacred Way from its higher position, and might also have accommodated the machines in its basement, so that they could be put together unobserved and brought into the theatre without anyone’s being aware of them beforehand. Secondly, in regard to the statues, he said that they had been made too tall for the height of the cella.¹³⁰⁷

LXIX.4.5 “For now,” he said, “if the goddesses wish to get up and go out, they will be unable to do so.” When he wrote this so bluntly to Hadrian, the emperor was both vexed and exceedingly grieved because he had fallen into a mistake that could not be righted, and he restrained neither his anger nor his grief, but slew the man.

¹³⁰⁵ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 433, 435. Ridley, “The Fate of an Architect,” 551, in discussing this text remarks, “Let no one suggest that this matter is trivial. It affects the reputation of one of Rome’s greatest emperors, the fate of the leading architect of the day, and the origins of the greatest temple of the city.”

¹³⁰⁶ Apollodorus’ date of death is uncertain. Many suppose he died c. 130, but if his work *Seigecraft* was addressed to Hadrian, it seems plausible he lived into the time of the Bar Kockba revolt (c. 132–135 C.E.). On that work, see Blyth, “Apollodorus of Damascus and the *Poliorgetica*,” 149–51, considers whether it was addressed to Trajan or to Hadrian.

¹³⁰⁷ The *cella* (= Greek *naos*) was the interior room of a temple—usually rectangular in shape—within which a statue of the deity would be found.

974 Hadrian's Relationship with Apollodorus of Damascus, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³⁰⁸

19.13 This statue he then consecrated to the Sun, after removing the features of Nero, to whom it had previously been dedicated, and he also planned, with the assistance of the architect Apollodorus, to make a similar one for the Moon.

975 Apollodorus to Hadrian (?)

(Excerpt from Apollodorus, *Siegecraft (Poliorketika)*)¹³⁰⁹

(137) I have read, Lord (δέσποτα), your letter concerning siege machines (μηχανημάτων), and I am blessed, that you consider me worth sharing your thoughts with on this matter. Therefore, I have made representations of things useful for siege work and send them along. To each I have added verbal description dispatched with an assistant to whom everything has been shown and built in his presence, in order that he can work as needed in accord with the design. Since I don't know the places there, I have set out many various plans and the reasons for each, adjusting them to be helpful (βοήθειαν), protective (φυλακὴν), and sound (ἀσφάλειαν), and so far as possible easily acquired, light, well-made, and able to be made promptly by the workers.

(138) These things I have supplied you, Lord, not only to help you understand the siege-works, but also their use; for it is one matter to lay siege to cities with a full siege train and adequate time and materials, and quite another to handle peoples (ἔθνη) and *climes* (κλίματα) that upon misfortune reverse course and thus cannot be easily dealt with. This, then, is why I have considered thoughtfully these matters, and tarried in reply. I have examined the problem and come up with ways to respond, all without aid from earlier authors because of the unfamiliarity in this situation and yet the need to act quickly. I also have sent local craftsmen and others able to build and make things, because from my experience with you on military campaigns—when I was fortunately well-supplied with soldiers well able to work by virtue of experience or natural ability—I know how the unexpected demands of war require versatile men and machines alike. If anything in these matters of things I have described remains unclear, Lord, pardon me. For the names by which these things are known are not ordinarily used in conversation, the theory on the working of these things has many aspects, and I am myself deficient in speaking of them. But perhaps your own great ability will rectify these things, and your kindness warm your heart for your fellow man.

¹³⁰⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 61. This passage completes the narrative in 19.12 of Hadrian's working with the architect Decrianus to restore the Colossus of Nero.

¹³⁰⁹ For an alternative translation, see Blyth, "Apollodorus of Damascus and the *Poliorketika*," 146. Also see Whitehead's *Apollodorus Mechanicus: Siege-Matters (Poliorketika)*. The Greek *climes* (κλίματα) refers to geographical areas (regions, districts, etc.) with people living in them. N.B.: there is uncertainty as to whether the emperor addressed here is Trajan or Hadrian. If Hadrian, the account probably has in mind the Bar Kokhba war (see Gichon, "New Insight," 37–38).

976 Hadrian's Unjust Treatment of Some

(*HLA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³¹⁰

15.1 His friends he enriched greatly, even though they did not ask it, while to those who did ask, he refused nothing.

15.2 And yet he was always ready to listen to whispers about his friends, and in the end he treated almost all of them as enemies, even the closest and even those whom he had raised to the highest of honors, such as Attianus and Nepos and Septicius Clarus.

15.3 Eudaemon, for example, who had been his accomplice in obtaining the imperial power, he reduced to poverty;

15.4 Polaeus and Marcellus he drove to suicide;

15.5 Heliodorus he assailed in a most slanderous pamphlet;

15.6 Titianus he allowed to be accused as an accomplice in an attempt to seize the empire and even to be outlawed;

15.7 Ummidius Quadratus, Catilius Severus, and Turbo he persecuted [*p.* 49] vigorously

15.8 and in order to prevent Servianus, his brother-in-law, from surviving him, he compelled him to commit suicide, although the man was then in his ninetieth year.

15.9 And he even took vengeance on freedmen and sometimes on soldiers.

15.10 And although he was very deft at prose and at verse and very accomplished in all the arts, yet he used to subject the teachers of these arts, as though more learned than they, to ridicule, scorn, and humiliation.

15.11 With these very professors and philosophers he often debated by means of pamphlets or poems issued by both sides in turn.

15.12 And once Favorinus, when he had yielded to Hadrian's criticism of a word which he had used, raised a merry laugh among his friends. For when they reproached him for having done wrong in yielding to Hadrian in the matter of a word used by reputable authors, he replied:

15.13 "You are urging a wrong course, my friends, when you do not suffer me to regard as the most learned of men the one who has thirty legions."¹³¹¹

¹³¹⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 47, 49.

¹³¹¹ On Favorinus' relationship with Hadrian, also see entries #970 and #979. About the incident here and the one in #970, Bowie, "Hadrian, Favorinus, and Plutarch," 5, points out about the earlier one that "we must concede that the 'quarrel' involved no animosity on the part of Hadrian, and indeed some considerable degree of tolerance if Favorinus was able to dine out on the incident with impunity." As to this entry, he adds, "In this anecdote Favorinus again concedes, ostensibly in the face of *force majeure*, but the threatening quality of that force is never tested."

977 Hadrian's Tolerance

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³¹²

17.1 Many whom he had regarded as enemies when a private citizen, when emperor he merely ignored; for example, on becoming emperor, he said to one man whom he had regarded as a mortal foe, "You have escaped."

978 Hadrian's Charity toward Some

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³¹³

16.8 However ready Hadrian might have been to criticize musicians, tragedians, comedians, grammarians, and rhetoricians, he nevertheless bestowed both honors and riches upon all who professed these arts, though he always tormented them with his questions.

16.9 And although he was himself responsible for the fact that many of them left his presence with their feelings hurt, to see anyone with hurt feelings, he used to say, he could hardly endure.

16.10 He treated with the greatest friendship the philosophers Epictetus¹³¹⁴ and Heliodorus, and various grammarians, rhetoricians, musicians, geometricians—not to mention all by name—painters and astrologers; and among [p. 53] them Favorinus, many claim, was conspicuous above all the rest.

16.11 Teachers who seemed unfit for their profession he presented with riches and honors and then dismissed from the practice of their profession.

979 Hadrian's Favor toward Favorinus

(Philostratus of Athens, *Lives of the Sophists*)¹³¹⁵

I.8 [489] Favorinus the philosopher, no less than Dio, was proclaimed a sophist by the charm and beauty of his eloquence. He came from Western Gaul, from the city of Arelatum which is situated on the river Rhone. He was born double-sexed, a hermaphrodite, and this was plainly shown in his appearance; for even when he grew old he had no beard; it was evident too from his voice which sounded thin, shrill, and high-pitched, with the modulations that nature bestows on eunuchs also. Yet he was so ardent in love that he was actually charged with adultery by a man of consular rank. Though he quarrelled with the Emperor Hadrian, he suffered no ill consequences. Hence he used to say in the ambiguous style of an oracle, that there were in the story of his life these three paradoxes:

¹³¹² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 53.

¹³¹³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 51, 53.

¹³¹⁴ Renan, "The Emperor Hadrian and Christianity," 493, comments, "He loved Epictetus, and understood him, without, however, feeling compelled to follow all his precepts."

¹³¹⁵ Philostratus and Eunapius, *The Lives of the Sophists* (Wright's trans., Loeb ed.), 23, 25. The Greek text may be found in Philostratus, *Flavii Philostrati Opera*, II, 8–9; cf. Greek in Loeb ed. (p. 22), which varies in minor respects.

Though he was a Gaul he led the life of a Hellene; a eunuch, he had been tried for adultery; he had quarrelled with an Emperor and was still alive. But this must rather be set down to the credit of Hadrian, seeing that, though he was Emperor, he disagreed on terms of equality with one whom it was in his power to put to death. For a prince is really superior if he controls his anger

When he is wrath with a lesser man,
and

Mighty is the anger of Zeus-nurtured kings,
if only it be kept in check by reason. Those who [p. 25] endeavour to guide and amend the morals of princes would do well to add this saying to the sentiments expressed by the poets.

980 Hadrian's Favor toward Dionysius of Miletus

(Philostratus of Athens, *Lives of the Sophists*)¹³¹⁶

I.22 [522] With regard to Dionysius of Miletus, whether, as some say, he was born of highly distinguished parentage, or, as others say, was merely of free birth, let him not be held responsible on this head, seeing that he achieved distinction by his own merits.

I.22 [523] Great honors were paid him by the cities that admired his talent, but the greatest was from the Emperor. For Hadrian appointed him satrap over peoples by no means obscure, and enrolled him in the order of the knights and among those who had free meals in the Museum. (By the Museum I mean [p. 95] a dining-table in Egypt to which are invited the most distinguished men of all countries.)

981 Hadrian's Favor toward Marcus of Byzantium

(Philostratus of Athens, *Lives of the Sophists*)¹³¹⁷

I.24 [530] The Emperor Hadrian too admired him when he came on an embassy for Byzantium, for of all the Emperors in the past he was the most disposed to foster merit.

982 Hadrian's Favor toward Titus Castricius

(Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*)¹³¹⁸

XIII.22.1 Titus Castricius, a teacher of the art of rhetoric, who held the first rank at Rome as a declaimer and an instructor, a man of the greatest influence and dignity, was highly regarded also by the deified Hadrian for his character and his learning.

¹³¹⁶ Philostratus and Eunapius, *The Lives of the Sophists* (Wright's trans., Loeb ed.), 23, 25. The Greek text may be found in Philostratus, *Flavii Philostrati Opera*, II, 8–9; cf. Greek in Loeb ed. (p. 22), which varies in minor respects.

¹³¹⁷ Philostratus and Eunapius, *The Lives of the Sophists* (Wright's trans., Loeb ed.), 107.

¹³¹⁸ Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* (Rolfe trans.), II, 477 (with Latin text). In this same place, Aulus Gellius reports that he attended upon Castricius "as my master."

983 Hadrian's Favor toward Polemo

(Philostratus of Athens, *Lives of the Sophists*)¹³¹⁹

I.25 [531] By opening his school at Smyrna he benefited the city in the following ways. In the first place he made her appear far more populous than before, since the youth flowed into her from both continents and the islands; nor were they a dissolute and promiscuous rabble, but select and genuinely Hellenic. Secondly, he brought about a harmonious government free from faction. For, before that, Smyrna was rent by factions, and the inhabitants of the higher district were at variance with those on the sea-shore. Also he proved to be of great value to the city by going on embassies to the Emperors and defending the community. Hadrian, at any rate, had hitherto favoured Ephesus, but Polemo so entirely converted him to the cause of Smyrna that in one day he lavished a million drachmae on the city, and with this the corn-market was built, a gymnasium which was the most magnificent of all those in Asia, and a temple that can be seen from afar, the one on the promontory that seems to challenge Mimas.

I.25 [532–533] The following privileges were bestowed on him by the Emperors. By the Emperor Trajan the right to travel free of expense by land and sea, and Hadrian extended this to all his descendants, and also enrolled him in the circle of the Museum, with the Egyptian right of free meals. And when he was in Rome and demanded 250,000 drachmae, he gave him that sum and more, though Polemo had not said that he needed it, nor had the Emperor said beforehand that he would give it. When the people of Smyrna accused him of having expended on his own pleasures a great part of the money that had been given by the Emperor for them, the Emperor sent a letter to the following effect: "Polemo has rendered me an account of the money given to you by me." And though one may say that this was an act of clemency, nevertheless it would not have been possible for him to win clemency in the affair of the money, had he not won pre-eminence for virtue of another kind. The temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens had been [p. 113] completed at last after an interval of five hundred and sixty years, and when the Emperor consecrated it as a marvellous triumph of time, he invited Polemo also to make an oration at the sacrifice. He fixed his gaze, as was his custom, on the thoughts that were already taking their place in his mind, and then flung himself into his speech, and delivered a long and admirable discourse from the base of the temple. As the prooemium of his speech he declared that not without a divine impulse was he inspired to speak on that theme.

I.25 [534] Moreover, the Emperor reconciled his own son Antoninus with Polemo, at the time when he handed over his sceptre and became a god instead of a mortal. I must relate how this happened. Antoninus was proconsul of the whole of Asia without exception, and once he took up his lodging in Polemo's

¹³¹⁹ Philostratus and Eunapius, *The Lives of the Sophists* (Wright's trans., Loeb ed.), 107, 109.

house because it was the best in Smyrna and belonged to the most notable citizen. However, Polemo arrived home at night from a journey and raised an outcry at the door that he was outrageously treated in being shut out of his own house, and next he compelled Antoninus to move to another house. The Emperor was informed of this, but he held no inquiry into the affair, lest he should reopen the wound. But in considering what would happen after his death, and that even mild natures are often provoked by persons who are too aggressive and irritating, he became anxious about Polemo. Accordingly in his last testament on the affairs of the Empire, he wrote: "And Polemo, the sophist, advised me to make this arrangement." By this means he opened the way for him to win favour as a benefactor, and forgiveness enough and to spare. And in fact Antoninus used [*p. 115*] to jest with Polemo about what had happened in Smyrna, thus showing that he had by no means forgotten it, though by the honours with which he exalted him on every occasion he seemed to pledge himself not to bear it in mind. This is the sort of jest he would make. When Polemo came to Rome, Antoninus embraced him, and then said: "Give Polemo a lodging and do not let anyone turn him out of it." And once when a tragic actor who had performed at the Olympic games in Asia, over which Polemo presided, declared that he would prosecute him, because Polemo had expelled him at the beginning of the play, the Emperor asked the actor what time it was when he was expelled from the theatre, and when he replied that it happened to be at noon, the Emperor made this witty comment: "But it was midnight when he expelled me from his house, and I did not prosecute him."

I.25 [534–535] Let this suffice to show how mild an Emperor could be, and how arrogant a mere man. For in truth Polemo was so arrogant that he conversed with cities as his inferiors, Emperors as not his superiors, and the gods as his equals.

984 Rivalry between Favorites: Favorinus and Polemo

(Philostratus of Athens, *Lives of the Sophists*)¹³²⁰

I.8 [490/91] The quarrel that arose between Polemo and Favorinus began in Ionia, where the Ephesians favoured Favorinus, while Smyrna admired Polemo; and it became more bitter in Rome; for there consuls and sons of consuls by applauding either one or the other started between them a rivalry such as kindles the keenest envy and malice even in the hearts of wise men. However they may be forgiven for that rivalry, since human nature holds that the love of glory never grows old; but they are to be blamed for the speeches that they composed assailing one another; for personal abuse is brutal, and even if it be true, that does not acquit of disgrace even the man who speaks about such things.

¹³²⁰ Philostratus and Eunapius, *The Lives of the Sophists* (Wright's trans.) 27. The Greek text also can be found in Philostratus, *Flavii Philostrati Opera*, II, 10. On Polemo, also *HLA* 14:10–11 and 13.1–2.

985 “He treated with the greatest friendship . . . Epictetus”

(*HLA: Vita Hadriani* 16.10)

*The Altercation between Emperor Hadrian
and the Philosopher Epictetus*

(*Altercatio Hadriani augusti et Epicteti philosophi*)¹³²¹

[1] *Hadrian*. Let us loose our girdles! examine our bodies naked, and see what we can gain?

Epictetus. It is a mere note.

[2] *Hadrian*. What sort of a note?

Epictetus. It is a silent messenger.

[3] *Hadrian*. What is a picture?

Epictetus. A false truth.

[4] *Hadrian*. Why do you say that?

Epictetus. Because we see pictures of apples, flowers, animals done in gold and silver—but these are not true.

[5] *Hadrian*. What is gold?

Epictetus. A servant of death.

[6] *Hadrian*. What is silver?

Epictetus. The seat of envy.

[7] *Hadrian*. What is iron?

Epictetus. The instrument of all arts.

[8] *Hadrian*. What is a sword?

Epictetus. The law of camps.

[9] *Hadrian*. What is a gladiator?

Epictetus. A lawful homicide.

[10] *Hadrian*. What people in good health are yet sick?

Epictetus. Those who meddle with other people’s business.

[11] *Hadrian*. What is a man never tired of?

Epictetus. Of making money.

[12] *Hadrian*. What is friendship?

Epictetus. Concord—agreement.

[13] *Hadrian*. What is the longest thing?

Epictetus. Hope.

[14] *Hadrian*. What is hope?

Epictetus. A waking dream! The expectation of a doubtful event.

[15] *Hadrian*. What is that which a man cannot see?

Epictetus. Another man’s thoughts.

¹³²¹ Meigs, “Dialogue between the Emperor Hadrian and Epictetus the Philosopher.” I have made minor alterations in punctuation. The artificial construction speaks against its authenticity, but the questions and answers are interesting reflections of the sentiments and interests of the participants. The Latin text can be found in Daly and Suchier, *The Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti philosophi*. Although the Latin *altercatio* is translated by the English “altercation” and can mean a dispute or argument, here it takes the form of Hadrian questioning the famous Stoic philosopher.

[16] *Hadrian*. What is the sin of men?

Epictetus. Covetousness.

[17] *Hadrian*. What is liberty?

Epictetus. Innocence!

[18] *Hadrian*. What is common to all kings and miserable men?

[p. 127] *Epictetus*. To be born and to die.

[19] *Hadrian*. What is best and worst?

Epictetus. Words.

[20] *Hadrian*. What is that which pleases some and displeases others?

Epictetus. Life.

[21] *Hadrian*. Which is the best life?

Epictetus. The shortest.

[22] *Hadrian*. Which is the most certain thing?

Epictetus. Death.

[23] *Hadrian*. What is death?

Epictetus. Perpetual security.

[24] *Hadrian*. (*again*.) What is death?

Epictetus. A condition to be feared by no wise man; the enemy of all life; deity of the living; boundary of all relation; plunderer of children; an agreeable last will and testament; a funeral sermon; the last tears; oblivion of the dead; a burthen for the monument; and the end of all evils.

[25] *Hadrian*. Why do we crown the dead?

Epictetus. As the symbol of his transit from life to death.

[26] *Hadrian*. Why are the thumbs of the dead together?

Epictetus. That we may, after his apparent death, know that he is really dead.

[27] *Hadrian*. What is a corpse-bearer?

Epictetus. A man whom many avoid and whom none can fly from.

[28] *Hadrian*. What is a funeral-pile?

Epictetus. The final payment of debt.

[29] *Hadrian*. What is a trumpet?

Epictetus. An incitement to battle; a camp signal; a call to the arena, to the theatre and circus; a mournful note for the funeral.

[30] *Hadrian*. What is a monument?

Epictetus. A stigmatized stone; a speculation for an idle fellow.

[31] *Hadrian*. Who is a poor man?

Epictetus. He is like a dry deserted well which everybody runs.

[32] *Hadrian*. What is man?

Epictetus. He is like a bath: first a warm one; then oil for him as infant; then a sweater when he is a boy; a dry heat when he is a young man; then a cold bath in old age.

[33] *Hadrian*. What is man?

Epictetus. He is like an apple, which hangs on the tree until it is ripe; just our bodies fall when mature; more often while green.

[34] *Hadrian*. What is man?

Epictetus. He is like a lamp or candle set in the wind!

[35] *Hadrian.* What is man?

Epictetus. He is a guest; a lawful dream; a calamity-tale; Death's real estate; Life's delay; a thing which Fortune makes jokes of!

[36] *Hadrian.* What is Fortune?

Epictetus. A noble matron, who whips her slaves!

[37] *Hadrian.* What is Fortune?

[p. 128] *Epictetus.* The nearest turning post on the race-ground; a chance for another man's goods; he who has it shows out splendidly; when it quits him he is left in the dark—no one can see him!

[38] *Hadrian.* How many sorts of Fortune have we?

Epictetus. Three: a blind one, hitting none knows how; a crazy one, which gives and instantly snatches it away again; third, and last, a deaf one, who can't hear the prayers of poor wretches.

[39] *Hadrian.* How many sorts of Fortune have we?

Epictetus. Three: a blind one, hitting none knows how; a crazy one, which gives and instantly snatches it away again; third, and last, a deaf one, who can't hear the prayers of poor wretches.

[40] *Hadrian.* What are the gods?

Epictetus. Visions, mental deities. Are you timid? then Fear is your god. Are you able to rule your passions? then Religion is your god.

[41] *Hadrian.* What is the sun?

Epictetus. The splendor of the world, giving and taking away day; a clock measuring the hours.

[42] *Hadrian.* What is the moon?

Epictetus. A day-helper; eye of night; torch of darkness.

[43] *Hadrian.* What are the heavens?

Epictetus. An immense dome.

[44] *Hadrian.* What are the heavens?

Epictetus. The air of the world.

[45] *Hadrian.* What are the stars?

Epictetus. The destinies of men.

[46] *Hadrian.* What are the stars?

Epictetus. The boundaries of all government.

[47] *Hadrian.* What is this earth?

Epictetus. The barn of Ceres.

[48] *Hadrian.* What is this earth?

Epictetus. The storehouse of life.

[49] *Hadrian.* What is the sea?

Epictetus. A very uncertain road to travel on.

[50] *Hadrian.* What is a ship?

Epictetus. An everywhere hotel.

[51] *Hadrian*. What is a ship?

Epictetus. Neptune's church; an annual packet.

[52] *Hadrian*. What is a sailor?

Epictetus. A sea lover; a land deserter; a despiser of death and of life too; a client of the waves.

[53] *Hadrian*. What is sleep?

Epictetus. The image of death.

[54] *Hadrian*. What is night?

Epictetus. The laborer's rest; the highwayman's profit.

[55] *Hadrian*. What is a bed?¹³²²

Epictetus. A place of sleepless tossing and turning.

[56] *Hadrian*. Why is Venus painted naked?

Epictetus. All the loves are painted naked as well as Venus, and because naked beauty pleases most; but it ought not to be done.

[57] *Hadrian*. Why did Venus marry Vulcan?

Epictetus. To show how hot love is.

[58] *Hadrian*. Why was she squint-eyed?

Epictetus. Because her loves were depraved ones.

[59] *Hadrian*. What is love?

[p. 129] *Epictetus*. The trouble of a peaceful breast; modesty or shame in a boy; blushes in a girl; a fury in a woman; ardor in a young man; a joke in old age; a crime in a seducer.

[60] *Hadrian*. What is God?

Epictetus. He who holds all things in His hands.

[61] *Hadrian*. What is sacrifice?

Epictetus. A drink-offering.

[62] *Hadrian*. What is without society?

Epictetus. A kingdom.

[63] *Hadrian*. What is a kingdom?

Epictetus. A part of the government of gods.

[64] *Hadrian*. What is Caesar?

Epictetus. The head of public light.

[65] *Hadrian*. What is the Senate?

Epictetus. The ornament of the city, and the splendor of its citizens.

[66] *Hadrian*. What is a soldier?

Epictetus. The wall of the Empire; the glorious servant and defender of the country; the index of power.

[67] *Hadrian*. What is Rome?

Epictetus. The fountain of the Empire of the world; mother of nations.

[68] *Hadrian*. What is victory?¹³²³

¹³²² Meigs' translation does not number entries as done here and is of Andrew Alciatus' Latin text in Alciatus' *Provinces of Rome*. The Latin text numbered 55 above is not translated by Meig.

¹³²³ Meigs' translation does not include #68–#73, so I have supplemented it with my own.

Epictetus. The rejection of war, a love of peace.

[69] *Hadrian*. What is peace?

Epictetus. Calm kindness.

[70] *Hadrian*. What is a court of justice?

Epictetus. A temple where one may speak freely; an arena for litigating.

[71] *Hadrian*. What are friends?

Epictetus. Those who have been established as a refuge.

[72] *Hadrian*. What is an ally?

Epictetus. One like the fruit of a citron tree: Ah! It is pleasant on the outside, but inside it conceals mischief.

[73] *Hadrian*. What are parasites?

Epictetus. Those who are like fish that have been fattened.

986 Kindness to another Philosopher: Euphrates of Tyre [119 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹³²⁴

LXIX.8.3 Besides these events of [p. 441] that year, Euphrates, the philosopher, died a death of his own choosing, since Hadrian permitted him to drink hemlock in consideration of his extreme age and his malady.

987 Euphrates of Tyre

(Pliny the Younger, *Letters*)¹³²⁵

I.10 However, as far as I am qualified to determine, Euphrates is possessed of so many shining talents, that he cannot fail to strike and engage even the somewhat illiterate. He reasons with much force, penetration, and elegance, and frequently embodies all the sublime and luxuriant eloquence of Plato. His style is rich and various, and at the same time so wonderfully sweet, that it seduces the attention of the most unwilling hearer. His outward appearance is agreeable to all the rest: he has a tall figure, a comely aspect, long hair, and a large white beard: circumstances which though they may probably be thought trifling and accidental, contribute however to gain him much reverence. There is no uncouthness in his manner, which is grave, but not austere; and his approach commands respect without creating awe. Distinguished as he is by the sanctity of his life, he is no less so by his polite and affable address. He points his eloquence against the vices, not the persons of mankind, and without chastising reclaims the wanderer. His exhortations so captivate your attention, that you hang as it were upon his lips; and even after the heart is convinced, the ear still wishes to listen to the harmonious reasoner.

¹³²⁴ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 339, 341. Cf. Jerome, *Chronicle* (Hadrian, V), which notes succinctly, "Euphrates the Stoic philosopher dies." (*Eufrates stoicus philosophus moritur*.) Euphrates had been in Rome for quite some time, flourishing under Trajan. See Birley, *Hadrian*, 106. On Pliny's acquaintance with him and esteem for him, see the first part of this same letter. Little of his thinking survives; see, for example, Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 99, 34—quoted in Frede, "Euphrates of Tyre," 1, which see for more on this figure.

¹³²⁵ Pliny the Younger, *Letters* (Melmoth trans.), I, 35 (with Latin text, p. 34). Pliny's letter was written in the reign of Trajan.

TREATMENT OF FREEDMEN & SLAVES

988 Hadrian's Freedmen

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³²⁶

21.2 He would not allow his freedmen to be prominent in public affairs or to have any influence over himself, and he declared that all his predecessors were to blame for the faults of their freedmen; he also punished all his freedmen who boasted of their influence over him.

989 Hadrian's Slaves

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³²⁷

21.3 With regard to his treatment of his slaves, the following incident, stern but almost humorous, is still related. Once when he saw one of his slaves walk away from his presence between two senators, he sent someone to give him a box on the ear and say to him: "Do not walk between those whose slave you may someday be".

990 An Anecdote: Hadrian and a Slave

(Galen, *Affections and Errors of the Soul*)¹³²⁸

4.8 The Emperor Hadrian, they say, struck one of his slaves in the eye with a stylus; and when he learned that the man had lost his eye because of this wound, he summoned the slave and allowed him to ask for a gift which would be equal to his pain and loss. When the slave who had suffered the loss remained silent, Hadrian again asked him to speak up and ask for whatever he might wish. But he asked for nothing else but another eye. For what gift could match in value the eye which had been destroyed?

RAISING INDIVIDUALS TO EQUESTRIAN STATUS

991 Caius Vibius Porcianus Quintius Italicianus

(Inscription on Statue Base at Tarraco, Spain)

[*CIL* II, 4254; cf. *CIL* II, 4213=*CIL* II¹⁴, 1133]¹³²⁹

Province of Further Spain: To Caius Vibius Porcianus Quintius Italicianus, Galerian tribe, having served honorably in all his public offices for (town of) Libisosa, raised to equestrian status (*equo publico donato*) by the divine Hadrian, and having served as his *Flamen* for the Province of Further Spain.

¹³²⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 65. Mattingly, *The Imperial Civil Service of Rome*, 41, observes, "Hadrian, in strict keeping with his policy of excluding freedmen from high office in the State, kept his own under strict control. . . ."

¹³²⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 65.

¹³²⁸ Galen, *On the Passions* (Harkins' trans.), 39. For an alternate translation, see Galen, *Psychological Writings* (Singer ed.), 253. The Greek text can be found in Galen, *De Propriorum Animi Cuiuslibet Affectuum Dignotione et Curatione*.

¹³²⁹ The Latin text can be seen online at EDCS (EDCS-05503285); also see Alföldy, *Flamines provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*, 91 [#70]. The Latin text for *CIL* II, 4213 also can be seen at EDCS (EDCS-05503244). Mattingly, *The Imperial Service of Rome*, 52–53, remarks, "The inscriptions attest numerous instances of bestowal of the public horse by him"

GENEROSITY & PUBLIC BENEFACEMENTS

992 Generosity Summarized

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³³⁰

17.5 He surpassed all monarchs in his gifts.

993 Generosity toward Communities and Individuals

(Excerpts from Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹³³¹

LXIX.51b . . . he deprived no one of money unjustly, while upon many—communities and private citizens, [*p.* 435] senators and knights—he bestowed large sums.

LXIX.5.2a Indeed, he did not even wait to be asked, but acted in absolutely every case according to the individual needs.

LXIX.5.2c . . . and he aided the allied and subject cities most munificently.

LXIX.5.3 He had seen many of them,—more, in fact, than any other emperor,— and he assisted practically all of them, giving to some a water supply, to others harbours, food, public works, money and various honors, differing the different cities.

994 Benefactions to Cities: Summary, 1

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³³²

19.2 In almost every city he built some building and gave public games.¹³³³

995 Benefactions to Cities: Summary, 1

(*Paschal Chronicle (Chronicon Paschale)*)¹³³⁴

[225th Olympiad] And in many other eminent cities he raised up many and various temples, and set up various statues in them.

996 Hadrian Organizes for Helping Cities

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)¹³³⁵

14.4 His immeasurable labors obviously can be seen in such things as his making a circuit by walking through all the provinces, moving faster than his accompanying troops, restoring entire towns, raising their station.

¹³³⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 53.

¹³³¹ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 433, 435.

¹³³² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 59.

¹³³³ Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 12, observes, "Indeed, no Roman emperor devoted as much personal attention to cities throughout the empire as did Hadrian, except perhaps Augustus himself."

¹³³⁴ The Greek text can be found in *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed.), I, 475: καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπισημοτέραις πόλεσι ναοὺς διαφόρους καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνέστησεν, καὶ ἀγάλματα ποικίλα ἱδρυσεν αὐτοῖς. The *Chronicon* dates this to 123 C.E., i.e., the first trip to the East.

¹³³⁵ For an alternate rendering, see Banchich's online translation at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. The Latin text can be found in Pichlmayr's edition of the *Epitome* in the collected works of *Sexti Aurelii Victoris*, 150;

14.5 For, and in fact on the model of the military legions, he had arranged laborers, stone-masons, architects, and all those who build and embellish fortified walls, into cohorts.

997 Benefactions to Athens: Giving of Games

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³³⁶

19.3 At Athens he exhibited in the stadium a hunt of a thousand wild beasts,

19.4 but he never called away from Rome a single wild-beast-hunter or actor.

[206 repeated] Benefactions in Rome: Plays, Games, and Exhibitions, 1 [Jan. 24, 119 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹³³⁷

LXIX.8.2 On his birthday¹³³⁸ he gave the usual spectacle free to the people and slew many wild beasts, so that one hundred lions, for example, and a like number of lionesses fell on this single occasion. He also distributed gifts by means of little balls which he threw broadcast both in the theatres and in the Circus, for the men and for the women separately. And further, he also commanded them to bathe separately.

[207 repeated] Benefactions in Rome: Plays, Games, and Exhibitions, 2 [Jan, 119 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³³⁹

7.12 He gave gladiatorial combats for six days in succession, and on his birthday he put into the arena a thousand wild beasts.

998 Benefactions in Rome: Plays, Games, and Exhibitions, 3

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³⁴⁰

19.6 And in the theatre he presented plays of all kinds in the ancient manner and had the court-players appear before the public.

19.7 In the Circus he had many wild beasts killed and often a whole hundred of lions.

19.8 He often gave the people exhibitions of military Pyrrhic dances, and he frequently attended gladiatorial shows.

¹³³⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 59.

¹³³⁷ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 439.

¹³³⁸ While Romans had celebrated birthdays since ancient times, only with Julius Caesar's *dies natales* did a birthday become a public holiday. Rulers in the Hellenistic East had been doing so for some time and as the Roman Empire emerged this practice soon followed. By Hadrian's time it was a well-established practice.

¹³³⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 25. On his favor of gladiatorial games, see entry #864 (end). Of course, these were also popular with the masses. One such example follows in entry #999, but also see entry #226.

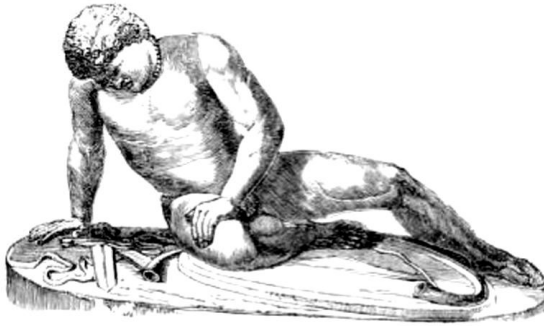
¹³⁴⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 59. A military Pyrrhic dance (*Pyrrhichios*), the practice of which dates back to ancient Greece, was one in which the dancers used weapons and performed stylized movements mimicking their use in battle.

999 Benefaction: Gladiatorial Games [125 C.E.]

(Inscription at Ostia, Italy)

[CIL XIV, 4546=AE 1928.126]¹³⁴¹

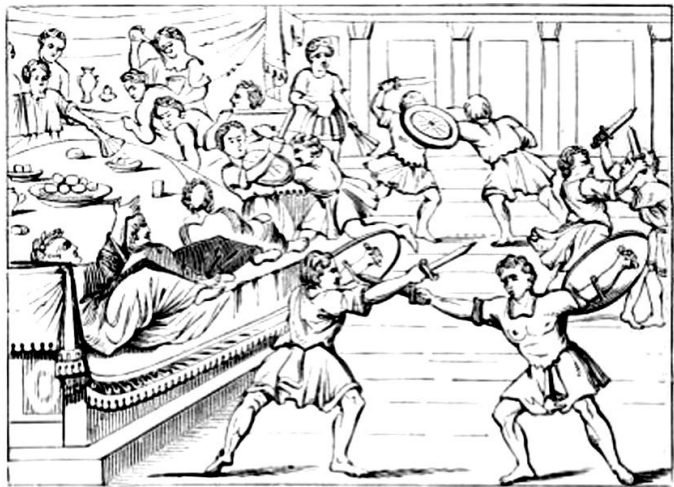
Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus inaugurated a gladiatorial show. . . . II. By the 14th day before the Kalends of May (i.e., April 18th) the matching of opponents for the games and gladiatorial shows took place across 38 days. __28; the number of beasts killed was 2,246. For the 7th day before the Kalends of June (May 26th), (Hadrian) Augustus vowed as an offering to Venus, __ days of gladiatorial fighting. The day before the Nones of June (June 4th) he inaugurated a second exhibit, with _III days of fighting, 195 gladiators put in place (to fight, and) the number of beasts killed 443.



The Dying Gladiator (or Wounded Gaul).

Gladiatorial Games, 1
(Illustration from *Temples, Tombs, and Monuments*, 105)

Gladiatorial Games, 2
(Illustration from *Temples, Tombs, and Monuments*, 146)



Gladiatorial Shows at a Banquet.

¹³⁴¹ The Latin text can be found in *Italia Epigrafica Digitale, II: Regio I—Latium et Campania. Fascicolo I. Ostia et Portus*, 494 [#620]. For both Latin text and another translation, see Chamberland, “The Production of Shows,” 76 [text] and 76, n. 198 [translation]; also see his remarks, 75–76.

1000 The Tiber River Overflows, 1

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹³⁴²

21.6 There was also an overflow of the Tiber.

1001 The Tiber River Overflows, 2

(Ps.-Aurelius, *Epitome*)¹³⁴³

13.12 In his time the river of Tiber overflowed more dangerously by far than in the reign of Nerva, and covered very many houses.

1002 Benefactions to Rome: Building Projects

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹³⁴⁴

19.9 He built public buildings in all places and without number,¹³⁴⁵ but he inscribed his own name on none of them except the temple of his father Trajan.

19.10 At Rome he restored the Pantheon, the Voting-enclosure, the Basilica of Neptune, very [*p. 61*] many temples,¹³⁴⁶ the Forum of Augustus, the Baths of Agrippa, and dedicated all of them in the names of their original builders.

19.11 Also he constructed the bridge named after himself, a tomb on the banks of the Tiber, and the temple of the Bona Dea.

19.12 With the aid of the architect Decrianus he raised the Colossus and, keeping it in an upright position, moved it away from the place in which the Temple of Rome is now, though its weight was so vast that he had to furnish for the work as many as twenty-four elephants.

19.13 This statue he then consecrated to the Sun, after removing the features of Nero, to whom it had previously been dedicated, and he also planned, with the assistance of the architect Apollodorus, to make a similar one for the Moon.

¹³⁴² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 65. When this happened is unknown; it may have been near the end of Trajan's reign (see next entry). Barry, "The Mouth of Truth," 21–22, suggests that the overflow of the Tiber and a fire that raged across the Campus Martius to the Forum Holitorium led Hadrian to rebuild not only the temples mentioned in *CIL* VI, 40521 (entry below), but to double the precinct of Fortuna and Mater Matuta within the limits of the Forum Boarium ("Cattle Market"). Barry writes, "[I]n any case, his reign saw a global redevelopment of the warehouses and tenements along the riverbank and its hinterland from Testaccio to the Forum Boarium and beyond." This, continues Barry, might also have meant restorations of the shrine to Hercules in the Forum Boarium.

¹³⁴³ Ps.-Aurelius, *Epitome* (Codrington trans.), 555; I have modernized the spelling. The flooding of the Tiber was not uncommon and may have occurred both in Trajan's reign and again in Hadrian's reign, or these two entries may be referring to one event late in Trajan's reign which Hadrian then addressed (perhaps as part of his effort to respond to the political crisis of the Four Consuls).

¹³⁴⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 59, 61.

¹³⁴⁵ On this passage see Stuart, "Imperial Methods of Inscription," 441–49.

¹³⁴⁶ Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 78, remarks, "The thrust of most of Hadrian's building in Rome is formal and religious." Hadrian's temple building is mentioned frequently in the sources. Other general remarks about this activity are found earlier in this volume (e.g., *Sibylline Oracles* XII and *HA: Severus Alexander* 43:6).

1003 Restorations in Rome [after 128 C.E.]

(Inscription at Rome)

[CIL VI, 981=CIL VI, 40519 and CIL VI, 40520]¹³⁴⁷

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, restored the old things that had fallen to pieces throughout the area of the city.

[829 repeated] Restoration in Rome, 1: Auguratorium [136 C.E.]

(Inscription at Rome)

[CIL VI, 976]¹³⁴⁸

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 20th time, twice hailed as *Imperator*, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, restored the decayed *Auguratorium* solely at his own expense.

1004 Restoration in Rome, 2: Fire-Damaged Building, 1

(Inscription at Rome)

[CIL VI, 979]¹³⁴⁹

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the ___ time, (restored) these burned temples___ (which had been built by) Gaius Marcus Publius ___ and had been damaged by fire ___

1005 Restoration in Rome, 3: Fire-Damaged Building, 2 [post 135 C.E.]

(Inscription at Rome)

[CIL VI, 40521]¹³⁵⁰

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the ___ time, three times consul, twice hailed as *Imperator*, Father of the Fatherland, Hadrian restored these temples [consumed] by fire, [of which] Gaius, Marcus and Publius Cornelius Cethegus had restored [the two old ones affected] and damaged by fire, [and had built a third].

¹³⁴⁷ *Imp(erator) Caesar Traianus | Hadrianus Aug(ustus), p(ater) p(atriciae), vetustate | dilapsas per regiones urbis restituit.* Among other places, the Latin text may be found online at EDCS (EDCS-00900231). The Latin *dilapsas*—‘had fallen to pieces’—can also be rendered ‘had decayed’ or ‘had collapsed’ or ‘had gone to ruin,’ etc. The sense is that these were restorations of older properties that either through simple neglect, or poverty, had gradually fallen apart.

¹³⁴⁸ The Latin text and a brief discussion of it is in Stuart, “Imperial Methods of Inscription,” 443. The *auguratorium* was where the auguries (omens used to help predict the future) were interpreted.

¹³⁴⁹ The Latin text and a brief discussion can be found in Stuart, “Imperial Methods of Inscription,” 443. It may be conjectured that following *has aedes incendio* was *consumptas restituit quarum* (thus, “these temples which had been consumed by fire were restored”). Following *Gaius Marcus Publius* was likely the remainder of his name, *Corneli Cethegi*.

¹³⁵⁰ Boatwright, “Hadrian and the Agrippa Inscription of the Pantheon,” 27 [#69]; the Latin text is also provided there. The brothers Gaius, Marcus and Publius, were all Corneli Cethegi, a distinguished Patrician family.



1006 Restoration in Italy,¹³⁵¹ 1: Aqueduct, 1

(Stone Building Inscription at Cingulum in Picenum, Italy)

[CIL IX, 5681]¹³⁵²

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the __ time, __ consul, restored the ancient aqueduct to Cingulum, which had fallen into ruin, at his own expense.

¹³⁵¹ Patterson, "The Emperor and the Cities of Italy," 91, notes in the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius there seems to be an uptick in imperial building in the towns of Italy; for the latter two emperors he offers examples: "Hadrian and Antoninus Pius build a series of temples in several towns; Hadrian embellishes the amphitheatre at Capua with columns (CIL X.3832, with Boatwright 2000: 126); Antoninus completes the construction of the Baths of Neptune at Ostia, initiated by his predecessor (CIL XIV.98 = ILS 334; SHA Antoninus Pius 8, with Boatwright 2000: 126–7). . . ." Patterson explores reasons for such generosity, including responding to natural disasters (see, e.g., Ceccaroni et al., "The 2nd Century AD Earthquake in Central Italy," conventionally dated to Trajan's reign but perhaps in Pius' reign).

¹³⁵² The Latin text and a brief discussion can be found in Stuart, "Imperial Methods of Inscription," 444. The Latin text also may be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-17300279).

1007 Restoration in Italy, 2: Aqueduct, 2

(Inscription at Gabii, Italy)

[*AE* 1982.142a-b; cf. *CIL* XIV, 2797]¹³⁵³

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the ___ time, 3 times consul, restored to newness the ancient aqueduct to Gabii, which had fallen into ruin.

1008 Restoration in Italy, 3: A Portico [132 C.E.]

(Inscription at Forum Sempronii (modern Fossombrone), Italy)

[*CIL* XI, 6115]¹³⁵⁴

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 16th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, restored the damaged ancient portico at his own expense.

1009 Benefactions throughout the Empire: Hadrian the Builder, 1

(Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*)¹³⁵⁵

VIII.7.2a He went about through the Roman empire, and founded many edifices.

1010 Benefactions throughout the Empire: Hadrian the Builder, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³⁵⁶

20.4 Though he cared nothing for inscriptions on his public works, he gave the name of Hadrianopolis to many cities,¹³⁵⁷ as, for example, even to Carthage and a section of Athens;

20.5 and he also gave his name to aqueducts without number.

¹³⁵³ The Latin text may be found online at *EDCS* (EDCS-05800777).

¹³⁵⁴ Among other places, the Latin text may be found online at *EDCS* (EDCS-23100602).

¹³⁵⁵ Eutropius. *Abridgement of Roman History* (Watson's trans.), 510. The Latin text can be found in Eutropius, *Breviarium ab Urbe Condita* (Rühl's ed.), 56. The correlation between Hadrian's visits and building activities or the erection of honorific statues is a highly imperfect one. Noreña, "Emperors, Benefaction and Honorific Practice," 208, in his examination of some of the provinces Hadrian visited found that of 33 cities visited, "there is good evidence of benefaction of one sort or another in just eighteen." Many of Hadrian's benefactions, following the model of Augustus, were religious in nature—to promote the imperial cult. See Joyce, "In the Footsteps of Augustus." (Joyce, 80, points out that Hadrian exceeded even Augustus in the number of altars dedicated to himself—over 100 altars in Athens alone.) On Hadrian's building activities in the East, see Mitchell, "Imperial Building in the Eastern Roman Provinces."

¹³⁵⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic's trans.), I, 53.

¹³⁵⁷ Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 401, comments on the most famous of these: "When Hadrian founded the city of Hadrianopolis on the great road from the Danube to Byzantium, a route ran south from it by Plotinopolis to join the Egnatian way. The name of Hadrianopolis has been written large on the page of history from its foundation to our day, when we know it as Adrianople."

BENEFICENCE TO FOREIGN KINGS

1011 Benefactions to Foreign Rulers

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³⁵⁸

17.10 He showed a multitude of favours to many kings, but from a number he even purchased peace, and by some he was treated with scorn;

17.11 to many he gave huge gifts, but none greater than to the king of the Hiberi, for to him he gave an elephant and a band of fifty men,¹³⁵⁹ in addition to magnificent presents.

17.12 And having himself received huge gifts from Pharasmanes, including some cloaks embroidered with gold, he sent into the arena three hundred condemned criminals dressed in gold-embroidered cloaks for the purpose of ridiculing the gifts of the king.

1012 Friend to Foreign Rulers

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³⁶⁰

21.10 The Parthians always regarded him as a friend because he took away the king whom Trajan had set over them.

21.11 The Armenians were permitted to have their own king, whereas under Trajan they had had a governor,

21.12 and the Mesopotamians were relieved of the tribute which Trajan had imposed.

21.13 The Albanians and Hiberians he made his friends by lavishing gifts upon their kings, even though they had scorned to come to him.

21.14 The kings of the Bactrians sent envoys to him to beg humbly for his friendship.

¹³⁵⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 55. See Braund, "Hadrian and Pharasmanes." Kemp, "Led across the Danube," 223 (with an alternate translation), comments on the passage in the *Vita Hadriani*, "While this text is not the most reliable for historical accuracy, it does imply that diplomacy was being described in terms of the relationship between Hadrian and the foreign king, of which gift exchange was a key characteristic." However, Kemp, 224, goes on to say of the gift exchange, "If this is true, it would show *gratia* being expressed by Pharasmanes for the *beneficia* from Hadrian, but the Roman emperor failing to display *gratia* in return." Cf. Kemp, "Amicitia, Gift-Exchange and Subsidies in Imperial Roman Diplomacy," 91–94.

¹³⁵⁹ Syme, "Hadrian and the Vassal Princes," 1442–43, observes, "Hadrian bestows a 'quingagenaria cohorts', Cohorts comprising fifty men lack attestation. Perhaps a token force like the hundred cavalymen Domitian despatched to comfort a people of inner Germany."

¹³⁶⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 55. For an alternate translation, and comments, see Kemp, "Led across the Danube," 225. The reference to the Bactrians is one of only two known concerning relations between them and the Romans; the other is with respect to Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius. Bactria and the Bactrians were part of the Kushan empire of northern India. Grenet, "Zoroastrianism among the Kushans," 221n.62, remarks, "Direct political contacts between the Kushans and the Roman empire are difficult to ascertain, as some eastern 'embassies' mentioned by Roman writers were probably no more than groups of traders." However, Grenet says of this text, "the information has the ring of truth . . ."

PIETY

c150 Pietas [119–120 C.E.]
(ANS; Denarius)¹³⁶¹



OBVERSE: IMP(erator) CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG(ustus): Bust of Hadrian, laureate, bare chest, traces of drapery on far shoulder usually visible, right.

REVERSE: P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunicia) P(otestas) CO(n)S(ul) III || VOT(a) PVB(lica) (in field): Pietas, veiled, standing right, raising both hands.

c151 Hadrian the Pious

(Hobler, *Records of Roman History*, 338 [#681])

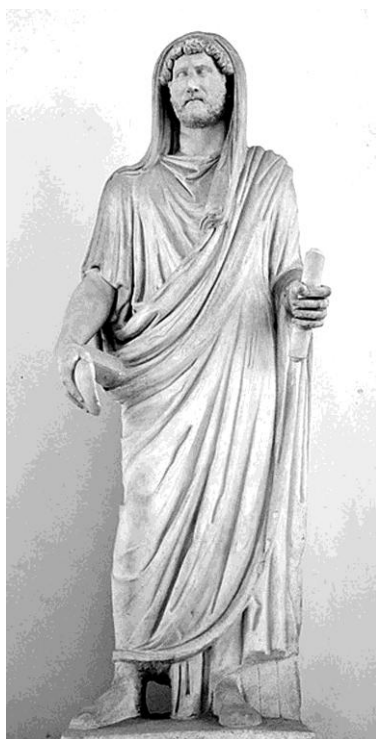
Legend reads: COS III (Consul 3 times)
(An eagle holding *fulmen* (lightning bolts)
representing Jupiter,¹³⁶² an owl standing on a
shield representing Minerva; a peacock
representing Juno.)



¹³⁶¹ Public domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (ANS); it, with text, can be seen at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Hadrian>). Image has been transformed to grayscale; text abbreviations are expanded. *RIC* II, Part 3 (2nd ed.) Hadrian 199. *Pietas* was a principal Roman virtue. It was a dutiful respect rendered as a matter of religious devotion and justice. *Pietas* was personified as a divine being, often depicted in female form.

¹³⁶² Golan, “Hadrian’s Decision to Supplant ‘Jerusalem’ with ‘Aelia Capitolina,’” 227, with reference to Pliny’s *Panegyricus*, remarks, “[T]ime and again, the slogans of the day underlined those notions according to which the best of all governments is that of emperor=*princeps*, an *optimus*, regarded as the living incarnation of the ideal order and political system, whose beneficence toward his subjects was no less than that of the heavenly father of the world—*mundi parens* (*ibid.*, 80, 4), the father of men and gods, *parens hominum deorumque* (*ibid.*, 88, 8). The analogy was simple: the relationship of Jupiter to heaven and earth was compared to the princeps in relation to Rome and its subjects.”

Pontifex Maximus
(Statue at Palazzo Nuovo, Capitoline Museums, Rome¹³⁶³)



[Excerpt from #24] Priest of Augustus
[112/113 C.E.]

(The Athen's Inscription)

[CIL III, 550]¹³⁶⁴

To Publius Aelius Hadrianus, son of Publius, of the Sergia tribe, . . . priest of Augustus. . .

¹³⁶³ The photo, courtesy of Carole Radatto can be found at *Following Hadrian* ([https:// following hadrian.com/portraits-of-hadrian/](https://followinghadrian.com/portraits-of-hadrian/)) and is made available by Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>). The photo embedded information is 13100265983_7763c8fe3e_h1.webp. The original photo was in color.

¹³⁶⁴ The translation of the Latin portion is from Harvey, *Roman Lives*, 24. See Timeline for more details. The Latin text can be found in Smallwood, *Documents*, 55 [#109], and many other places. The rendering of the Greek portion (ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐξακοσίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἄρχοντα ἑαυτῶν Ἀδριανόν) is from Warmington and Miller, *Inscriptions of the Roman Empire*, 66 [#95].

c152 Hadrian Offers Sacrifice
(Akerman, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 226 [#6]; description 237)



OBVERSE: HADRIANUS AUG. COS. III P. P. Hadrian Augustus, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland

REVERSE: VOTA PUBLICA. The emperor sacrificing, attended by four figures: one of them about to slay an ox; another playing on the double flute.

1013 Hadrian's Alleged Religious Inclinations

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹³⁶⁵

22.9b He despised foreign cults,

22.10 but native Roman ones he observed most scrupulously; moreover, he always performed the duties of pontifex maximus.¹³⁶⁶

1014 Religious Influences

(*Aurelius Victor, Book of the Caesars*)¹³⁶⁷

14.2 There, according to the manner of the Greeks, or (King) Pompilius Numa, he began to diligently attend to religious ceremonies, laws, schools and teachers—

14.3 so much so that he even established a school of the natural arts, which is called the Athenaeum,

14.4 and he established at Rome, in the manner of Athens, initiation into the rites of Ceres and Libera, which are called the Eleusinian Mysteries.

¹³⁶⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 53.

¹³⁶⁶ On the Pontifex Maximus, see Cameron, "Pontifex Maximus." Cameron, 141, remarks, "When they were away from Rome, pontifical duties were fulfilled by a *promagister*, presumably a senior member of the college, only known from inscriptions. Some have argued that the appointment of a deputy is a sign of the decreasing importance of the emperor's role as pontifex, but the first known dates from 155 CE, and it has plausibly been suggested that the office was a creation of Hadrian, to perform pontifical duties during his extended absences from Rome."

¹³⁶⁷ For an alternative rendering, see Aurelius Victor, *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus* (Bird trans.), 16. On the Eleusinian mysteries, see the materials with respect to his visits to Greece. The Latin text can be found in Aurelius Victor. *Liber de Caesaribus* (Pichlmayr's ed.), 92–93.

1015 ‘In the fashion of . . . Pompilius Numa:’¹³⁶⁸
Legend of King Numa Establishing Roman Pontiffs

(Livy, *History (Ab Urbe Condita)*)¹³⁶⁹

I.20.1–2 He then turned his attention to the appointment of priests, although he performed very many priestly duties himself, especially those which now belong to the Flamen Dialis. But inasmuch as he thought that in a warlike nation there would be more kings like Romulus than like Numa, and that they would take the field in person, he did not wish the sacrificial duties of the kingly office to be neglected, and so appointed a flamen for Jupiter, as his perpetual priest, and provided him with a conspicuous dress and the royal curule chair. To him he added two other flamens, one for Mars, the other for Quirinus.

1016 Legend of King Numa Elaborated by Cicero

(Cicero, *On the Commonwealth (De Re Publica)*)¹³⁷⁰

II.14 Numa likewise founded the higher class of auspices, adding two augurs to the original number, and also put the religious rites into the charge of five priests drawn from the foremost men of the state. By the laws which he promulgated and which we have preserved in our collections, he used the rites of religion to temper the customary ardor of the people for war.

1017 Benefactions, 1: Embellishing a Temple [120/121 C.E.]

(Inscription at Cingulum in Picenum, Italy)

[CIL X, 4574]¹³⁷¹

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 5th time, 3 times consul, at his own expense adorned the temple __ with Cubulterini blocks of marble.

¹³⁶⁸ Golan, “Hadrian’s Decision to Supplant ‘Jerusalem’ with ‘Aelia Capitolina,’” 231 n. 20, comments, “And in order to assure the association Numa = Hadrian, he struck coins with the image of Numa and the legend ‘*Romulo conditori*’ (Romulus the founder; see Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, I.21.6). The Flamen (‘priest’) Dialis (literally, ‘of the god,’ i.e., Jupiter) was high priest of the Roman god Jupiter (Greek Zeus). It ranked only below the Pontifex Maximus as a holy post, and was associated with numerous restrictions.

¹³⁶⁹ Livy, *Livy* (Foster trans.), I. 71 (with Latin text, p. 70). Hadrian was sometimes linked to Numa (see the Vergilian oracle in the *HA: Vita Hadriani* 2.8, or Aurelius Victor, *Book of the Caesars* 14.2, both quoted earlier in this volume). The comparison to Numa invites reflection on whether Hadrian also viewed religion as a way “to temper the customary ardor of the people for war.”

¹³⁷⁰ Latin text from Cicero, *De Re Publica Selections*, 73 (Zetzel ed.). English from Cicero, *On the Commonwealth*, 166–67 (Sabine and Smith trans.).

¹³⁷¹ The Latin text and a brief discussion can be found in Stuart, “Imperial Methods of Inscription,” 444. The Latin text also may be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-19700762). Cubulterini marble, deriving its name from quarries near Cubulteria, once an ancient Samnite city but in Hadrian’s day a municipium in Campania.

1018 Benefactions, 2: Restoring a Temple (to Fortuna?) [120/121 C.E.]

(Inscription at Antium, Italy)

[CIL X, 6652]¹³⁷²

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the fifth(?) time, restored the damaged ancient shrine ____.

[216 repeated] Benefactions, 3: Restoration of a Small Temple (*Faunum*) to Diana Nemorensis [122/123 C.E.]

(Inscription of Dedication at Nemus Aricunum, near Aricia in Latium, Italy)

[CIL XIV, 2216=AE 2000.251]¹³⁷³

To Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 6th time, three times Consul, restored the ancient damaged *faunum* which Darius, son of the king of the Parthian Arsacides, had built.

1019 Benefactions, 4: Restoring a Temple of Goddess Cupra [127 C.E.]

(Inscription at Cupra Maritima, Italy)

[CIL IX, 5294]¹³⁷⁴

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 11th time, 3 times Consul, out of his own generosity restored the Temple of the Goddess Cupra.

1020 Benefactions, 5: Restoring a Statue of Goddess Juno [136/137 C.E.]

(Inscription at Lanuvium, Italy)

[CIL XIV, 2088=ILS 316]¹³⁷⁵

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 20th time, 3 times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, ordered the statue of Juno Sospita, the Great Queen (*Iunoni Sospiti Magnae Reginae*), to be made and to be consecrated of (previous offerings of) 3 pounds of gold and 26 pounds of silver, the gifts having been corrupted by age (*vetustate corruptis fieri*).

¹³⁷² The Latin text and a brief discussion can be found in Stuart, “Imperial Methods of Inscription,” 444; also at EDCS (EDCS-21300937). The missing word may be *Fortunae* (i.e., the Temple of Fortuna was restored). Antium is known to have had temples to Fortuna and Aesculapius.

¹³⁷³ The Latin text and discussion can be found in Stuart, “Imperial Methods of Inscription,” 444. The Latin text also may be viewed online at EDCS (EDCS-05800179). ‘Parthian Arsacides’ refers to the Arsacide line of kings that ruled Parthia. Stuart reads ‘Phraatis (?)’ rather than ‘Dareius.’

¹³⁷⁴ The Latin text and a brief discussion can be found in Stuart, “Imperial Methods of Inscription,” 444. The Latin text also may be viewed online at EDCS (EDCS-15800549).

¹³⁷⁵ The Latin text can be viewed EDCS (EDCS-05800049). Schultz, “Juno Sospita,” 211, writes, “In the particular case of the restoration of something *vetustate corruptum*, like the offerings in Juno Sospita’s Lanuvian sanctuary, the advertisement of such an activity promotes the *pietas* of the individual responsible.”

1021 Hadrian Inaugurates the Temple of Roma and Venus, 1 [135 C.E.]¹³⁷⁶

(Jerome's *Chronicle (Chronicon)*)¹³⁷⁷

227th Olympiad. XV d' The temple of Rome and Venus built by Hadrian.

1022 Hadrian Inaugurates the Temple of Roma and Venus, 2 [135 C.E.]

(Cassiodorus, *Chronicle*, 788–789, attributed to 135 C.E.)¹³⁷⁸

788 Pompeianus and Atilianus

789 Under these consuls the temple of Rome and Venus was built, which now is called the City Temple.

c153 Coin of Temple of Venus and Rome
(Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 8 [Fig. 31])



FIG. 31. — TEMPLE DE VÉNUS
ET DE ROME.

Temple of Venus and Rome, 1
(D'Espouy, *One Hundred Selected Plates*, 187)



¹³⁷⁶ The building of the temple began much earlier—consecration in 121 C.E., and construction starting in 125 C.E.—but was not actually completed until 141 C.E. (under Antoninus Pius). Located near the Colosseum, it was at the eastern end of the *Forum Romanum*. As Dio, LXIX.4.3, suggests, Hadrian appears to have been intimately involved in the planning of the temple.

¹³⁷⁷ Roger Pearse et al. at the Tertullian Project (http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm), which they kindly placed in the public domain (“All material on this page is in the public domain - copy freely”).

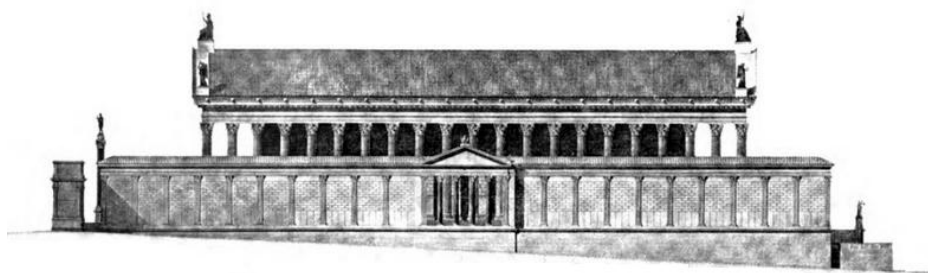
¹³⁷⁸ Procee, *Cassiodorus Chronicle*, 30. The Latin text can be found in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, XI (Mommsen ed.); see pp. 109–161 for complete text. Cf. Dio, LXIX.4.3, concerning Hadrian’s consultation with Apollodorus concerning the plan of the temple.

Temple of Venus and Rome, 2
(Built by Hadrian between 121 and 135 C.E.)
 (Illustration from Adams, *Temples, Tombs, and Monuments*, 185)

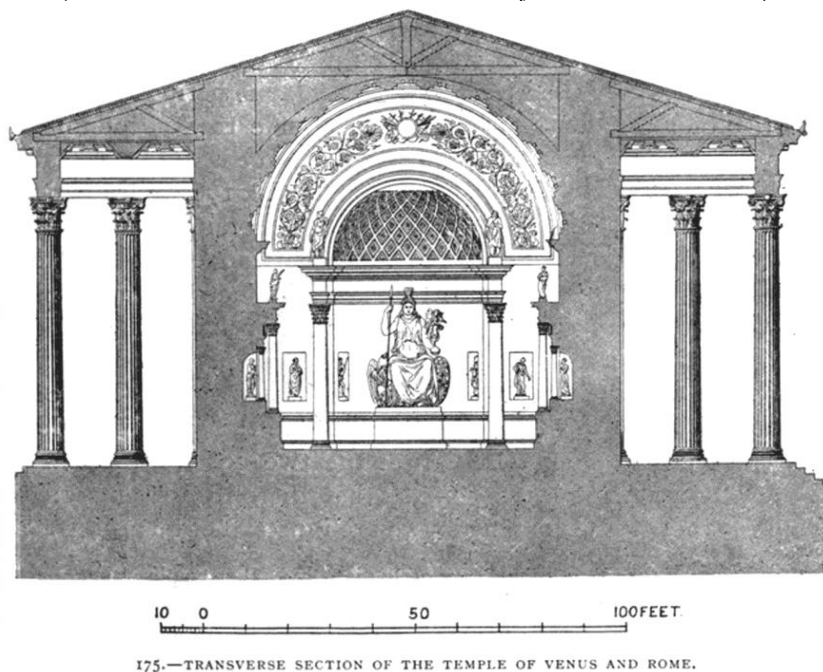


TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROMA, WITH THE META SUDANS AND ARCH OF TITUS.

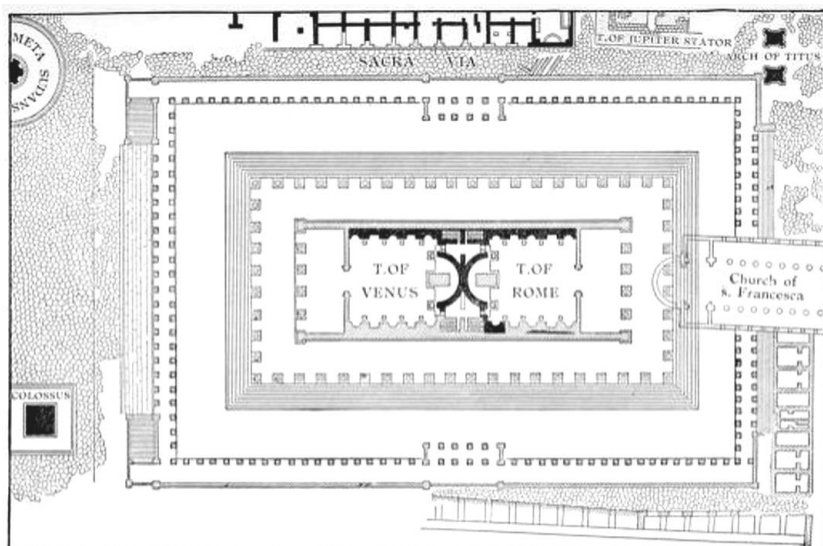
Temple of Venus and Rome, 3
 (D'Espouy, *One Hundred Selected Plates*, 189)



Temple of Venus and Rome, 4
 (Illustration from Anderson, *Architecture of Greece and Rome*, 213)



Plan of Temple of Venus and Rome
 (Illustration from Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 195)



SUMMING UP HADRIAN'S CHARACTER

1023 A Man of Contrasts, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹³⁷⁹

LXIX.5.1a Other traits for which people found fault with him were his great strictness, his curiosity and his meddlesomeness.¹³⁸⁰

5.1b Yet he balanced and atoned for these defects by his careful oversight, his prudence, his munificence and his skill; furthermore, he did not stir up any war, and he terminated those already in progress; and he deprived no one of money unjustly, while upon many—communities and private citizens, [p. 435] senators and knights—he bestowed large sums.

LXIX.5.2a Indeed, he did not even wait to be asked, but acted in absolutely every case according to the individual needs.

1024 A Man of Contrasts, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹³⁸¹

14.11 He was, in the same person, austere and genial, dignified and playful, dilatory and quick to act, niggardly and generous, deceitful and straight-forward, cruel¹³⁸² and merciful, and always in all things changeable.

1025 A Summary of His Nature and Character

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)¹³⁸³

14.6 He was multifaceted; with respect to vices and virtues¹³⁸⁴ it was as if he was born to be a referee, by a certain talent being able to rule the impulses of his mind. So he expertly covered his envious, harsh, and lustful nature, and his immoderate showing off; he simulated self-control, a good nature, and forbearance to conceal the fiery ambition with which he burned.

¹³⁷⁹ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 433, 435.

¹³⁸⁰ Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, V.5.7, makes the remark in passing that Hadrian was “busy in all curious matters” (Ἀδριανός, καίτοι γε πάντα τὰ περίεργα πολυπραγμονῶν. . .).

¹³⁸¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 47.

¹³⁸² See *HA* 20.3: *Marius Maximus dicit eum natura crudelum* . . . (“Marius Maximus says that he was naturally cruel . . .”).

¹³⁸³ For a different English translation of Ps. Aurelius Victor see Banchich's online rendering at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. The Latin text can be found in Pichlmayr's edition of the *Epitome* in the collected works of *Sexti Aurelii Victoris*, 150.

¹³⁸⁴ It is worth noting that Hadrian, through his coinage, promoted an imperial ideology of virtues—those moral qualities as an emperor he wished to especially associate himself with as an exemplar of a good emperor. Noreña, “The Communication of the Emperor's Virtues,” 155, documents that nearly a quarter of the *denarii* issues under Hadrian expressed one or another imperial virtue. Noreña, 157, notes that *Patientia* (lit., ‘patience’ but with a range of meanings, including hardness, persistence, forbearance and long-sufferingness) is unique to Hadrian as an expressed virtue. Hadrian, writes Noreña, 159, introduced *Pudicitia*—sexual chastity—which after him was employed with female members of the emperor's family to advertise that their modesty, propriety and chastity reflected on the emperor's honor; this type can be found on coins of Sabina (see chapter 13). Noreña, 161, points out *liberalitas* (‘generosity’) also first appears on coins under Hadrian (and see Noreña's discussion of this virtue, 161–64).

Chapter 12

Hadrian in Private

Hadrian
(Lee, *Roman Imperial Profiles*, Plate 42)

XLII.



HADRIANUS.

GENERAL HABITS

1026 A Considerate Man

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*¹³⁸⁵)

LXIX.7.2 When he returned home he was wont to be carried in a litter, in order not to trouble anyone to accompany him. On the days that were neither sacred nor suitable for public business he remained at home, and admitted no one, even so much as just to greet him, unless it were on some urgent matter; this was in order to spare people a troublesome duty.

1027 Acting Like a *Privatus*

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹³⁸⁶

9.7 But when at Rome, he frequently attended the official functions of the praetors and consuls, appeared at the [p. 31] banquets of his friends, visited them twice or thrice a day when they were sick, even those who were merely knights and freedmen, cheered them by words of comfort, encouraged them by words of advice, and very often invited them to his own banquets.

9.8 In short, everything that he did was in the manner of a private citizen.

¹³⁸⁵ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 437.

¹³⁸⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 29, 31. *HA* 9.7 appears as a separate entry in the section on Hadrian's relations with the Senate.

1028 Setting a Model for Others

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹³⁸⁷

22.1b Discipline in civil life he maintained as rigorously as he did in military

PRACTICE OF FRIENDSHIP

1029 A Loyal Friend, Who Received Loyalty in Return

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹³⁸⁸

LXIX.7.4 When his friends were very ill, he would visit them, and he would attend their festivals, and was glad to stay at their country seats and their town houses.¹³⁸⁹ Hence he also placed in the Forum images of many when they were dead and of many while they were still alive. No one of [p. 439] his associates, moreover, displayed insolence or took money for divulging anything that Hadrian either said or did, as the freedmen and other attendants in the suite of emperors are accustomed to do.

1030 Acting Like a Friend

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹³⁹⁰

17.3 At the Saturnalia and Sigillaria he often surprised his friends with presents, and he gladly received gifts from them and again gave others in return.

LOVER OF THE ‘GOOD LIFE’

1031 Lifestyles of the Rich

(Aurelius Victor, *Book of the Caesars*)¹³⁹¹

14.6 Hadrian himself, in the manner of the happily wealthy, constructed huge mansions and zealously undertook lavish feasts, statuary and paintings; in the end, he anxiously watched for any chance to possess every luxury and plaything.

¹³⁸⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 67.

¹³⁸⁸ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 437, 439. On freedmen, cf. entry #988.

¹³⁸⁹ Citing this text, Destephen, "The Time Travelling Emperor," 67, argues, "One passage proves that Hadrian would often visit friends in their country houses. In other words, he stayed in aristocratic mansions located in the metropolitan area of Rome, the so-called *suburbium*, and the countryside of Latium and Campania."

¹³⁹⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 53. *Saturnalia* was one of the most famous Roman holidays. Celebrated near the Winter solstice in mid-December (17th–23rd), the holiday honored the god Saturn as the deity of sowing seeds—a looking forward to Spring while in the shortest days of the year. Following a religious service at Saturn's temple there was a great feast open to the public. The holiday was famously marked for its reversal of traditional norms, such as substituting private dress (the *synthesis*) for formal public dress (the *toga*), and relaxing master/slave roles to the extent that a slave might wear a master's clothes, enjoy a master's meal, and even disobey a command without fear of punishment. The spirit of equalizing all through the relaxation of certain norms was symbolized by members of all classes wearing a freedman's cap. In households a 'Lord of Misrule' was appointed to act the fool and cause mischief to foster the merriment of all. The last day of Saturnalia was *Sigillaria* (Dec. 23), and the same name was used for the gifts (wax figurines or wax fruit, candles, pottery, etc.) given as gifts at Saturnalia.

¹³⁹¹ Aurelius Victor, *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus*, Bird translation, 16–17. The Latin text can be found in Aurelius Victor. *Liber de Caesaribus*, Pichlmayr's edition, 93.

LOVE OF FOOD & BANQUETS

1032 Lover of Fine Food and Good Company

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹³⁹²

LXIX.7.3 Both in Rome and abroad he always kept the noblest men about him, and he used to join them at banquets and for this reason often took three others into his carriage. He went hunting as often as possible, and he breakfasted without wine; he used to eat a good deal, and often in the midst of trying a case he would partake of food; later he would dine in the company of all the foremost and best men, and their meal together was the occasion for all kinds of discussions.

1033 Receiving Senators

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹³⁹³

22.4 At banquets, when senators came, he received them standing, and he always reclined at table dressed either in a Greek cloak or in a toga.

1034 Fiscal Sensibility with Banquets

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹³⁹⁴

22.5 The cost of a banquet he determined on each occasion, all with the utmost care, and he reduced the sums that might be expended to the amounts prescribed by [p. 69] the ancient laws.

1035 Banqueting and Food

(Letter of Fronto to Marcus [c. 162 C.E.])¹³⁹⁵

We know, too, that your grandfather, a learned ruler and a strenuous, loving not only to govern the world, but to go up and down in it, was yet devoted to music and flute-players, and was withal a right good eater of right rich banquets.

1036 Entertainment at Banquets

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹³⁹⁶

26.4. At his banquets he always furnished, according to the occasion, tragedies, comedies, Atellan farces, players on the sambuca, readers, or poets.

1037 Gold Embroidered Napkins

(*HA: Life of Severus Alexander*)¹³⁹⁷

37.2 None but white napkins were used, though they often had a scarlet stripe; but they were never embroidered in gold, though these had been introduced by Elagabalus, and even before his time, they say by Hadrian.

¹³⁹² Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 437.

¹³⁹³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 67, 69.

¹³⁹⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 67, 69.

¹³⁹⁵ Latin text (p. 8) and English translation (p. 9) from Fronto, *Correspondence*, II. Hadrian was Marcus Aurelius' grandfather because when he made Antoninus his heir by adoption he insisted Antoninus also adopt Marcus as a son.

¹³⁹⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 79.

¹³⁹⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), II, 249.

1038 Food Preferences, 1

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹³⁹⁸

21.4 As an article of food he was singularly fond of tetrpharmacum, which consisted of pheasant, sow's udders, ham, and pastry.

1039 Food Preferences, 2

(*HA: Life of Aelius*)¹³⁹⁹

5.4 For it is Verus who is said to have been the inventor of the tetrpharmacum, or rather pentapharmacum, of which Hadrian was thereafter always fond, namely, a mixture of sows' udders, pheasant, peacock, ham in pastry and wild boar.

1040 A Careful Host

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁴⁰⁰

17.4 In order to detect dishonesty in his caterers, when he gave banquets with several tables he gave orders that platters from the other tables, even the lowest, should be set before himself.

1041 More Sensible than the Emperor Vitellius

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁴⁰¹

LXIV.3.3. For example, he once caused a dish to be made that cost a million sesterces, into which he put a mixture of tongues and brains and livers of certain fishes and birds. As it was impossible to make so large a vessel of pottery, it was made of silver and remained in existence for some time, being regarded somewhat in the light of a votive offering, until Hadrian finally set eyes on it and melted it down.

1042 A Rumor Allegedly Spread by Hadrian (at a Banquet?) Concerning the Death of Emperor Vespasian in 79 C.E.

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁴⁰²

LXVI.17.1. It was after the events just narrated that Vespasian fell sick, not, if the truth be known, of his accustomed gout, but of a fever, and passed away at Aquae Cutilae in the Sabine country. Some, however, in the endeavor falsely to incriminate Titus,—among them the Emperor Hadrian,—spread the report that he was poisoned at a banquet.

¹³⁹⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 65.

¹³⁹⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 93. On the *tetrpharmacum* also see *HA: Severus Alexander* 30.6 (*ususque est Hadriani tetrpharmacum frequenter, de quo in libris suis Marius Maximus loquitur, cum Hadriani disserit vitam*).

¹⁴⁰⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 53.

¹⁴⁰¹ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 225 (speaking about the Emperor Vitellius, 69 C.E.). Vitellius was notorious for his 'binge and purge' behavior at banquets, which he held three or four of each day (Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* VII.7.1 (on his appetite); VII.13.1–3 (on his banquets); also, VII.15.3 (on his feasting while viewing a battle)).

¹⁴⁰² *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 295. Haley, "Hadrian as Romulus," 974, observes that the author of Sybilline Oracles V (line 39), by allusion to the rumor of Titus' assassination of his father, shows his awareness of this idea by Hadrian.

LOVE OF ANIMALS & HUNTING

c154 *Love of the Hunt*

(Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 7 [Fig. 26])

1043 *Love of His Horses and Dogs*

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁴⁰³

20.12 His horses and dogs he loved so much that he provided burial-places for them. . . .



FIG. 26. — HADRIEN CHASSANT.

1044 *Love of Hunting, 1 [124 C.E.]*

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁴⁰⁴

LXIX.10.2a He is said to have been enthusiastic about hunting. Indeed, he broke his collar-bone at this pursuit and came near getting his leg maimed; and to a city that he founded in Mysia he gave the name of Hadrianotherae. However, he did not neglect any of the duties of his office because of this pastime. . . .

LXIX.10.3² He was so skilful in the chase that he once brought down a huge boar with a single blow.¹⁴⁰⁵

1045 *Love of Hunting, 2*

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁴⁰⁶

26.3. He also hunted, and he used often to kill a lion with his own hand, but once in a hunt he broke his collar-bone and a rib; these hunts of his he always shared with his friends.

¹⁴⁰³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 65. On Hadrianotherae, also see entry #1046 (next page). Hadrianotherae was located in central Mysia. The region of Mysia, above Phrygia, had more than one town named for Hadrian; there were also Hadrianea, and Hadriani ad Olympon (along the border with Bithynia and sometimes assigned to it instead). All three of these places are associated with his visit to the region in 123 C.E. See Gülbay, "Emperor Hadrian's Reconstruction Projects in Mysia and Bithynia." Also see entry and accompanying map, p. 586.

¹⁴⁰⁴ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 443 (10.2a), 445 (10.3²). Hadrian's hunts are celebrated, too, in a series of sculptured medallions preserved in the Arch of Constantine (for description and pictures, see Raddato, "The Hadrianic Tondi on the Arch of Constantine" at her *Following Hadrian* website (<https://followinghadrian.com/2016/08/18/the-hadrianic-tondi-on-the-arch-of-constantine/>)).

¹⁴⁰⁵ Hadrian loved hunting and did so many places. But it is believed his first love for hunting was born in Spain.

¹⁴⁰⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 65. On killing a lion in a hunt, see entry #1090 (p. 618), his famous hunt with Antinous. The tondo on the Arch of Constantine shows him in Greek hunting dress. On sharing hunts with others, see entry #166, which is excerpted on p. 587.

1046 Commemorating a Hunt: The Founding of Hadrianotherae, Mysia
[124 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)

20.13 and in one locality he founded a town called Hadrianothrae,¹⁴⁰⁷ because once he had hunted successfully there and killed a bear.

Location of Hadrianotherae in Mysia

(Excerpted from Map of Asia in *Justus Perthes' Atlas Antiquus*, #7)



Marks the location
of Hadrianothrae
(‘Hadrian’s Hunt’)

¹⁴⁰⁷ Magic, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, 798, writes, "The road to the Caicus valley, however, turning to the south-west, led over the hills above the left bank of a tributary of the Macestus . . . and through the pass of Demirkapi to the broad plain of Balikesir, in which the city of Hadrianotherae was afterward founded. . . ." The city sat about 30 Roman mileposts from Miletopolis. The famous sophist Publius Aelius Aristides was born there. Also see n. 1403.

*c155 Hadrianotherae*¹⁴⁰⁸

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 366) →



*Bear Hunt Tondo,
Arch of Constantine
(Courtesy of
Carole Raddato)*¹⁴⁰⁹



1047 Dedication of a Bear Skin to Eros at Thespieae [125 C.E.]

(Epigram of Hadrian)

[Kaibel, *Epig. Graec.* #811=FGE V=IG VII 1828]¹⁴¹⁰

Archer, Cyprian Goddess' son,
Heliconian Thespieae's Lord,
Who Narcissus' fields does own,
Hadrian's offering take, reward—

Spoils of bear which he did slay,
Smote from horseback in hot chase:
Now, O wise one, him repay—
Grant him Aphrodite's grace!

[Excerpt from #166] An Alleged Plot to Take Advantage of Hadrian's Love of Hunting

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁴¹¹

LXIX.2.5 Those who were slain at the beginning were Palma and Celsus, Nigrinus and Lusius, the first two for the alleged reason that they had conspired against him during a hunt. . . .

¹⁴⁰⁸ Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 4, points out, "When Hadrian passed through Mysia in 123 A. D., to improve the administration of the area, he gathered the Mysian tribes into three separate cities which bore his name: Hadrianotherae, Hadriana, and Hadriani."

¹⁴⁰⁹ Courtesy of Carole Raddato at *Following Hadrian* (<https://followinghadrian.com/2016/08/18/the-hadrianic-tondi-on-the-arch-of-constantine/>), by Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>). This work has been excerpted and modified from color to grayscale. The tondo on the Arch of Constantine shows Hadrian on horseback, racing to the right as he makes his kill; note he is in the company of another hunter.

¹⁴¹⁰ Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 16–17; I changed his "dost" to "does." Cf. the translation in Bowie, "Hadrian and Greek Poetry," 180–81. Greek text in Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 329. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, 565, notes both Dio and the *HA* and adds, "Kaibel supposed the bear comes from the present epigram." (See Kaibel, 330).

¹⁴¹¹ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 427.

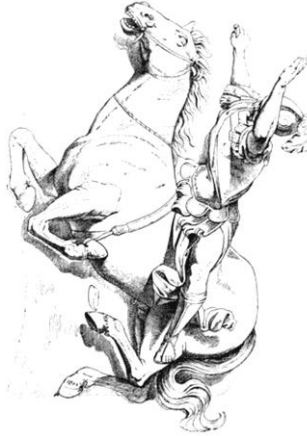
1048 Love of His Horse, Borysthenes¹⁴¹²

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁴¹³

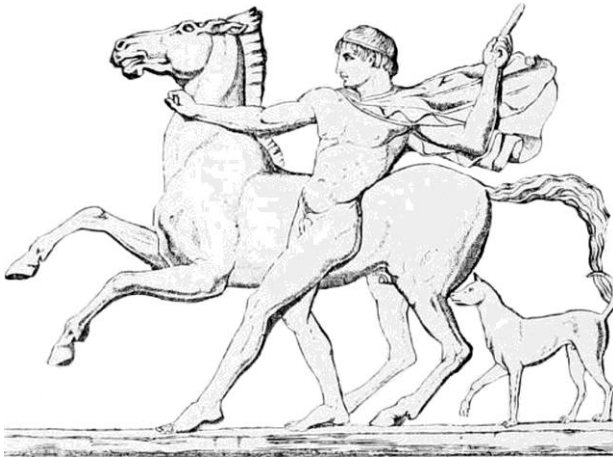
LXIX.10.2b Some light is thrown upon his passion for hunting by what he did for his steed Borysthenes, which was his favourite horse for the chase; when the animal died, he prepared a tomb for him, set up a slab and placed an inscription upon it.

[Also see entries on Borysthenes and on Samis, in chapter 12]

A Horse Rears Up: Image at Hadrian's Villa, Tibur (Tivoli), Italy
(Illustration from Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 250 [Fig. 409])



A Horse for the Hunt: Image at Hadrian's Villa, Tibur (Tivoli), Italy
(Illustration from Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 248 [Fig. 403])



¹⁴¹² Chronologically, this belongs to the second long journey of Hadrian, not his first tour of Gaul-Britain-Spain.

¹⁴¹³ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 443.

TIBUR (TIVOLI)

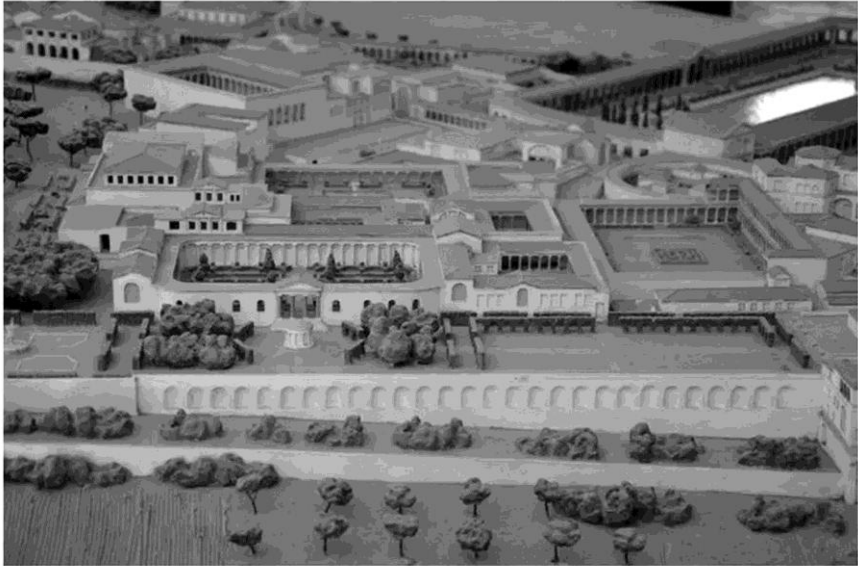
1049 Hadrian's Private Retreat

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹⁴¹⁴

26.5 His villa at Tibur was marvellously constructed, and he actually gave to parts of it the names of provinces and places of the greatest renown, calling them, for instance, Lyceum, Academia, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poecile and Tempe. And in order not to omit anything, he even made a Hades.¹⁴¹⁵

Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, 1

(Model, 1¹⁴¹⁶)



Model of Hadrian's Villa showing the Imperial Palace.

1050 Hadrian Retreats to Tibur (Tivoli) [137 C.E.?]

(Aurelius Victor, *Book of the Caesars*)¹⁴¹⁷

14.5 Then, as is normal in peaceful circumstances, he retired somewhat negligently to his country retreat at Tivoli, leaving the city to Lucius Aelius Caesar.¹⁴¹⁸

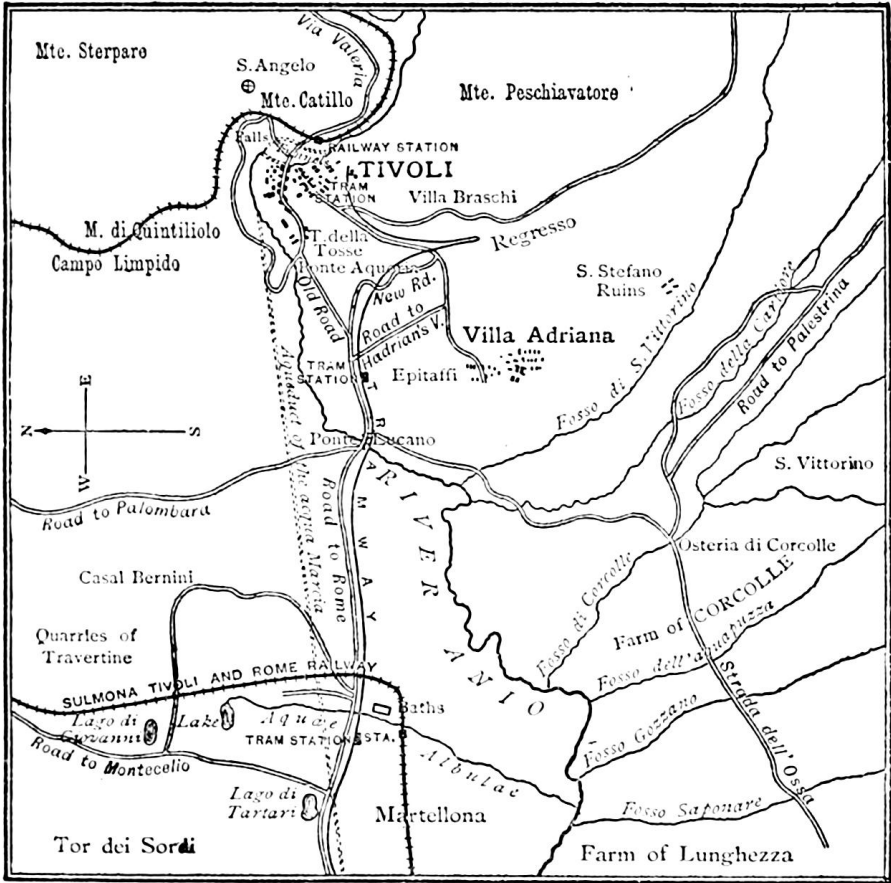
¹⁴¹⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 65. Bourne, "A Study of Tibur," 27, comments, "It is surmised that Hadrian chose the location for his villa so that he would be near the baths of Aquae Albulae. . . ."

¹⁴¹⁵ Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 79, comments, "As a utopian expression of a multifaceted world that worked with efficient beauty, its closest analogy may be Disneyland."

¹⁴¹⁶ Courtesy of Carole Raddato at *Following Hadrian* (<https://following-hadrian.com/hadrians-villa/>), by Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>). This work has been modified from color to grayscale.

¹⁴¹⁷ Aurelius Victor, *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus* (Bird trans.), 16. The Latin text can be found in Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus* (Pichlmayr's ed.), 93.

Hadrian's Villa in Relation to Tibur (Tivoli)
(*A Handbook of Rome and the Campagna*, 373)



Walker & Boutall sc.

TIVOLI AND ITS IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS.

1051 Hadrian and Tibur [133/134 C.E.]

(Inscription at Tibur (Tivoli))

[SEOR II¹, 235]¹⁴¹⁹

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 17th time, three times consul.

¹⁴¹⁸ This was his first heir, Lucius Commodus, renamed Lucius Aelius Verus; see Dio, LXIX.171b and materials elsewhere in this volume.

¹⁴¹⁹ The Latin text can be found in *Sylloge Epigraphica Orbis Romani* (Vigliori ed), II¹, 34 [#235]. Gregorovius, *Life of Hadrian*, 367, offers his opinion that “the villa at Tivoli stands out above everything that Hadrian created, and unlike anything else in the world, forms his most splendid monument.”

1052 Lifestyles of the Rich

(Aurelius Victor, *Book of the Caesars*)¹⁴²⁰

14.6 He himself, as is the custom with the fortunate rich, built palaces and devoted himself to dinner parties, statuary and paintings, and finally took sufficient pains [p. 17] to procure every luxury and plaything.

Hadrian's Villa at Tibur, 2
(Gusman, *La villa imperiale*, 65)



FIG. 74. — ENTRÉE ACTUELLE DE LA VILLA HADRIANA.

1053 Mention of Hadrian's Villa

(Excerpt from a Poem found at Aqua Albulae)

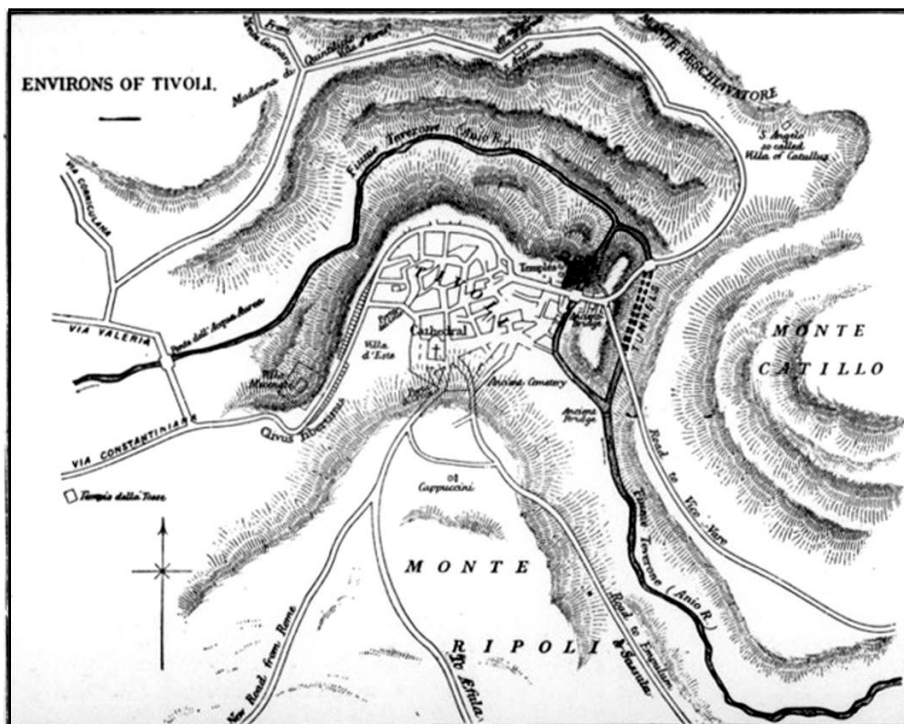
[CIL XIV, 3911]¹⁴²¹

in this place where you delight, Goddess of the Waters,
to run beneath the road,
where the Lord of Tibur looks down upon your Temple,
even as you face him and the brightly painted
Aelian villa.

¹⁴²⁰ Aurelius Victor, *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus* (Bird trans.), 16–17. The Latin text can be found in Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus* (Pichlmayr's ed.), 93.

¹⁴²¹ The Latin text can be found at *Inscriptiones Latii Veteris Latinae* (Dessau's ed.), XIV, 436; cf. the same at *EDSC* (EDCS-05801911). The entire text of CIL XIV, 3911 is given in chapter 15; see p. 635 [#1128].

*Area of Tivoli (Tibur)*¹⁴²²
(Burn, *Ancient Rome and Its Neighborhood*, 271)



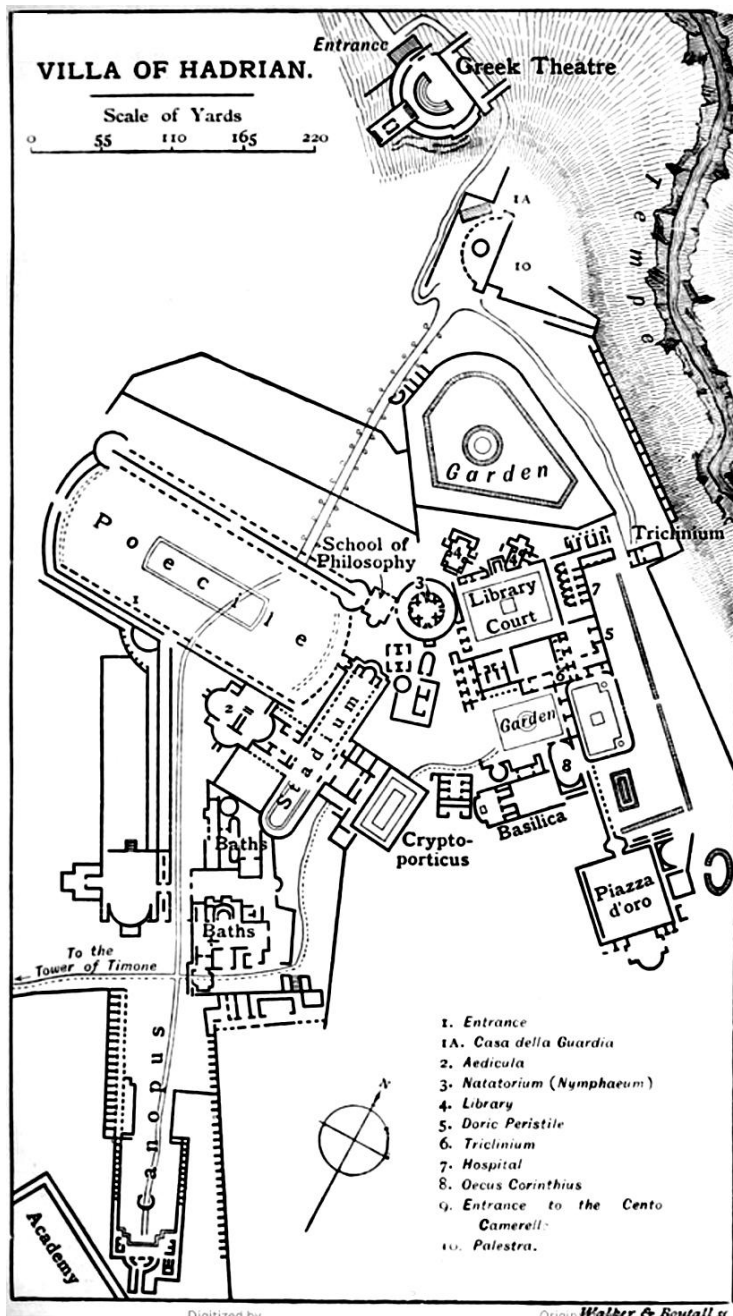
1054 Cult of Hercules at Tibur
(Inscription on a Statue Base at Tibur}
[CIL XIV, 4258]¹⁴²³

To Marcus Tullius Blaesus erected by his wife Tullia Berenice, and his daughter Tullia Blæsilla, he being one of the benefactors of the city. He was priest of the Salii, Curator of the temple of Hercules Victor, admitted to the College of the high priests, and finally this place of honour was given him by a decree of the Senate.

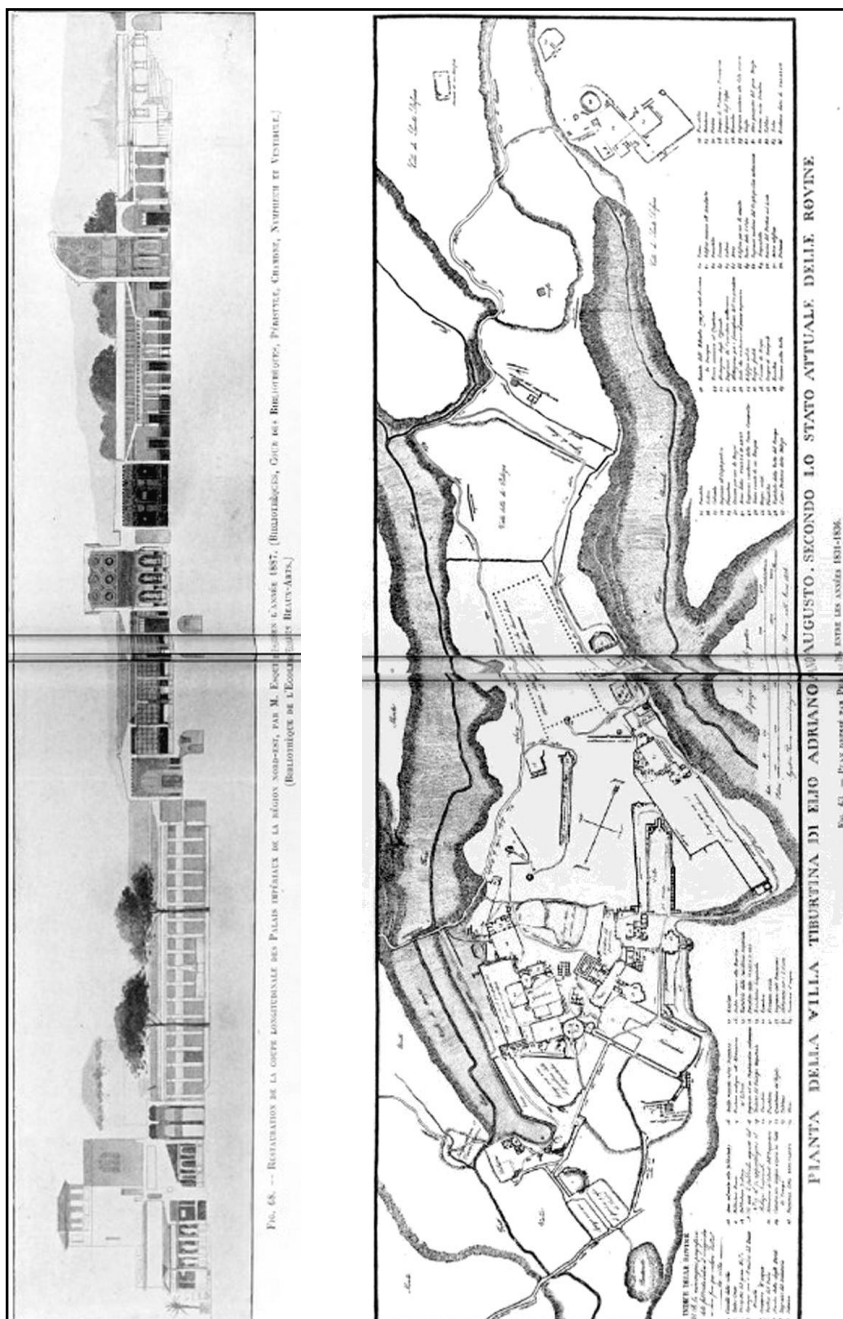
¹⁴²² Searle, *Sketches of Tivoli*, 4, writes, "The situation of Tivoli, 830 feet above the level of the sea, places it above the malarious influence of the Campagna, and the natural drainage, together with the shelter that the Sabine mountains afford from the north winds, and the extent of cultivated land all round, has always made it one of the favorite residences near Rome." Bourne, "A Study of Tibur," 7, remarks, "The Via Tuburtina, which led from Rome to Tibur, was one of the most important Roman roads." Also, "The Anio was navigable in classical times, and thus formed another line of communication with Rome. In this way the travertine, which was such an important building material, was shipped to Rome. . . ."

¹⁴²³ Searle, *Sketches of Tivoli*, 54–55 (with Latin text, 54). The Latin text can be viewed online at EDCS (EDCS-05802244). Searle, 55, notes, "The fact that Blaesus belonged to the College of the Salii, or priests of Mars, proves him to have been of patrician rank." Blaesus was prominent in the reign of Hadrian and into that of Antoninus. Cf. CIL XIV, 4259.

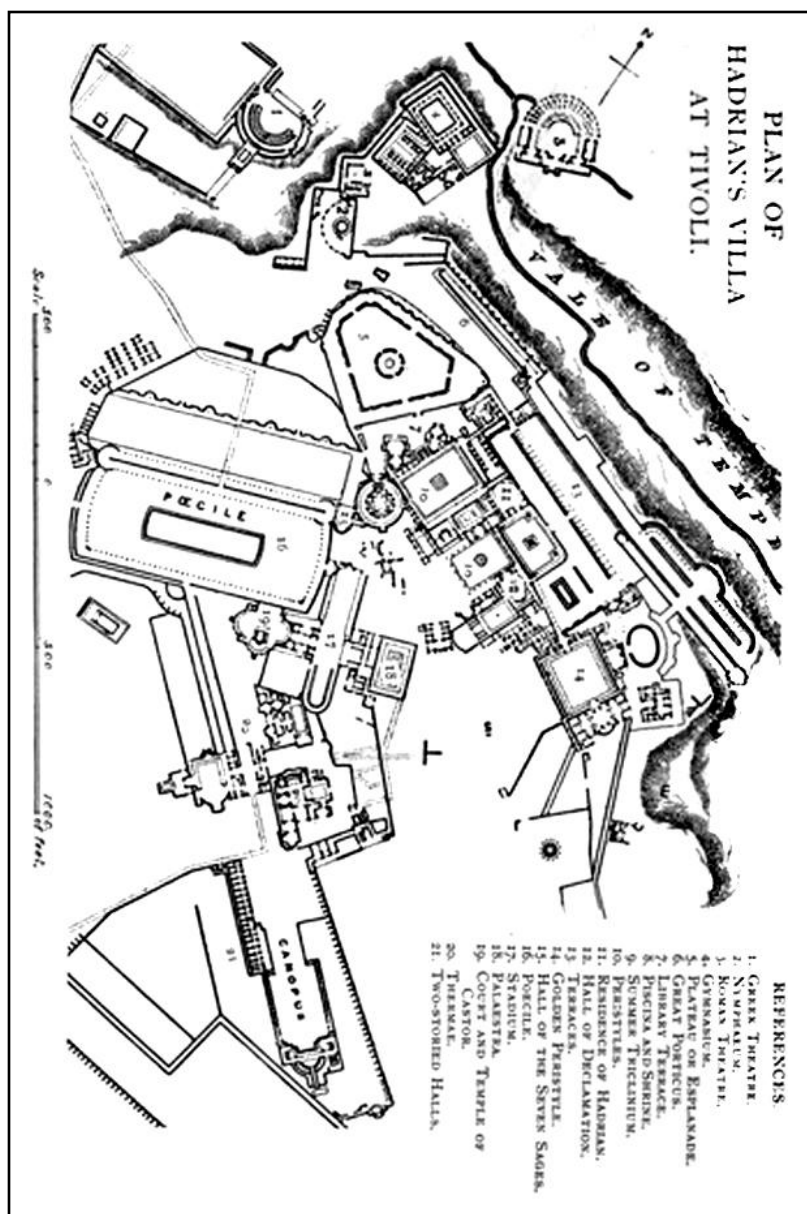
General Plan of Hadrian's Villa, 1
(A Handbook of Rome and the Campagna, facing 374)



Hadrian's Villa: Artist's Restoration and Map
(Early 20th Century, from Gusman, *La villa de imperiale*, 57)



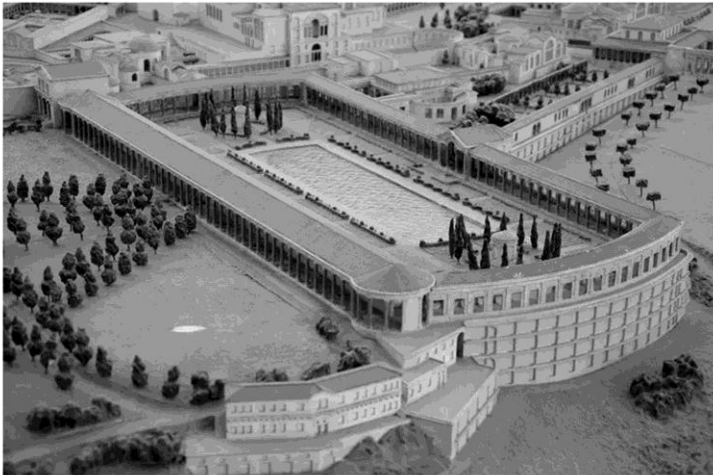
General Plan of Hadrian's Villa, 2
(Anderson and Spiers, *Architecture of Greece and Rome*, 293)



Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, 3–4
(Model¹⁴²⁴)



Model of Hadrian's Villa showing the Piazza d'Oro (Golden Hall) and the Gladiator's Arena. The plan of Piazza d'Oro very similar to that of Hadrian's Stoa in Athens which was a library built by Hadrian during the same period (AD 123-125).



Model of Hadrian's Villa showing the Pecile and the Hundred Chambers. The so-called Hundred Chambers created a massive system of substructures for the Pecile which rose 15 m above the surface on its western side.

¹⁴²⁴ Both photos and captions are by Carole Raddato at *Following Hadrian* (<https://following-hadrian.com/hadrians-villa/>) made available under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>). This work has been modified by transforming from color to grayscale.

Chapter 13

Hadrian and Sabina

Sabina Augusta¹⁴²⁵

Genealogical Chart

M. Ulpius Traianus

M. Ulpius Traianus [Nerva Trajan]
~ Pompeia Plotina

Marciana Augusta
~ C. Matidius Patruinus

Lucius Vibius Sabinus ~ **Matidia Augusta**

Matidia Minor

Vibia Sabina Augusta
~ P. Aelius Hadrianus



Matidia
(Image from *Museo Capitolino*, II, 34)

Sabina
(Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 24)



¹⁴²⁵ McCabe, *The Empresses of Rome*, 149, imagines the first meeting between Sabina and Hadrian this way: "We first meet her in the little settlement on the Rhine, where she lived with her widowed mother and grandmother, in Trajan's house, during the reign of Galba and Nerva. She was in her early teens, a grave and modest child, easily directed by the three sedate ladies of the house. Very shortly after the accession of Trajan, a charming young officer burst into the camp to offer his congratulations. He had a romantic story to tell, how a jealous brother-in-law had bribed his servants to break down the chariot on the way, and he had crossed the great forests on foot to greet his guardian and cousin. It was the future Emperor, and her future husband, Hadrian."

THE MARRIED COUPLE

[33 repeated] Wed to Sabina [c. 100 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹⁴²⁶

2.10b [H]e took to wife the daughter of the Emperor's sister — a marriage advocated by Plotina, but, according to Marius Maximus, little desired by Trajan himself.

c156 *Hadrian and Sabina Coin, 1* [128–136 C.E.]¹⁴²⁷

(Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Plate XXXIV [#7];

Legend and description from p. 188)

[Silver Coin of Tarsus in Cilicia]



7

AR



OBVERSE: AYTKAI ΘΕ ΤΡΑ ΠΑΡ ΥΙ ΘΕ [NER YI TR]AI AΔPIANOC CE (in field, Π Π):

‘Emperor, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland.’

Bust of Hadrian r., wearing radiate crown, paludamentum and cuirass; below neck, club; in field Π Π; around, inscription.

REVERSE: CABEINA CEB[ACTH A]ΔPI TAPC MHTPOΠOΛEOC [in field] A Y:

‘Sabina Augusta (wife of) Hadrian; metropolis of Tarsus (the autonomus city (A Y)).’

Bust of Sabina, r. wearing stephane, crescent at shoulder; in field, A Y.

¹⁴²⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 9. Hekster, “All in the Family,” 42, remarks, “This wedding, like most royal weddings, must have been a public event. An occasion ‘which embodied or provided opportunities for dynastic pronouncements’.”

¹⁴²⁷ On Tarsus, see entries #602–604, coin #122, and map (pp. 390–91). With a scarcity of literary mentions of Sabina, her coinage emerges as especially important. Amiro, “The Portraits of the Roman Empress Sabina,” 9 offers a valuable new system for characterizing the portraits of Sabina, a system based on readily observable portrait features. These include, in coinage, the *nest* (“braided circle of hair that surrounds the crown of the Empress’s hair”); the *chignon* (“a low, braided bun on the nape of the neck”); the *queue* (“a long ponytail which is fastened at the end in a loop”); and the *basket* (“nest-like arrangement of hair around the top of the head, but the hair is unbraided and overall more natural”). Of these, the most common type in imperial coinage is the queue, while the nest is most common in provincial coinage. Amiro, “Sabina’s Plotina’ Portrait Type,” 95, makes a general observation about the coinage: “The Empress Sabina’s coin portraiture set a new precedent for the representation of Roman empresses. It is both wider in variety and larger in quantity than that of her predecessors, and these changes were followed by her successors.”

1055 Hadrian and Sabina: Married Couple, 1 [from #95]

(excerpt from Letter of Hadrian (alleged), preserved by Dositheus Magister,
Judgments of Hadrian (Divi Hadriani Sententiae))¹⁴²⁸

Sabina has already started for the villa, but has personally sent a present.

1056 Hadrian and Sabina: *Divine* Married Couple

(Inscription at Philippi)

[*AE* 1939.190=*AE* 1984.818]¹⁴²⁹

Emperor Hadrian Olympus (Jupiter) and his wife Sabina Juno.

c157 Hadrian and Sabina Coin, 2 [128–136 C.E.]

(Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, III/Pt. II. Plate 273 [#7574];

Legend and description from p. 640)

[Silver Coin of Mopsus in Cilicia]

OBVERSE: TR

ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CE (in field, Π

Π): ‘Trajan Hadrian

Augustus, Father of the
Fatherland.’

Bust of Hadrian to r.,
laureate and draped: border
of dots.



7574

REVERSE: [CAB]EINA

CEB ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CE: ‘Sabina Augusta (wife of Hadrian); City
of Mopsus.’ Bust of Sabina to r., as Artemis, wearing stephane, with quiver
behind shoulder.



HADRIAN AND SABINA; OBTVERSE AND
REVERSE OF A BRONZE COIN.

c158 Hadrian and Sabina Coin, 3

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the
Roman People*, V, 2, 423)

¹⁴²⁸ Daniger and Purcell, *Hadrian's Empire*, 19. Also see Birley, *Hadrian*, 110, or Burns, *Great Women*, 118, or Henderson, 185, among others. Also for the source, see Boecking, *Dosithei magistri*. The letter may or may not be genuine, but does reflect a perception of the relationship between Hadrian and Plotina. If authentic, Birley would date it to 120 or 121. It is part of a collection by Dositheus Magister known as the *Divi Hadriani sententiae et epistolae* (see Lewis, *Hadriani Sententiae*).

¹⁴²⁹ The Latin text can be viewed at *EDCS* (EDCS-15800347). See Benario, “Iuno coniugalis Sabina.” On Sabina, see Brennan, *Sabina Augusta*.

1057 Hadrian and Sabina: Married Couple, 2

(Honorific Inscription at Cures Sabina, Italy)

[*SEG* LIV.951; cf. *IG* XIV 2239 (next below)]¹⁴³⁰

To Sabina Augusta, wife of Emperor Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus, *etc.*

1058 Hadrian and Sabina: Married Couple, 3

(Honorific Inscription at Cures in Sabine, Italy)

[*IG* XIV 2239; cf. *SEG* LIV.951 (above)]¹⁴³¹

To Sabina Augusta, wife of Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, *etc.*

1059 Rumors about Sabina's View of the Marriage

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)¹⁴³²

14.8b She openly boasted that having certified his inhuman nature she had exerted herself to bear him no children lest it bring disaster on humanity.

1060 Rumors about Hadrian's View of the Marriage

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁴³³

11.3b [A]s he was himself wont to say, he would have sent away his wife too, on the ground of ill-temper and irritability, had he been merely a private citizen.¹⁴³⁴

¹⁴³⁰ The Greek text can be seen at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/337431>).

¹⁴³¹ The Greek text can be seen at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/141461>). Cures sat on the Tibur River above Rome, about 26 miles (42 km) from Rome, in the Sabine territory of central Italy.

¹⁴³² For an alternative translation see Banchich's at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. The Latin text can be found in the *Epitome* in the collected works of *Sexti Aurelii Victoris* (Pichlmayr's edition), 150. The comment of the source follows that of 14.8a, in an entry below. Gray, "A Study of the Life of Hadrian," 169, in responding to the "gossip" that "Hadrian and Sabina were bitterly hostile to each other," writes, "Is it justified by the facts? Hadrian lived with Sabina till her death, though precedents for divorcing her were to be found in the records of his predecessors. She traveled with him on his great journeys from Britain to Egypt. She shared in his public honors and appears on coins, and on inscriptions as Augusta, or Σεβαστή. He named after her one of the tribes of his new city of Antinoopolis, in Egypt, thus ranking her above even his beloved Plotina after whom a deme was named. He showed a great respect to her mother Matidia, who also had the honor of giving a name to a tribe of Antinoopolis. He dismissed court officials whom he thought lacking in respect to Sabina. And after her death he bestowed on her the apotheosis." He then argues, "It does not seem to me that all these facts can be explained by the theory that Hadrian was acting with an eye to the effect on the public; though doubtless he did desire to create the impression that he held Sabina in high esteem." Gray, 171, finishes, "My conclusion is that this story of the unhappy marriage of Hadrian and Sabina is but one of the baseless fictions that survive in our histories of the Roman empire."

¹⁴³³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 35. On Suetonius and this passage of the *Vita*, see Benario, *A Commentary*, 88–89. On Suetonius as Hadrian's *ab epistulis* (Secretary of Correspondence), see Lindsay, "Suetonius as 'ab epistulis.'" Also note Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, 50. Also see Gough, "Appendices and Notes," I, 44. Syme, "Guard Prefects of Trajan and Hadrian," 69, speculates the actual dismissal of Clarus came in 128.

THE TRAVELING COMPANION

c159 *The Visit to Egypt* [130 C.E.]

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 381)¹⁴³⁵



**SABINA. THE LIGHTHOUSE.
COIN OF ALEXANDRIA.**

[593 repeated] Sabina's Visit to the 'Singing' Colossus of Memnon
[Nov., 130 C.E.]

(Julia Balbilla, Graffiti inscribed on Colossus)

[Bernand #31]¹⁴³⁶

I, Balbilla, heard, from the speaking stone,
The divine voice of Memnon or Phamenoth.
I came here with our lovely queen Sabina,
When the sun held its course during the first hour.
In the fifteenth year of the emperor Hadrian's rule,
Hathyr was on its twenty-fourth day.
On the twenty-fifth day of the month of Hathyr.

1061 Sabina with Hadrian [128–138 C.E.]

(Honorific Inscription on Stone at Mactaris in Africa Proconsularis)

[*AE* 1951.43]¹⁴³⁷

To Sabina Augusta (wife) of Hadrian Augustus; by decree of the Decurions, at public expense.

¹⁴³⁴ MacDonald, "Mechanisms of Sexual Egalitarianism," 22, argues, "This indicates that emperors in his period (early second century A.D.) were expected to uphold the ideal of monogamous marriage without divorce."

¹⁴³⁵ Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V/2, 421, remarks, "There is nothing to assure us that she did not accompany him in all his travels. . . ."

¹⁴³⁶ Rosenmeyer, "Greek Verse Inscriptions," 343 (with Greek text); cf. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 414. Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V/2, 384, comments, "The Empress Sabina, who seems to have accompanied Hadrian in many of his travels, certainly was with him in Egypt, and ascended the Nile at least as far as Thebes, to see the statue of Memnon, the son of Aurora, who every morning saluted his mother's return by a melodious sound. We learn from 'a blue-stocking of the period,' the poetess Balbilla, that the god, a bad courtier, seemed at first not to appreciate the honor done him, troubling himself but little about 'the angry countenance of the Empress;' and Sabina had to pay him two visits before he deigned to reply."

¹⁴³⁷ The Latin text (with image) can be viewed online at *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* (<https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD021010>).

1062 Honored at Antiochia ad Cragum ('Little Antioch') [c. 131 C.E.]

(Inscription on Statue Base at Antiochia ad Cragum, Asia)

[AI, 18.04]¹⁴³⁸

To Sabina Augusta, goddess; by the *Demos* of Antioch-by-the-sea.

c160 *A Veiled Reference to the Royal Traveling Couple? (Coin not pictured)*

(Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Legend and description from p. 131)

[Bronze Coin of Seleucia on the Calycadnum, in Cilicia]

OBVERSE: ΕΤΟΥΧ Κ ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟ[Υ] ΚΕΒ [ΙΙ ΙΙ]: 'In the year 20 of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland.'

Busts of Apollo r., laureate, and Artemis, l. with quiver at back, confronted.¹⁴³⁹



Bust of Sabina in the British Museum

(McCabe, *The Empresses of Rome*, between pp. 154 and 155)

1063 Praise of Sabina by a Companion [130 C.E.]

(Julia Balbilla, Graffiti on Colossus of Memnon)

[Bernand #30]¹⁴⁴⁰

... beauteous Sabina ...

For the lovely form of our Empress pleases you.¹⁴⁴¹

¹⁴³⁸ AI=Antiochia Inscription. The Greek text, and comments, can be found in Hoff, Townsend, and Howe, "New Old Stones," 141. The authors associate the inscription with the trip of 131 C.E. and observe (p. 146), "Scholars who claim Sabina's presence in the entourage point to dedications in Asia Minor, in both single or joint dedications along with Hadrian, including Kestros in Rough Cilicia (referenced above); Magydos in Pamphylia; Rhodiapolis, Patara, and Tlos in Lycia; Tralles in Caria; Hierapolis in Phrygia; Pisidian Antioch; and Magnesia in Ionia."

¹⁴³⁹ Hill, *Catalogue*, 131 n. 2, suggests, "The type of the obverse may represent Hadrian and Sabina disguised as Apollo and Artemis."

¹⁴⁴⁰ This was inscribed on the occasion of Julia's and Sabina's visit to the Colossi of Memnon in Egypt (Nov., 130).

¹⁴⁴¹ On Sabina's presentation, Boergas de Serviez, *Lives of the Roman Empresses*, 390, is of the opinion, "Sabina was the eldest of Matidia's daughters, and because Trajan had no children, she was looked upon as his daughter; so that whoever she married was thought to bid fairest for the empire, which was no small addition to her merit, and served mightily to heighten her good qualities. Besides these great prospects and expectations Sabina had this additional advantage, that few could compare with her for beauty or virtue. In her countenance might be read that modesty and prudence for which she was so much distinguished; and she never encouraged any pleasures or diversions that were the least in the world inconsistent with the strictest decency. She had a sort of gravity in her looks that was the true picture of her mind. . . ."

SABINA AUGUSTA¹⁴⁴²

1064 Offering for Sabina and Hadrian [128–136 C.E.]

(Inscription on white marble in Spain (Italica) from an Imperial Freedman
[*AE* 1915.9]¹⁴⁴³)

For the health of our Hadrian Augustus and Sabina Augusta, to Silvanus Pantheus a votive offering by Autarces, freedman of our Sabina Augusta.

1065 Dedication to Sabina Augusta and Hadrian, 1 [119 C.E.]

(Inscription at Gabii in Latium, Italy)

[*SEOR* II¹, 237=*CIL* XIV, 2799=*ILS* 321]¹⁴⁴⁴

(To) Hadrian Augustus, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, (and) to Sabina Augusta, enrichers of the municipality, by order of the Decurion, at public expense.

1066 Dedication to Sabina Augusta and Hadrian, 2 [121/122 C.E.]

(Inscription at Olisipio)

[*CIL* II, 4292=*CIL* II, 5221]¹⁴⁴⁵

(To) Sabina Augusta (and) Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, grandson of the deified Nerva, son of Trajan Dacia Parthicus, by order of the Decurions of Felicitas Julia Olisipo, through Marcus Gellius Rutilianus and Lucius Julius Avitus, *Duumviri*.

1067 Dedication to Sabina Augusta [130s C.E.]

(Excerpt from Pincian Obelisk for Antinous)¹⁴⁴⁶

Sabina lives and is safe, in good health—Augusta, who lives forever.

1068 Dedication to Hadrian and Sabina Augusta [129 C.E.]

(Inscription on City Gate at Pisidian Antioch in Galatia)

[*AE* 2002.1460=*AE* 2006.1494]¹⁴⁴⁷

Caius Julius Asper Pansinianus, *duovir* for the 5th time (*Ilvir V*), military tribune of ____, made this and decorated it with his own money. For the Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Traian Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, and Sabina Augustus.

¹⁴⁴² On Sabina becoming Augusta, see entry #424.

¹⁴⁴³ The Latin text can be found online at *EDCS* (EDCS-10100023). On imperial freedmen, see Weaver, “Augustorum libertus.” Nemeti, “*Vota Pro Salute Imperatoris* in Dacia,” 260, writes, “[T]he *pro salute* dedications belong to a secondary communication (a meta-communication), a reference to the donor’s social relations, to the ways in which he presented himself in the front of society.”

¹⁴⁴⁴ The Latin text can be found in *Sylloge Epigraphica Orbis Romani* (Vigliori ed), II/1, 35 [#237].

¹⁴⁴⁵ *Felicitas Julia Olisipo* was the ancient city of Olisipo (modern day Lisbon, Portugal), perhaps granted the happy title “Felicitas Julia” by either Julius Caesar or Augustus. The *duumviri* were the two ruling magistrates of the city.

¹⁴⁴⁶ For the complete text and context, see Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 243–44.

¹⁴⁴⁷ The Latin text can be seen at *EDCS* (EDCS-30400002). See Ossi, “The Roman Honorific Arches of Pisidian Antioch,” 135–36, for discussion. Also see Brennan, *Sabina Augusta*, 138.

1069 Dedication to Sabina, 1 [128–136 C.E.]

(Inscription on Stone at Apulum in Dacia)

[CIL III, 1169=RIDac., 505]¹⁴⁴⁸

For Sabina Augusta, (wife) of Trajan Hadrian, by Legio XIII Gemina.

1070 Dedication to Sabina, 2 [c. 131 C.E.]

(Inscription on Limestone Statue Base at Termessos in Pisidia, Asia)

[TER 2018, 31]¹⁴⁴⁹

To Sabina Augusta, by the Council (*Boule*) and People (*Demos*).

1071 Dedication to Hadrian and Sabina [129/130 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Small Public Bath at Apameia in Bithynia)

[CIL III, 6992=ILS 134]¹⁴⁵⁰

To the divine house of Augustus (*numini domus Augustorum*) and Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, and to Sabina Augusta, and to the Senate and people of Rome, the Colony of Iulia Concordia Apamea has dedicated out of public funds the Hadrian bath (*balineum Hadrianum*).

1072 Dedication to Hadrian, Sabina, and L. Aelius Caesar [136/137 C.E.]

(Inscription on Monumental Arch at Avitta Bibba in Africa Proconsularis)

[CIL VIII, 799]¹⁴⁵¹

Imperator Caesar, son of the deified Traianus Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the 21st time, imperator twice, consul three times, father of his country, founder of the municipium. L. Aelius Caesar, son of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, holding tribunician power twice consul. Vibia Matidia, daughter of Augusta, Sabina Augusta, (wife of) Imperator Traianus Hadrianus Augustus.

1073 Dedication by Sabina

(Inscription, Forum of Trajan in Rome; Dedication of a Building for *Matronae*)

[CIL VI, 997]¹⁴⁵²

Sabina Augusta for the matrons.

¹⁴⁴⁸ RIDac.=*Die Römischen Inschriften in Dacien*, 105 [#505]; also for text, EDCS (EDCS-15800198).

¹⁴⁴⁹ TER abbreviates 'Termessos.' See Arslan and Önen, "New Honorary Inscriptions," 250 for text, translation and comment. Positing a visit as likely, they note (p. 251), "Many cities on Hadrianus' travel route had statues erected and honoured both the emperor and the women of the empire, regardless of whether they were visited by Hadrianus himself and his entourage."

¹⁴⁵⁰ The Latin text can be seen at EDCS (EDCS-27800538). See Fishwick, *Cult, Ritual*, 294.

¹⁴⁵¹ Højte, "The Epigraphic Evidence," 232–33 (original Latin text also provided).

¹⁴⁵² See Hemelrijk, *Women and Society in the Roman World*, 308 [#16]. Hemelrijk speculates this building "may perhaps be identified with the clubhouse of the *conventus matronarum* (assembly of matrons) known from the literary sources (Seut. *Galb.* 5; SHA *Elegab* 4.3)." Above this reads a later inscription by Julia Augusta, mother of Caracalla and Geta, who restored this building.

c161 Coin of Sabina

(*Ancient Coins of Greece and Rome*, facing p. 26; description, p. 25)



OBVERSE: SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG P. P.: 'Sabina Augusta (wife of) Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland.' Draped bust r. with diadem and high head-dress.

REVERSE: Female seated, holding Victory; S C in exergue.

Sabina

(Image at right from Bury,
The Student's Roman Empire, 521)



c162 Sabina Coin

(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 381)



SABINA.

c163 Coin of Sabina

Augusta [136–138 C.E.]
(ANS; Denarius)¹⁴⁵³

OBVERSE: SABINA AVGVSTA: 'Sabina Augusta.' Variants—
Bust of Sabina, wearing double stephane with hair braided and piled, draped, right | Bust of Sabina, diademed, wearing stephane with hair in queue, draped, right | Bust of Sabina, wearing single stephane with hair piled, draped, right | Bust of Sabina, wearing single stephane with hair piled, draped, left.

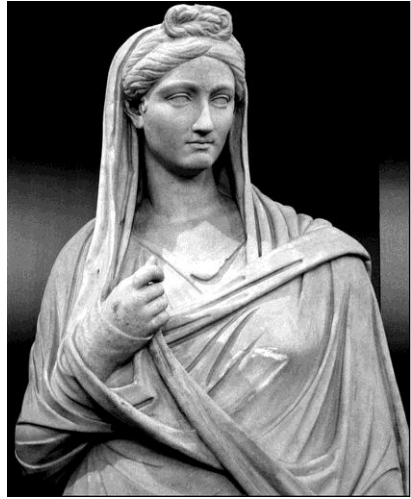


REVERSE: CONCORDIA AVG: 'Concordia Augusta.' Goddess Concordia standing left, resting on column, holding patera and (usually double) cornucopia.

¹⁴⁵³ Public domain, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (ANS); it, with text, can be seen at OCRE (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=Sabina>). Image has been transformed to grayscale. RIC II, Part 3 (2nd ed.), Hadrian 2570–2573; reference: RIC II Hadrian 400.

SABINA, THE ROLE MODEL

Portrait of Sabina in Marble
(Photo courtesy of Iessi)¹⁴⁵⁴



c164 *Sabina, the Model of Modesty* (128/129 C.E.)
(RIC II, Part 3 (2nd ed.),
Hadrian 2491; Denarius)¹⁴⁵⁵

OBVERSE: SABINA
AVGVSTA HADRIANI
AVG P P: ‘Sabina Augusta
(wife of) Hadrian August-

us, Father of the Fatherland.’ Bust of Sabina, wearing a double stephane with her hair braided and piled; she is draped and facing right.

REVERSE: // S C (in exergue): ‘By decree of the Senate.’ Sabina-Pudicitia is standing left, raising a hand while resting the other one on her chest.

1074 Sabina Augusta—Builder? [128–136 C.E.]

(Inscription on Lead Plumbing in Rome)

[CIL XV, 7313a1]¹⁴⁵⁶

Of Sabina Augusta.

¹⁴⁵⁴ The photo, under the title “Vibia,” was taken by Iessi while the statue was on display at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, Italy, in 2006. Posted at Wikimedia Commons, it is made available by Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/deed.en>). No changes have been made other than resizing to fit here.

¹⁴⁵⁵ The image (© Münzkabinett Wien) is made available by Creative Commons (CC by SA 4.0) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/legalcode>); it has been changed to grayscale. It can be viewed online (<https://www.ikmk.at/object?id=ID1488>).

¹⁴⁵⁶ Latin: *Sabinae Aug[ustae]*. Brennan, *Sabina Augusta*, 235, offers that the lead pipes found might belong either to a bath complex, “or (tellingly) the establishment of a separate residence outside the imperial quarters on the Palatine.”

SABINA'S DEATH

1075 Rumors about Sabina's Death, 1

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹⁴⁵⁷

23.9 and indeed, when his wife Sabina died, the rumour arose that the Emperor had given her poison.

1076 Rumors about Sabina's Death, 2

(Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*)¹⁴⁵⁸

14.8a Sabina, his wife, being afflicted by abuse from slaves, was driven to a willing death.

SABINA DEIFIED

*Sabina as Venus Genetrix*¹⁴⁵⁹

(Illustration from Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 403)



¹⁴⁵⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 71.

¹⁴⁵⁸ For an alternative translation see Banchich's online rendering at *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*. The Latin text can be found in the *Epitome* in the collected works of *Sexti Aurelii Victoris* (Pichlmayr's edition), 150.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Venus *Genetrix*, i.e., Venus as the 'female genitor' or 'ancestress' of the family. D'Ambra, "Elite and Mass Appeal of Roman Imperial Female Portraiture," 48, observes, "Sabina's portraits turn away from the high-piled, architectonic coiffures of the Flavian and Trajanic women to evoke the simplicity and grace of a Hellenic goddess. This is most apparent in the hair swept back in a central part and the relative agelessness of Sabina. Her sculpted image reverts to the timeless ideal of the goddess and maintains that look."

c165 Sabina as Artemis ¹⁴⁶⁰

(Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Plate XVIII

[#6];

Legend and description from p. 106)

[Silver Coin of Mopsuestia (Mopsus) in Cilicia]



REVERSE: CABEINA CEB AΔΠΙ
ΜΟΥΕΑΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ:¹⁴⁶¹

‘Sabina Augusta (wife of) Hadrian; city of Mopsuestia.’

Bust of Sabina r., as Artemis, wearing stephane, with quiver behind shoulder.

c166 Sabina Identified with the Mother Goddess (Leto, Cybele)

(Bell, *Sardis*, vol. XI: *Coins*, 31; description only)

[Bronze Coin of Lydia]¹⁴⁶²

OBVERSE: CABEINA CEBACTH: ‘Sabina Augusta.’ Bust of Sabina, facing right, diademed; a border of dots.

REVERSE: CARAI ANΩN: ‘Of Sardis.’ Mother-Goddess depicted standing left, wearing a long chiton, peplos, and veil; carrying a child on left arm; border of dots.

1077 Goddess Sabina [c. 128–136 C.E.]

(Inscription on Statue Base, Acropolis, Antioch in Cilicia)

[Hoff and Howe, p. 164]¹⁴⁶³

The Demos of the Antiochenes-on-the-Coast (honors) the Goddess Sabina Augusta.



Bust of Sabina in the British Museum

(McCabe, *The Empresses of Rome*,
between pp. 154 and 155)

¹⁴⁶⁰ Gnech, *The Coin Types of Imperial Rome*, 9 (Table), lists as deities on Sabina coins the following: Ceres, Cybele, Juno, Venus, and Vesta.

¹⁴⁶¹ In Greek inscriptions of this time it was common to find C for Σ; this form is referred to as *lunate sigma*.

¹⁴⁶² The goddess Leto was a female Titan and bride of Zeus, worshipped as the deity of motherhood. Cybele (or Kybele) was known by the Romans as *Magna Mater*, the ‘Great Mother.’

¹⁴⁶³ Hoff and Howe, “What’s in a Name?” 164 (Greek text there, too.).

1078 Sabina Honored by Council and Citizens of Ephesus [132/133 C.E.]

(Honorary Inscription by the *Boulē* and *Demos* of Ephesus)

[*IEph* 278; cf. *IEph* 279]¹⁴⁶⁴

To Sabina the goddess Augusta, wife of the Emperor, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, and daughter of Matidia Augusta; the friend of Augustus, the Council and *Dēmos* of twice *neokorate* Ephesus, have established this during the proconsulship of Gaius Julius Alexander Berenicianus by decree of the council; Demostratus Cailianus, the clerk of the *Demos*, the superintendent of works Tiberius Claudius Meliorus, friend of Augustus.

1079 Sabina Honored by a Prominent Citizen of Ephesus

(Honorary Inscription by Marcus Claudius Sabinus)

[*AE* 1935.165=*IEph* 4108]¹⁴⁶⁵

To goddess Sabina Augusta; Marcus Claudius Sabinus, with his son Claudius Phaedrus, dedicated this together.

c167 Ephesus Honors Sabina

(Gusman, *La villa impériale de Tibur*, 9 [#33])



FIG. 38. — EPHÈSE (SABINE).

1080 Honor of Sabina by the City of Halikarnassos [c. 120 C.E.?]

(Greek Inscription on Stone)

[Isager and Pedersen, p. 99]¹⁴⁶⁶

The people of Halikarnassos (raised this statue of) Ioulia the new Hera Sabeina Augusta under the provision of Demosthenes son of Menakrates.

¹⁴⁶⁴ The *boulē* was a council; the *demos* was an area such as a city (or group of villages).

¹⁴⁶⁵ M. Claudius Sabinus is perhaps better known as Publius Vedius Antoninus II; his full name seems to have been Marcus Claudius Publius Veditus Antoninus Sabinianus.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Isager and Pedersen, "Hadrian, Sabina and Halikarnassos," 99 (which includes Greek text). Halikarnassos was a city in Asia Minor. Previously this inscription had been identified as dedicated to the daughter of the emperor Titus (ruled 79–81).

1081 Honor Paid by Antoninus Pius [139 C.E.]

(Inscription at Rome)

[CIL VI, 984=CIL VI, 31220a1]¹⁴⁶⁷

For Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus,|grandson of the deified Nerva,—Trajan Hadrian Augustus |Pontifex Maximus, holder of tribunician power 22 times, hailed as imperator twice, 3 times Consul, and to the deified Sabina,|by Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus | Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 2nd time, twice Consul, Consul-elect for a 3rd time, Father of the Fatherland,|(to honor) his parents.

c168 Consecration of Sabina (Denarius)

(Akerman, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 226 [#7]; description 250)



OBVERSE: DIVA AVGVSTAE SABINA.

REVERSE: CONSECRATIO. An eagle in full flight, holding a scepter in its talons, and bearing the empress.

1082 Dedication to Sabina [138 C.E.]

(Inscription on Statue Base at Sabratha, North Africa)

[AE 1934.146]¹⁴⁶⁸

[Front] To the deified Sabina Augusta, the people of Sabratha, Africa.

[Side] By order of [the emperor Hadrian], father of his country: the place assigned by Valerius Urbicus and Aemilius Papus, the supervisors of public works and places, was publicly dedicated on the Ides of December in the consular year of P. Cassius Secundus and Nonius Mucianus.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Antoninus was consul in 120, again in 139 (the year of the inscription), and for a third time in 140.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Boatwright (following Gordon, “Veranius,” 280–83), 26 n. 28 (with Latin text). For brief commentary on this inscription, found in the Forum of Caesar, Rome, see D’Ambrosio, “Foro de Cesare,” 466–67. Hemelrijk, *Hidden Lives, Public Personae*, 80, observes, “[S]pecial priestesses of the major empresses Plotina, Sabina, and the Faustinae were relatively frequent, but even for these popular empresses no individual priestesses are found after the end of the Antonine dynasty.” The ‘supervisors of public works and places’ (*curatores operum locorum publicorum*) was a senatorial office created under Augustus (see Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars: Augustus*, 37). It was reserved for those who already had held office as Consul. Such public works and places would include aqueducts, baths, etc.

Chapter 14

Hadrian and Antinous

A SAGA THAT BEGINS WITH LOSS

[588 repeated] Hadrian and Antinous [130C.E.]¹⁴⁶⁹

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁴⁷⁰

14.5 During a journey on the Nile he lost Antinous,¹⁴⁷¹ his favourite, and for this youth he wept like a woman.

14.6 Concerning this incident there are varying rumours; for some claim that he had devoted himself to death for Hadrian, and others—what both his beauty and Hadrian’s sensuality suggest.

14.7 But however this may be, the Greeks deified him at Hadrian’s request, and declared that oracles were given through his agency,¹⁴⁷² but these, it is commonly asserted, were composed by Hadrian himself.

1083 Hadrian’s Grief Compared to that of Alexander the Great

(Arrian, *Campaigns of Alexander*)¹⁴⁷³

VII.14.2 At this point historians have given varied accounts of Alexander’s grief. That his mourning was great, all have related; as to his actions, historians differ, according to the good-will or the ill-will felt towards Hephaestion or indeed towards Alexander himself.

VII.14.3 Of these, those who have recounted scandals appear to me partly to have thought that all redounds to Alexander’s credit that he did or said in his excess of grief for one who was of all men most dear to him; or else, that all was to his discredit, as not really fitting either for any king or for Alexander himself.

¹⁴⁶⁹ The most comprehensive English examination of Hadrian and Antinous remains Lambert, *Beloved and God*. For readers of German, also see Dietrichson, *Antinoos*. Lambert, 222, writes that Antinous, “both as a human being and as a god, represented a moment of balance between the forces of old and new, past and future, between Roman organization and Greek culture, classical religion and eastern faiths, traditional society and provincial blood.”

¹⁴⁷⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 45.

¹⁴⁷¹ Antinous (or Antinoos) was a youth of Bithynia in Roman Asia Minor.

¹⁴⁷² Renberg, “Hadrian and the Oracles of Antinous,” 171, observes that it would have been quite normal for the grieving Hadrian to dream of Antinous and adds, “and, as a man with clearly attested religious interests, Hadrian may well have believed that this was the divinized Antinous himself that had come to him. . . .”

¹⁴⁷³ Arrian, *Arrian* Robson’s Loeb ed.), II, 249. The Greek text also can be found in Arrian, *Flavii Arriani Anabasis Alexandri* (Roos’ ed.), 309; This passage from Arrian, a friend of Hadrian, is often cited as part of his effort of consolation to the emperor by likening him favorably to Alexander the Great. In that regard, also see Murphy, “United in Grief,” 4, with respect to passages in Arrian’s *Periplus* (21.3 and 23.2) about Achilles and Patroclus. Also see Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 52 and 94.

1084 Where Is Antinous Buried?

(Extract from Inscription on Pink Granite Obelisk (West Side))

[Pincian Obelisk]¹⁴⁷⁴

The god (Antinous) who is yonder (deceased), who rests in this mound which is within the field of the border of the lord of might [...]Rome.

ANTINOOPOLIS

Location of Antinoopolis

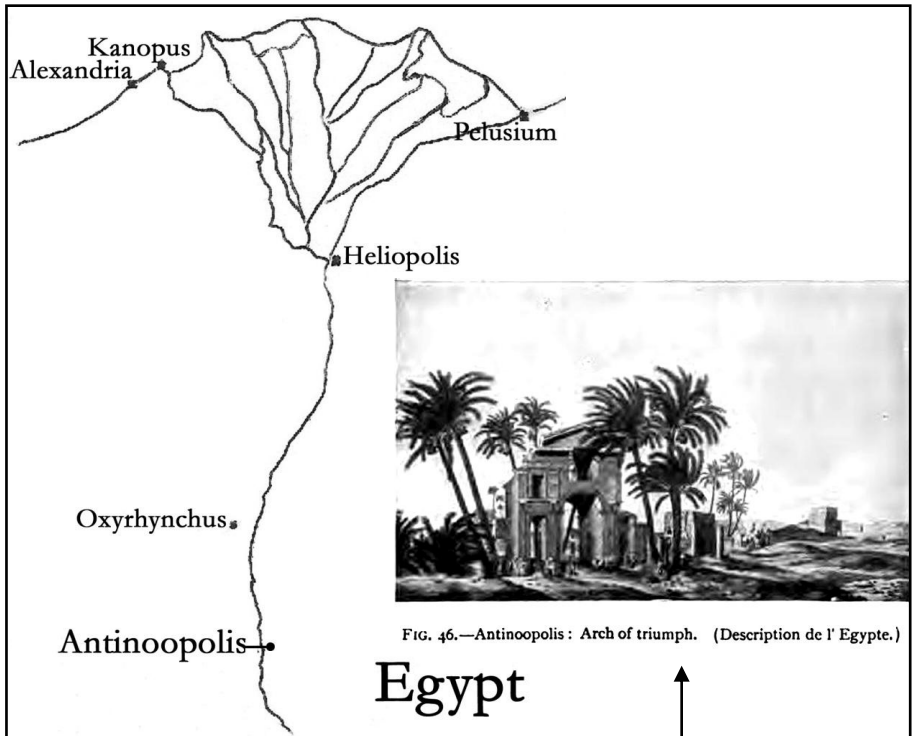


FIG. 46.—Antinoopolis : Arch of triumph. (Description de l' Egypte.)

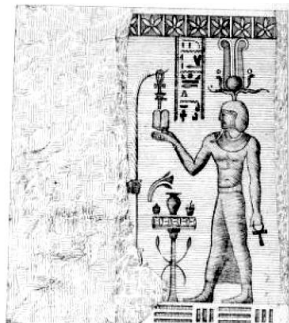
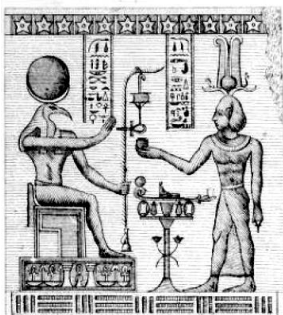
Egypt

Arch of Triumph at Antinoopolis

(Milne, *The History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, 57 [Fig. 46])

¹⁴⁷⁴ Translation and transliterated Egyptian text in Parkinson, "Imaginary History," 217. For an alternate rendering, and expanded translation of the inscription, see Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 246 (reproduced in Thompson, "Antinoos, the New God," 150). The obelisk, now commonly referred to as the 'Pincian Obelisk' (for its location in the Pincian Hill Gardens), was discovered, in three pieces, in the late 16th century. Its place of origin is uncertain, though it may well have been at Hadrian's villa at Tivoli.

Antinous and Egypt
(Dietrichson, *Antinoos*, Plate I)



Reliefs am Barberinischen Obelisken (no 131)
Monte Pinco Rom



(Legrand,
*Galleries des
Antiques*)

(Westropp,
*Handbook of
Archaeology*,
1437)

Antinous was
sometimes
identified with
the Egyptian
deity Osiris.



Antinous as Bacchus
(Duruy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 2, 382)



Antinous
(Ish-Kishor, *Magnificent Hadrian*, facing 75)



ANTINOUS-ENDYMION
ROME, CAPITOL

1085 Hadrian Finds a City in Honor of Antinous [130/131 C.E.]

(Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Roman History*)¹⁴⁷⁵

XXII.16.2 *Now* Thebais has these among cities that are especially famous: Hermopolis, Coptos and Antinoü, which Hadrian founded in honor of his favorite Antinous; for hundred-gated Thebes everyone knows.

1086 Antinoopolis (Antinoe) as a Memorial [130s C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁴⁷⁶

LXIX.11.2 In Egypt also he rebuilt the city named henceforth for Antinous. Antinous was from Bithynium, a city of Bithynia, which we also call Claudiopolis; he had been a favourite of the emperor and had died in Egypt, either by falling into the Nile, as Hadrian writes, or, as the truth is, by being offered in sacrifice.

LXIX.11.3 For Hadrian, as I have stated, was always very curious and employed divinations and incantations of all kinds. Accordingly, he honored [p. 447] Antinous, either because of his love for him or because the youth had voluntarily undertaken to die (it being necessary that a life should be surrendered freely for the accomplishment of the ends Hadrian had in view), by building a city on the spot where he had suffered this fate and naming it after him;

LXIX.11.4 and he also set up statues, or rather sacred images, of him, practically all over the world. Finally, he declared that he had seen a star which he took to be that of Antinous, and gladly lent an ear to the fictitious tales woven by his associates to the effect that the star had really come into being from the spirit of Antinous and had then appeared for the first time. On this account, then, he became the object of some ridicule, and also because at the death of his sister Paulina he had not immediately paid her any honor . . .

¹⁴⁷⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History* (Rolfe's Loeb ed.), 297 (with Latin text, p. 296). For more on Ammianus Marcellinus, see Kelly, *Ammianus Marcellinus*. Bell, "Antinoopolis," 133, cautions that the founding of the city should not be seen as simply to honor Antinous; "Hadrian was no scatterbrained enthusiast but an able administrator of larger views and comprehensive policy." Thus the founding served more than one purpose. On the colonists, see Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 193 [#153]. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, 101–16, comments, "Hadrian visited Egypt twice, and, perhaps startled by a raid made upon loaded camels in the Thebais, and desirous of tapping the resources of the Mons Porphyrites and of shortening the journey between the Nile and the Red Sea, founded a new city called Antinoe or Antinoopolis north of Tell el-Amarna, and in order to divert traffic from the ports into it, constructed a road through level country to Berenice (by way of Myos Hormos and then along the coast), provided with stations, guards, and cisterns. Completed in 137, it is not mentioned subsequently and at any rate does not seem to have diverted much of the traffic from the regular Coptos—Berenice road." (See the entry on road building in the material on Egypt.) The construction of the city was aided by the development of a nearby limestone quarry shortly after founding the city (Russell, *The Economics of the Roman Stone Trade*, 85–86).

¹⁴⁷⁶ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 445, 447.

[578 repeated] Hadrian Finds a City for Antinous [130 C.E.]

(*Paschal Chronicle (Chronicon Paschale)*)¹⁴⁷⁷

[225th Olympiad] And at this time Emperor (ὑπάτοις) Hadrian came into Egypt and founded for Antinous a city of the Thebiad the third day before the Kalends of November.

1087 The Road to Antinoopolis: The *Via Hadriani*

(Inscribed on a Pedestal in the City)

[*I.Pan* 80, 8]¹⁴⁷⁸

The road of Caesar Hadrian (ὁδὸς Καὶνὴ Ἀδριανή).

1088 Citizens of Antinoopolis (Antinoe) Granted Special Privileges

(Excerpt from a Petition)

[*P. Oxy.* II.1119]¹⁴⁷⁹

To their excellencies the senate of the citizens of Antinoe, Neo-Hellenes . . . you are not unaware, excellencies, that we were exempted from all compulsory services in other districts by order of the deified Hadrian founder and colonizer of our city.

Antinous

(Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 132)



Antinous
(*Museo Capitolino*
II, 34)



ANTINOUS
A BUST IN THE LAVOURE
(from the Villa Maefangone, Frascati)

¹⁴⁷⁷ The Greek text can be found in *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf ed.), I, 475.

¹⁴⁷⁸ See Cuvigny, "A Survey of Place-Names," [#192].

¹⁴⁷⁹ *Select Papyri* (Hunt and Edgar trans.), II, 279, 281 (with facing Greek text) [#288]. An alternate translation—and the Greek text—can be found in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Hunt ed. and trans.), VIII, 208. Hunt, 209, translates the finding: "I have accordingly investigated the matter and found that they possess hereditary Antinoite rights. . . ."

REMEMBERING ANTINOUS



Antinous
(Taylor, *Antinoös: Roman*, frontispiece)

1089 Remembering His Birthday

(Oxyrhynchus Papyrus)

[*P. Oxy.* XXXI.2553]¹⁴⁸⁰

[lines 4–5, dated Choiak 4 (November 30)] On the birthday of Antinous he sacrifices horse-rites . . . three days, whenever they are posted . . .

1090 Antinous and the Lion Hunt

(*P. Oxy.* VIII.1085)¹⁴⁸¹

Col. II.1–25 ...and swifter than the horse of Adrastus which once saved the king as he fled . . . in the battle-throng. Such was the steed whereon Antinoös sat in wait for the deadly lion, holding in his left hand the bridle-rein and in his right a spear shod with adamant. First Hadrian hurling his brass-fitted spear wounded the beast but slew him not, for of purpose he missed the mark, wishing to test to the full the sureness of aim of beauteous Antinoös, son of the Argus-slayer. Stricken, the beast was yet more aroused, and tore up in his wrath the rough ground with his paws, and the dust rising in a cloud dimmed the light of the sun; he raged even as the wave of the surging sea when Zephyrus is stirred forth after the wind of Strymon. [Straight] he rushed upon them both, scourging with his tail his haunches and sides . . . while his eyes, beneath his brows, flashed dreadful fire; and from his ravening jaws' the foam showered to the earth as his teeth gnashed [p. 76] within. On his mighty head and shaggy neck the hair stood bristling; on his other limbs it was bushy as trees, and on his back . . . it was like whetted spear-points. In such wise he came against the glorious god and upon Antinoös, like Typhoëus of old against Zeus, slayer of giants.

¹⁴⁸⁰ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XXXI* (Barns et al. ed.), 75 (with Greek text, p. 74); the Greek text can be seen online at *Papyri.info* (<https://papyri.info/hgv/63879>). The papyrus is a calendar of cult offerings. Bruun, “Remembering Anniversaries at Roman Ostia,” points to *CIL* XIV, 26 (available online at EDCS (EDCS-05700245)), suggesting it may set November 27 as Antinous’ birth. Cf. Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 19, who conjectures Antinous was born between 110–112 C.E.

¹⁴⁸¹ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Hunt ed. and trans.), VIII, 75–76 (with Greek text, 74); cf. *Select Papyri* (Page trans.), III, 519 (with Greek text, 518). See entry #586. This entry is closely related to the next. Hunt, 73, remarks, “Now the fragment of which the text follows below describes in epic style a great lion hunt the heroes of which were Hadrian and Antinoös. . . . Here evidently we have the episode which inspired Pancrates; and the poem is none other than that from which Athenaeus quotes.”

1091 The Garland of Antinous

(Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*; cf. *Papiri della R. Università di Milano I 20*)¹⁴⁸²

XV.21 “But since I have mentioned Alexandria, I know that in that beautiful city there is a garland called the garland of Antinous, which is made of the lotus, which grows in those parts. And this lotus grows in the marshes in the summer season; and it bears flowers of two colours; one like that of the rose, and it is the garlands woven of the flower of this colour which are properly called the garlands of Antinous; but the other kind is called the lotus garland, being of a dark colour. And a man of the name of Pancrates, a native poet, with whom we ourselves were acquainted, made a great parade of showing a rose-coloured lotus to Hadrian the emperor, when he was staying at Alexandria, saying, that [p. 1082] he ought to give this flower the name of the Flower of Antinous, as having sprung from the ground where it drank in the blood of the Mauritanian lion, which Hadrian killed when he was out hunting in that part of Africa, near Alexandria; a monstrous beast which had ravaged all Libya for a long time, so as to make a very great part of the district desolate. Accordingly, Hadrian being delighted with the utility of the invention, and also with its novelty, granted to the poet that he should be maintained for the future in the Museum at the public expense”

XV.21 (end) But Pancrates said, with a good deal of neatness, in his poem—

The crisp ground thyme, the snow-white lily too.
The purple hyacinth, and the modest leaves
Of the white celandine, and the fragrant rose,
Whose petals open to the vernal zephyrs;
For that fair flower which bears Antinous' name
The earth had not yet borne.

1092 The Flower of Antinous [late 2nd–early 3rd cent. C.E.]

(Excerpt from a Papyrus at Tebtunis, Egypt)

[*Papiri della R. Università di Milano I 20*]¹⁴⁸³

But alone is the flower of Antinous, which is the same for all. It is not like that of pale Narcissus (i.e., the daffodil), seized with grieving; nor pale as a hyacinth, which mimics a corpse's color. The wreaths of mourned names shall be gathered together, and the mourner shall weep at the hour of the departed.

¹⁴⁸² Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* (Younge trans.), III, 1081–82. The Greek text can be found in Gulick's edition of Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, pp. 126, 128. A translation of *P. Mil. Vogl. I 20* can be found in Thompson, “Antinoos, the New God,” 162 (with Greek text, footnote 66).

¹⁴⁸³ For an alternate translation (and more complete context), see Thompson, “Antinoos, the New God,” 162 (with Greek text, footnote 66). Narcissus was a beautiful youth who fell in love with his own image and was turned into a flower. The papyrus fragment is from a rhetorical exercise contrasting Antinous with other famous youths associated with flowers (e.g., Narcissus and Hyacinthus).

ANTINOUS, HERO

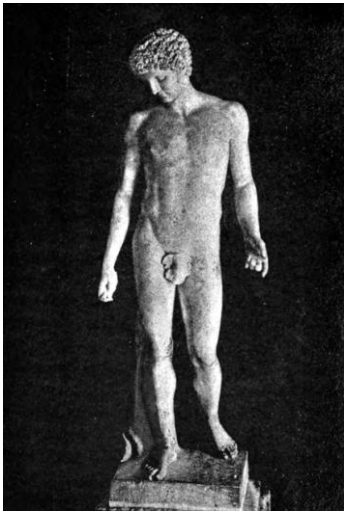
c169 Hero Antinous
(Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, III/Pt. II.
Plate 309 [#8344];
Legend and
description from p.
869)
[Bronze Coin]¹⁴⁸⁴



OBVERSE: ANTINOOV HPWOS: ‘Antinous, hero.’
Bust of Antinous to r., draped.

REVERSE: L IO: ‘Year 19.’
Antinous as Hermes on horseback to r., holding caduceus.

A Statue of Antinous (Braschi Antinous)
(*Museo Vaticano Di Scultura*, 111)¹⁴⁸⁵



→
Antinous
(Burn, *Roman Literature in Relation to Roman Art*, 140)
←



¹⁴⁸⁴ On the coinage of Antinous, see Lambert, *Beloved and God*, Appendix II (pp. 238–43).

¹⁴⁸⁵ Redford, *A Manual of Ancient Sculpture*, 220, writes: “The statue called the Braschi Antinous is colossal; in the Lateran Museum, formerly in the Braschi Palace, Rome. It was found at the end of the last century, by Gavin Hamilton, near Palestrina. It is a half-draped statue, holding a thyrsus or pine-cone staff in the left hand, and with the lotus flower on the head.” It is often heralded as evidence of a villa built by Hadrian at Praeneste (see Bradshaw, “Praeneste,” 237).

ANTINOUS DEIFIED



ANTINOUS DEIFIED.



HEAD OF ANTINOUS, ON A BRONZE MEDALLION
STRUCK AT SMYRNA.

*c170 Deified
Antinous
(Duruy, History of
Rome and the
Roman People, V,
2, 382)*

1093 Oracle concerning Antinous' Deification

(*Sibylline Oracles* VIII)¹⁴⁸⁶

57 [And he shall] display his child as god. . . .

1094 Antinous Deified after a Revelation

(Eusebius, *Chronicle* (Armenian Version))¹⁴⁸⁷

II. 166, 226g Antoninus (*sic*), a certain companion of the king, died in Egypt and because of a revelation was honored as a god.

1095 Antinous a God in Egypt [post 130 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Post on the Road to Portus near Ostia, Italy)

[IG XIV 960]¹⁴⁸⁸

To Antinous, enthroned with the gods of Egypt.

1096 Antinous a God in Egypt [post 130 C.E.]

(Inscription at Rome in the Temple of Isis and Serapis)

[IG XIV 961=IGUR I, 198]¹⁴⁸⁹

To Antinous, enthroned with the gods of Egypt. M. Ulpius Apollonius, prophet.

1097 The Acts of the Divine Antinous [post 130 C.E.]

(*Obelisk* §IIIc)¹⁴⁹⁰

He goes out from his tomb (lit. "holy place") to the numerous temples of the entire land, and he hears the appeals of those who invoke him and heals the sick among the needy poor by sending a dream.

¹⁴⁸⁶ *The Sibylline Oracles* (Terry's trans.), 163; cf. Collin's translation, 419. The Greek text can be found in *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, Geffcken's edition, 145. This portion of the oracle is widely considered to allude to Antinous. For the larger context see VIII, 50–57 (presented earlier in the volume, to *HA* 2.8).

¹⁴⁸⁷ Renberg, "Hadrian and the Oracles of Antinous," 173. Renberg argues that Hadrian was motivated in the deification of Antinous by divine signs and not merely from personal desire.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Greek: Ἀντινώ συνθρόνῳ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεῶν.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Greek: Ἀντινώ συνθρόνῳ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Θεῶν Μ. Οὐλπίος Ἀπολλώνιος προφήτης.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Renberg, "Hadrian and the Oracles of Antinous," 176 (following Grimm, "Die Inschriften"). For an alternate rendering, and expanded translation of the inscription, see Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 239–60 (reproduced in Thompson, "Antinoos, the New God," 150).

1098 Antinous Made an Object of Worship, 1

(Inscription)

[Pincian Obelisk]¹⁴⁹¹

Antinous, who is in Heaven, who rests in this place which lies on the border field of the Goddess of the pleasures (?) of Rome, he is known as God in the pious places of Egypt. A temple was built to him; he became honored as a God by the prophets and priests of Upper and Lower Egypt, by the residents of Egypt, as many as there are. A city was named after his name, the . . . soldiers of the Greeks and those who are in the temples of Egypt, they come to his city . . . their . . . acres and fields are given to them in order to make their life very beautiful. A temple of this God is therein, his name is “Osiris Antinous the Holy.” It was built from beautiful limestone, with sphinxes around it and statues and many columns like those that in olden times had been made by the ancients and likewise as had been made by the Greeks. Each God and Goddess gives to him the breath of life and he breathes in a new youthfulness.

1099 Antinous Made an Object of Worship, 2

(Testimony of Hegesippus in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*)¹⁴⁹²

IV.8.2 “To them they made cenotaphs and shrines until now, and among them is Antinous, a slave of the emperor Hadrian, in whose honor the Antinoian games are held, though he was our contemporary. For he also built a city called after Antinous, and instituted prophets for him.”

IV.8.3 At the same time too, Justin, a genuine lover of true philosophy, was still continuing to practice the learning of the Greeks. And he also himself indicates this period in his *Apology* to Antoninus by writing thus, “And we thought it not out of place to mention at this point Antinous of the present day whom all were intimidated to worship as a god, though they knew his nature and origin.”

1100 An Epigram about Antinous [post 130 C.E.]

(Inscription, Probably Sepulchral, at Tibur)

[*CIL* XIV, 3535]¹⁴⁹³

If Antinous and Belenus are equal in age and form, why should not Antinous also be Belenus? The Sicilian (*o Sicilius*).

¹⁴⁹¹ Cartlidge and Duncan, *Documents*, 196. An alternative translation can be found in Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 246.

¹⁴⁹² Colm, *The Essential Eusebius*, 120 (cf. Cruse, *Ecclesiastical History*, 123); for an alternate translation, see Grant, *Second Century Christianity*, 20. The Greek text can be found in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (Lake ed.), I, 307. Eusebius is citing Hegesippus, a 2nd century Christian chronicler. The citation of Justin is from his *First Apology*, 29. A *cenotaph* is a monument in the form of an empty tomb. The citation of Hegesippus is notable in calling Antinous a slave (an alleged condition for which there is no other evidence and is thought untrue).

¹⁴⁹³ The Latin text: *Antinoo et Beleo par aetas formaque si par cur non Antinous sit quoque qui Belenus o Sicilius*. The text can be viewed online at *EDCS* (EDCS-05801524). Belenus was a Celtic god (particularly of Norican and Aquileian provenance) of healing who had devotees from Britain to Italy. See the material on Belenus in Šašel-Kos, “Sacred Places and Epichoric Gods.”

1101 Worship of Antinous at Mantinea, 1

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)¹⁴⁹⁴

VIII: Arcadia, IX.7 Antinous too was deified by them; his temple is the nearest in Mantinea. He was a great favourite of the Emperor Hadrian. I never saw him in the flesh, but I have seen images and pictures of him. He has honours in other places also, and on the Nile is an Egyptian city named after Antinous. He has won worship in Mantinea for the following reason. Antinous was by birth from Bithynium beyond the river Sangarius, and the Bithynians are by descent Arcadians of Mantinea. For this reason the Emperor established his worship in Mantinea also; mystic rites are celebrated in his honour each year, and games every four years.

1102 Worship of Antinous at Mantinea, 2 [post 136/137 C.E.]

(Inscription)

[SIG³ 841=IG V² 281=Smallwood #164]¹⁴⁹⁵

Gaius Julius Eurykles Herculanus Vibullius Pius built this covered walkway (Lat. *stoa*; Gr. τὴν στοὰν), with its seats, for the city of Mantinea, and for our fellow-countryman, god Antinous. By his heirs.

1103 Worship of Antinous at Mantinea, 3

(Inscription by a Father Entrusting His Son to Antinous)

[IG V² 312]¹⁴⁹⁶

Doxa's son, Isochrysus, whom the god Antinoos himself loved dearly as one enthroned with the immortals, Epitynchanus, his father, constructed in the form of a bronze image and erected a statue of his son by the decree of his fatherland.

1104 Antinous and Hadrian 'in a heavenly home'

(Prudentius, "Reply to Address of Symmachus")¹⁴⁹⁷

I. 270 There is Antinous too, set in a heavenly home, he who was the darling of an emperor now deified and [p. 373] in the imperial embrace was robbed of his manhood, the god Hadrian's Ganymede, not handing cups to the gods, but reclining with Jupiter on the middle couch and quaffing the sacred liquor of ambrosial nectar, and listening to prayers in the temples with his husband!

¹⁴⁹⁴ Pausanias, *Pausanias' Description of Greece* (Jones' trans.), III, 389 (with Greek text, p. 388).

¹⁴⁹⁵ For an alternate translation, see Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 190 (#149). The Greek text can be found in Smallwood, *Documents*, 57 [#164]. Also see Thompson, "Antinoos, the New God," 154n.34, where the text occurs. Gaius Julius Eurycles Herculanus was a native of Sparta, and its first Roman senator (see Birley, "Hadrian and Greek Senators").

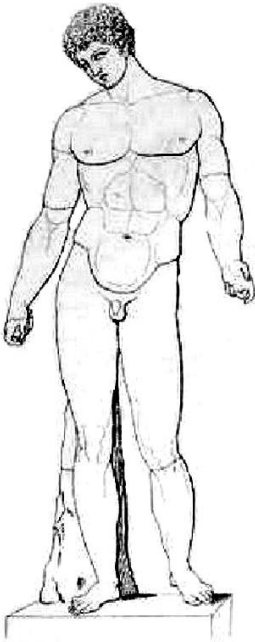
¹⁴⁹⁶ Thompson, "Antinoos, the New God," 154 (with Greek text in footnote 33).

¹⁴⁹⁷ Prudentius, "Reply to Address of Symmachus" (*Contra Oratorem Symmachii*), in *Prudentius* (Thomson trans.), I, 371, 373 (with facing Latin text). Schoolfield, "Hadrian, Antinous, and a Rilke Poem," 147, renders the opening portion as, "What shall I say of Antinous now placed in a celestial seat,/ Antinous, the delight ["delicias"] of a divine prince,/ Antinous despoiled of a masculine fate in an imperial embrace." Prudentius was a Roman Spaniard and Christian poet.

Identification of Antinous with Other Figures

(Dietrichson, *Antinoos*, Plates IV[#9], IX[#24], XI[#32], XIII[#37], XIV[#40])

9.



Antinoos-Adonis (no 17)
Capitolium Rom.

32.



Antinoos-Ganymedes (no 100)
Collection Hope

40.



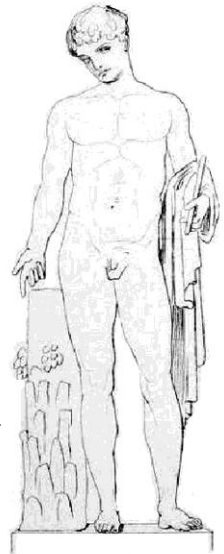
Antinoos-Apollo aus Cairo (no 120)
Muse. Museum Berlin.

24.



Antinoos-Herakles (no 88)
Louvre, Paris.

37.



Antinoos-Hermes (no 106)
Muse. Museum Berlin.

On Antinous as Hermes,
see IG XIV, 978. →

ANTINOUS, THE SCANDAL

1105 Rumors about Hadrian and Antinous

(Aurelius Victor, *Book of the Caesars* ¹⁴⁹⁸; cf. Jerome, *Chronicle* CXCVII§)

14.7 Because of this¹⁴⁹⁹—no surprise!—there arose ugly gossip that he had committed illicit intercourse with young men and that he burned for the unseemly presence of Antinous—all for no other cause than that he had founded a city in his name, or because he had placed statues to the youth.

14.8 Yet others, preferring affectionate and pious acts, note that Hadrian, naturally desiring to prolong his life, when the magicians had asked for a volunteer to exchange their life for his, all refused except for Antinous, and therefore the kindnesses spoken of above were rendered him.

14.9 We will leave the matter undecided even though of someone naturally disposed to self-indulgence it is easy to judge as suspicious a relationship between two of such unequal age.

1106 A Text Sometimes Thought to Be Covertly about Hadrian and Antinous

(The Trial of the Prefect Maximus)

[P. Oxy. III.471]¹⁵⁰⁰

Col. iii But we assert not that you took a reward but that you gave one. For why did a boy of 17 years dine with you every day? Each of these witnesses whenever he was invited to join the banquet (it was not easy when once you had assumed regal state to obtain such favours from you) saw the boy at the party, both with his father and alone, and each saw the shameless look and shameless goings to and fro of the lovers. . . . Why did he greet him every day? They bear evidence swearing by your Fortune, my lord, that while they were waiting to salute him and gathered at the door they saw the boy coming out of the bed-chamber alone, showing signs of his intercourse with him.

Col. iv For when once accustomed to his shame this handsome and rich youth gave himself airs and became so impudent that he sported with and clasped the hands of Eutychus the chamberlain in the presence of every one and laughed long and freely in the middle of the clients. He was not stupid, and even showed off to the borrowers what he had been doing. Why then did not you with your modesty and extreme austerity stop him? If a poor man wearing cheap clothes asks you a favour, you order his property and that of his wife and friends to be confiscated, and the man who took his seat

¹⁴⁹⁸ For an alternative translation, see Aurelius Victor, *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus* (Bird trans.), 17. The Latin text can be found in Aurelius Victor. *Liber de Caesaribus*, Pichlmayr's edition, 93.

¹⁴⁹⁹ The allusion is to Victor's remark in 14.6 that Hadrian indulged himself in every pleasure. Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 97, writes of Hadrian, "His love for Antinous was white-hot."

¹⁵⁰⁰ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part III* (Grenfell and Hunt ed.), 151; see 148–50 for Greek text. For discussion of how this may relate to Hadrian, see Galimberti, "P.Oxy. 471."

Col. v at the theatre without wearing white garments you delivered to death, whereas a still beardless . . . and handsome youth you kept all day in the praetorium and did not send him any longer to the schools and the exercises proper for the young . . . you travel about the whole of Egypt with the youth. Did not a boy of 17 years accompany you to the judgement-seat in the public court? Why then was he by your side both at Memphis and at Pelusium and wherever you were?

1107 Censure of the Relationship between Hadrian and Antinous

(Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*)¹⁵⁰¹

4. Another fresh divinity was created in Egypt, —and very nearly among Greeks too, — when the Roman king solemnly elevated to the rank of god his favourite whose beauty was unequalled. He consecrated Antinous in the same way that Zeus consecrated Ganymedes. For lust is not easily restrained, when it has no fear; and today men observe the sacred nights of Antinous, which were really shameful, as the lover who kept them with him well knew. Why, I ask, do you reckon as a god one who is honoured by fornication? Why did you order that he should be mourned for as a son? Why, too, do you tell the story of his beauty? Beauty is a shameful thing when it has been blighted by outrage. Be not a tyrant, O man, over beauty, neither outrage him who is in the flower of his youth. Guard it in purity, that it may remain beautiful. Become a king over beauty, not a tyrant. Let it remain free. When you have kept its image pure, then I will acknowledge your beauty. Then I will worship beauty, when it is the true archetype of things beautiful. But now we have a tomb of the boy who was loved, a temple and a city of Antinous. . . .

1108 The Metamorphosis of Antinous

(Tatian, *To the Greeks*)¹⁵⁰²

X There are legends of the metamorphosis of men: with you the gods also are metamorphosed, Rhea becomes a tree; Zeus a dragon, on account of Persephone; the sisters of Phaethon are changed into poplars, and Leto into a bird of little value, on whose account what is now Delos was called Ortygia. A god, forsooth, becomes a swan, or takes the form of an eagle, and, making Ganymede his cupbearer, glories in a vile affection. How can I reverence gods who are eager for presents, and angry if they do not receive them? Let them have their Fate! I am not willing to adore wandering stars. What is that hair of Berenice? Where were her stars before her death? And how was the dead Antinoös fixed as a beautiful youth in the moon? Who carried him thither: unless perchance, as men, perjuring themselves for hire, are credited when they say in ridicule of the gods that kings have ascended into heaven, so someone,

¹⁵⁰¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Clement of Alexandria* (Butterworth trans.), 111 (with Greek text, p. 110). See Renberg, "Hadrian and the Oracles of Antinous," 185.

¹⁵⁰² Tatian, *To the Greeks* (Ryland trans.), 44.

in like manner, has put this man also among the gods, and been recompensed with honour and reward?

1109 Antinous, the ‘Ganymede,’ 1

(Tertullian, *Apology*)¹⁵⁰³

XIII (end) But when I see you adore Larentina, a public strumpet, with the same honours as you do Juno, Ceres, and Diana, methinks I wish you had taken into your roll the more noted Lais and Phryne; when you inaugurate Simon Magus with a statue and inscription To the most Holy God; when you canonize a certain Ganymede (I know not who), nursed up in apartments at court, although, indeed, your old gods are not of a better family, yet they cannot but take it very ill that you should offer to make gods at this rate, now-a-days, as much as your forefathers did of old.

1110 Antinous, the ‘Ganymede,’ 2

(Tertullian, *To The Nations*)¹⁵⁰⁴

II.10 After so many examples and eminent names among you, who might not have been declared divine? Who, in fact, ever raised a question as to his divinity against Antinous? Was even Ganymede more grateful and dear than he to (the supreme god) who loved him? According to you, heaven is open to the dead. You prepare a way from Hades to the stars.

1111 Antinous, ‘devised a God’ by ‘a certain authority’

(Tertullian, *Contra Marcion*)¹⁵⁰⁵

I.18 [I]f man shall be thus able to devise a god,—as Romulus did Consus, and Tatus Cloacina, and Hostilius Fear, and Metellus Alburnus, and a certain authority some time since Antinous,—the same accomplishment may be allowed to others.

1112 A Christian Sacred Text Influenced by Hadrian and Antinous?

(New Testament, 2 Peter 2:7 [Revised Standard Version])¹⁵⁰⁶

and if he rescued righteous Lot, greatly distressed by the licentiousness of the wicked . . .

¹⁵⁰³ Tertullian, *The Apology of Tertullian* (Reeve trans.), 44 (and see his note 4). The Latin text can be found in Tertullian, *Tertullian* (March ed.) [*Apologeticus Adversus Gentes pro Christianis*, V], 53.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Tertullian, *Latin Christianity* (Holmes trans.), 139.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Tertullian, *Latin Christianity* (Holmes trans.), 284. Romulus claimed to have discovered an altar to a previously unknown god—Consus, to whom a festival and sacrifices were promised for his aid. The Sabine king Tatus raised a statue to the goddess Cloacina to mark peace with Rome. Tullus Hostilius vowed a temple to the gods of Fear (*Pallor* and *Pavor*). In his *Apology* 5.1, Tertullian attributes to M. Aemilius Scaurus (rather than a member of the Metelli family) the attempted introduction of worship of Alburnus. Cf. Varro, *Antiquitates rerum dinarum*, I.35–39.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Reasoner, *Roman Imperial Texts*, 95, writes, “It has been suggested that Antinous’ fame even affected the wording of a New Testament text. . . . It has been suggested that 2 Peter 2:7 was written during or after Hadrian’s empire-wide tour with his lover Antinous, since it omits the ‘strange flesh’ phrase of Jude 7 to shift the focus from human lust for angels described in Genesis 19:4–9 to an expression that would in the author’s semantic field include homosexual behavior.”

1113 Origen Against Celsus

(Origen of Alexandria, *Contra Celsus*)¹⁵⁰⁷

III.36 But as he next introduces the case of the favourite of Adrian (I refer to the accounts regarding the youth Antinous, and the honours paid him by the inhabitants of the city of Antinous in Egypt), and imagines that the honour paid to him falls little short of that which we render to Jesus, let us show in what a spirit of hostility this statement is made. For what is there in common between a life lived among the favourites of Adrian, by one who did not abstain even from unnatural lusts, and that of the venerable Jesus, against whom even they who brought countless other charges, and who told so many falsehoods, were not able to allege that He manifested, even in the slightest degree, any tendency to what was licentious? Nay, further, if one were to investigate, in a spirit of truth and impartiality, the stories relating to Antinous, he would find that it was due to the magical arts and rites of the Egyptians that there was even the appearance of his performing anything [marvellous] in the city which bears his name, and that too only after his decease,—an effect which is said to have been produced in other temples by the Egyptians, and those who are skilled in the arts which they practise. For they set up in certain places demons claiming prophetic or healing power, and which frequently torture those who seem to have committed any mistake about ordinary kinds of food, or about touching the dead body of a man, that they may have the appearance of alarming the uneducated multitude. Of this nature is the being that is considered to be a god in Antinoopolis in Egypt, whose [reputed] virtues are the lying inventions of some who live by the gain derived therefrom. . . .

III.37 The Egyptians, then, having been taught to worship Antinous, will, if you compare him with Apollo or Zeus, endure such a comparison, Antinous being magnified in their estimation through being classed with these deities; for Celsus is clearly convicted of falsehood when he says, “that they will not endure his being compared with Apollo or Zeus.”

VIII.9 You said a little ago, O Celsus, that Antinous, the favourite of Adrian, is honoured; but surely you will not say that the right to be worshipped as a god was given to him by the God of the universe?

¹⁵⁰⁷ Origen, *The Writings of Origen* (Crombie trans.), II, 117–18, 498. In III.36, Crombie’s “among the favorites of Adrian” translates the Greek ἐν τοῖς Ἀδριανοῦ παιδικοῖς. In III.37, his “The Egyptians, then, having been taught to worship Antinous,” translates Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν οὖν διδαχθέντες τὸν Ἀντίνοον σέβειν. The Greek text for VIII.9 is: Τιμᾶται γοῦν, ὡς πρὸ βραχέος ἔλεγε, ὁ Κέλσε, τὰ Ἀδριανοῦ παιδικά, καὶ οὐ δὴ πού ἐρεῖς ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων δέδοται τὸ τιμᾶσθαι ὡς θεῷ τῷ Ἀντινόῳ. The entire Greek text for III. 36 and III. 37 can be found in Origen, *Origens Werke* (Koetschau ed.), 232–33. Also see Renberg, “Hadrian and the Oracles of Antinous,” 177–78.

Chapter 15

Hadrian, Author

WRITER OF PROSE AND POETRY

1114 A Writer of Prose and Poetry, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁵⁰⁸

LXIX.3.1b By nature he was fond of literary study in both the Greek and Latin languages, and has left behind a variety of prose writings as well as compositions in verse.

1115 A Writer of Prose and Poetry, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁵⁰⁹

14.8 In poetry and in letters Hadrian was greatly interested. In arithmetic, geometry, and painting he was very expert.

1116 A Writer of Prose and Poetry, 3

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁵¹⁰

16.1 So desirous of a wide-spread reputation was Hadrian that he even wrote his own biography;¹⁵¹¹ this he gave to his educated freedmen, with instructions to publish it under their own names. For indeed, Phlegon's writings, it is said, are Hadrian's in reality.

16.2 He wrote *Catachannae*, a very obscure work in imitation of Antimachus.

16.3 When the poet Florus wrote to him:

[*p.* 51] "I don't want to be a Caesar,
Stroll about among the Britons,
Lurk about among the . . .
And endure the Scythian winters,"

16.4 he wrote back

"I don't want to be a Florus,
Stroll about among the taverns,
Lurk about among the cook-shops
And endure the round fat insects."

16.5 Furthermore, he loved the archaic style of writing,¹⁵¹² and he used to take part in debates.

¹⁵⁰⁸ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 429. Bollansée, "P. Fay. 19," 285, notes that most emperors of the 1st–2nd centuries C.E. were active literarily.

¹⁵⁰⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 47. Also see *HA: Vita Hadriani* 15.10, 11.

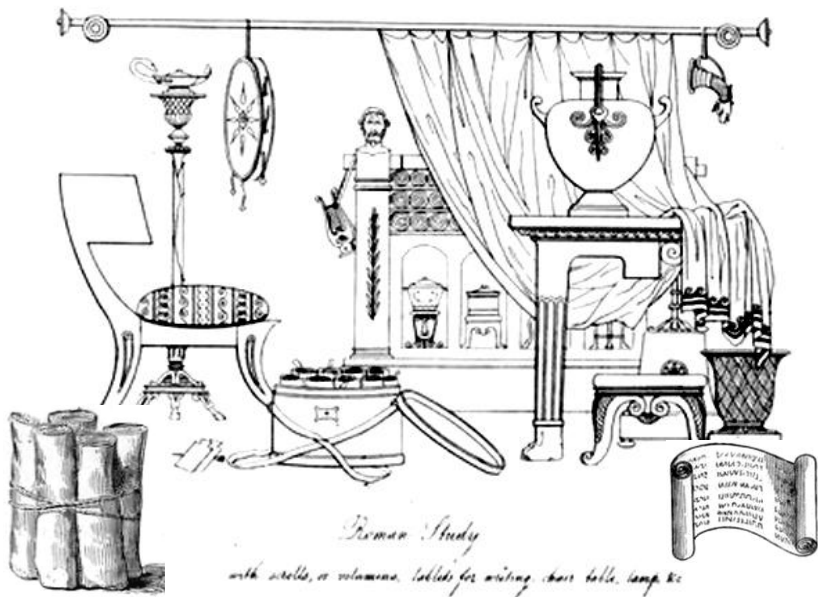
¹⁵¹⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 49, 51.

¹⁵¹¹ Though scattered references to an autobiography exist, the actual volume has been lost.

¹⁵¹² Gray, "A Study of the Life of Hadrian," 160, remarks, "The decent consideration of the more ancient writers, for which Quintilian had pleaded, had been transformed by his disciples into an

Roman Study
(Hope, *Costumes of the Ancients*, II, 276)

Ancient Books (lower left and right)
(Clement, *The Eternal City*, 401, 407)



AUTOBIOGRAPHY

[1116 excerpted] Author of an Autobiography

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁵¹³

16.1 So desirous of a wide-spread reputation was Hadrian that he even wrote his own biography. . . .

1117 Influence of the “Life of Hadrian”

(*HA: Life of Severus*)¹⁵¹⁴

I.6 Soon after he¹⁵¹⁵ had come to Rome he fell in with a stranger who at that very moment was reading the life of the emperor Hadrian, and he snatched at this incident as an omen of future prosperity.

exclusive worship. It is a common symptom of an age that is ‘getting over ripe,’ this preference of superior persons, of those who are most ‘modern,’ for the primitive, the unpopular, and the obscure. Hadrian was one of the moderns in this.”

¹⁵¹³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic’s trans.), I, 49, 51.

¹⁵¹⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic’s trans.), I, 371. Was this Hadrian’s autobiography? There were, says the Suda, also biographies written about the emperor.

¹⁵¹⁵ ‘He’ is the emperor Lucius Septimius Severus (reigned 193–211), who was the ultimate prevailer in the Year of the Five Emperors (193 C.E.) in the quest to succeed Marcus Aurelius’ son, Commodus, who was assassinated in 192 C.E.



IMPLEMENTS OF WRITING.

BOOKS OF SPEECHES¹⁵¹⁶

1118 Hadrian Weighs in on the Word ‘*Obiter*’

(Charisius, *Artis Grammaticae*)¹⁵¹⁷

II.209 *Obiter*—the deified Hadrian inquires in Book I of his *Speeches* (*sermonum*) whether it is Latin: Though, he says, this word is said to be in Laberius, and when Scaurus denies that it is Latin, he adds that the ancients were inclined to say the same (as Laberius), not adding that it should be ‘by default’ (κατὰ ἔλλειψιν), as Plautus says, ‘Likewise you shall drink, and after drinking I’ll likewise give to you a kiss, too.’ The deified Augustus reproached Tiberius Claudius by saying, ‘For instance, write *perriam* instead of (ἀντὶ τοῦ) *obiter*.’ Though, adds deified Hadrian, Augustus was not a very learned man (*non pereruditus homo*)—he brought forth that adverb from its ordinary usage rather than from researching it.

1119 Hadrian Illustrates Use of the Word ‘*Valdissime*’

(Charisius, *Artis Grammaticae*)¹⁵¹⁸

II.222 In Book XII of the *Speeches* (*Orationum*) of the deified Hadrian: “I ask of you Conscript Fathers (P.C.)—and I greatly (*valdissime*) desire it be granted—that you place a silver shield next to the image of Augustus, as you did for him.”

¹⁵¹⁶ None of these have survived to our time, but in the 9th century Photius, *The Library*, 913 [§100] wrote, “Read several of the *Declamations* of the emperor Hadrian, distinguished by moderation of style, and not disagreeable to read.”

¹⁵¹⁷ The Latin (with some Greek) can be seen in Charisius, *Artis Grammaticae* (Barwick ed.), 271. Q. Terentius Scaurus was a distinguished grammarian in Hadrian’s time. The Palutus’ quote is from *Bacchides*. The Latin *obiter* can be rendered as ‘in passing,’ or ‘by the way,’ or ‘likewise,’ etc.

¹⁵¹⁸ The Latin text: *Valdissime divus Hadrianus orationum XII libro ‘a vobis P. C. peto et inpetratum valdissime cupio, ut proxime imaginem Augusti argenteum potius clipeum sicut Augusto ponatis’*; it can be found in Charisius, *Artis Grammaticae* (Barwick ed.), 287. The shield was in honor of Hadrian (and brings to mind the *gold* shield honoring Augustus placed in the Curia Julia. Also see entry #1333.

MISCELLANY

1120 An Exchange between Hadrian and a Grammarian

[*Greek Anthology* IX.137=*AP* IX.137]¹⁵¹⁹

IX.137 A Certain Half-Starved Grammarian to the Emperor Hadrian

The half of me is dead, and starvation is subduing the other half. Save, Sire, a musical semitone of me.

The Emperor's Reply thereto

You wrong both Pluto and the Sun by looking still on the latter and failing to go to the former.

1121 Hadrian's Obelisk for Antinous

(Prayer of Osirantinoos (Antinous))

[Excerpt from Pincian Obelisk]¹⁵²⁰

Give(?) recompense for that which your beloved son has done for me, your son (Hadrian) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, who founded(?) a doctrine in the temples with which the Gods are pleased for all men, [Hadrian] [the beloved] of the Nile and the Gods. . . .

POETS, POETRY, and EPIGRAMS

1122 Passionate Poet

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*; see # above)¹⁵²¹

14.9b He ran to excess in the gratification of his desires, and wrote much verse about the subjects of his passion. He composed love-poems too.

1123 Praise of Hadrian's Poetic Spirit

(Excerpt from Besantinus, *The Altar*)

[*Greek Anthology* XV.25]¹⁵²²

I was made, with the help of the children of heaven, by a group of nine born on earth, and the lord of the immortals granted that their art should live forever. O you who drank from the fountain which the Gorgon's offspring struck forth, may you sacrifice and offer upon me sufficient libations much sweeter than the daughters of Hymettus.

¹⁵¹⁹ *The Greek Anthology* (Paton trans.), III, 71 (Greek, p. 70). On "Save, Sire, a musical semitone of me," Paton offers the footnote, "i.e. half at least of my learned self." I changed "Thou dost" to "You." Greek text with Latin translation in *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, II, 26 [#137].

¹⁵²⁰ Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, 243–44; see his Appendix (The Obeliscus Antinoi), pp. 239–60. Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 49, writes, "The author of the original Greek draft is not in doubt. It is Hadrian himself, composing an epitaph to his beloved, now called 'Antinous the just', whose salvation has been accomplished . . . after he has again been raised to life."

¹⁵²¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 47.

¹⁵²² Besantinus, *The Altar in Thecritus. Moschus. Bion* (Hopkinson trans.), 581; includes the Greek text (p. 580). Cf. *Greek Anthology*, V, 130 for a slightly different Greek text, and p. 131 for an alternate translation. The Greek text is an acrostic (pattern) poem with the first letters of the lines spelling out an address to Hadrian: "Olympian, may you sacrifice for many years" (Ὀλύμπιε, πολλοῖς ἔττει θυσείας)—see *Greek Anthology*, V, 130 n. 1. Besantinus was an epigrammatist during Hadrian's reign.

1124 Praise of Greek Lyric Poet Archilochus

[*Greek Anthology* VII.674=*AP* VII.674=*FGE* II]¹⁵²³

This is the tomb of Archilochus, whom the Muse, out of kindness to Homer, guided to furious iambics.

1125 Remark of Hadrian on a Poet and a Comment by Apuleius on Hadrian's Poetry

(Apuleius, *Apologia*)¹⁵²⁴

11 The divine Hadrian, when honoring the grave of his friend Voconius the poet, wrote: "Your verses were lustful, but your mind was chaste." And he would never have said this if such witty poems were considered immodest. For I recall reading many things of a similar nature written by the divine Hadrian himself.

[576 repeated] Hadrian's Verse for Pompey [130 C.E.]

[*Greek Anthology* IX.402=*AP* IX.402]¹⁵²⁵

In what sore need of a tomb stood he who possessed abundant temples!

[333 repeated] Ode to Hector Sometimes Attributed to Hadrian

(*Greek Anthology* IX.387=*AP* IX.387)¹⁵²⁶

IX.387 Hector of the race of Ares, if you hear wher'er you are under the ground, hail! and stay a little your sighs for your country. Ilion is inhabited, and is a famous city containing men inferior to you, but still lovers of war, while the Myrmidons have perished. Stand by his side and tell Achilles that all Thessaly is subject to the sons of Aeneas.

1126 Hadrian Restores the Tomb of Parthenius of Nicaea

[*Testimonia* 4=*FGE* VII=*IG* XIV 1089]¹⁵²⁷

famed . . . of a minstrel . . . Parthenius, a son of the Ascanian land, One ever honoured by statesmen of honour. He uttered sorrowful laments for dead Arete . . . in elegies upon her death . . . not] lacking in poetic eloquence. That one an overflowing stream washed clean away, sweeping before it the engraved stone. But this new one was reinstated on the tomb By Hadrian himself, the Mu[s]es' friend, . . . renowned among men to come . . . citizen of Apamea, scion of Euphrosyne.

¹⁵²³ *The Greek Anthology*, (Paton trans.), II, 359 (Greek, p. 358). Cf. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, 563 [*FGE* II, Epigrams by Imperial Authors]. See *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, I, 403 [#674].

¹⁵²⁴ Apuleius, *Apulei Platonica Madaurensis (Apologia)* (Helm ed.).

¹⁵²⁵ *The Greek Anthology* (Paton trans.), III, 223 (Greek text on p. 222). See *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, I, 403 [#674].

¹⁵²⁶ *Greek Anthology* (Paton trans.), III, 217 (with facing Greek text); I have modernized the English. See *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, II, 80–81 [#387]. For an alternative translation, see Borgeaud, "Trojan Excursions," 347.

¹⁵²⁷ Parthenius of Nicaea, *Testimonia* in *Hellenistic Collection* (Lightfoot trans.), 479, 481 (with Greek text, pp. 478, 480). Cf. the textual reconstruction of Page, and his translation, in *Further Greek Epigrams*, 568–69 [*FGE* VII in Epigrams by Imperial Authors]. Parthenius is widely regarded as an important influence on the Roman poet Virgil. "Arete" was Parthenius' wife.

[1046 repeated] **Dedication of a Bear Skin to Eros at Thespieae**
[c. 124 C.E.]

(Epigram of Hadrian)

[Kaibel, *Epig. Graec.* #811=FGE V=IG VII 1828]¹⁵²⁸

Archer, Cyprian Goddess' son,
Heliconian Thespieae's Lord,
Who Narcissus' fields does own,
Hadrian's offering take, reward—

Spoils of bear which he did slay,
Smote from horseback in hot chase:
Now, O wise one, him repay—

Grant him Aphrodite's grace!

1127 Poetic Tribute to His Horse Borysthenes

(Hadrian, *Inscription at Apt (near Nîmes), Gaul*)

[CIL XII, 1122]¹⁵²⁹

Borysthenes the Alan
a russet horse, Caesar's own:
across the plain, across the marsh,
around the Etruscan tombs
he used to swoop,
against the boars of the Danube,
and no boar dared hurt him
with yellow tusk,
or even touched
the end of his tail
with foaming maw,
as so often happens;
whole and youthful,
undamaged in limb,
he met his appointed time,
and is buried here on this estate.

¹⁵²⁸ Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 16–17. I changed his “dost” to “does.” Cf. the translation in Bowie, “Hadrian and Greek Poetry,” 180–81. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, 565, notes both Dio and the *HA* and adds, “Kaibel supposed the bear comes from the present epigram.” (See Kaibel, 330). The Greek text can be found in Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 329.

¹⁵²⁹ Daniger and Purcell, *Hadrian's Empire*, 91 (reformatted in verse form). For an alternative, see Speller, *Following Hadrian*, 70–71. The horse was named after the river Borysthenes (modern Dnieper river). The grave was at Apt in Gallia Narbonensis. The Latin text can be found in Smallwood, *Documents*, 192 (#520); cf. Everitt, *Hadrian and the Triumph of Rome*, 355 n. 228.

1128 Honoring of the Horse Samis

(Hadrian, Inscription)

[CIL XIV, 3911]¹⁵³⁰

The weak Samis strengthens in the swirling Albuleo,
Its waters reducing the swelling of his joints
(swollen from the wounds made by the tusks in Etruria of a wild boar
at Russellae, while loose as luck would have it),
But now his sinews are eased, his scar faded,
and he runs swiftly with rider on his back!
For this the due reward of a marble statue is given
in this place where you delight, Goddess of the Waters,
to run beneath the road,
where the Lord of Tibur looks down upon your Temple,
even as you face him and the brightly painted
Aelian villa.

1129a A Poem Written While Dying (English translation)

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁵³¹

25.9 And he is said, as he lay dying, to have composed the following lines:

“O blithe little soul, thou, flitting away,
Guest and comrade of this my clay,
Whither now goest thou, to what place
Bare and ghastly and without grace?
Nor, as thy wont was, joke and play.”

25.10 Such verses as these did he compose, and not many that were better, and also some in Greek.

1129b A Poem Written While Dying (Latin text)

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)

Animula vagula blandula
hospes comesque corporis,
quae nunc abibis in loca
pallidula rigida nudula?
nec ut soles dabis iocos!

¹⁵³⁰ Cf. translations of Daniger and Purcell, *Hadrian's Empire*, 195, or MacDonough, “Back in the Saddle Again,” 653, or Kitchell in Frizell, “Curing the Flock,” 91. On both poems, see Gascou and Janon, “Les chevaux d’Hadrien.” Though often attributed to Hadrian, this is by no means certain. The Latin text can be found at *Inscriptiones Latii Veteris Latinae* (Dessau’s ed.), XIV, 436; cf. the same at *EDSC* (EDCS-05801911).

¹⁵³¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 79. Many different translations of this poem exist and there is a good amount of comment upon it. This poem is easily the most famous piece attributed to Hadrian, which is why I have included the Latin text as well. See, for example, Kraggerud, “Hadrian’s *Animula Vagula*” for a closer look at it, or the perhaps more easily accessible Barnes, “Hadrian’s Farewell to Life.”

INSCRIPTIONS

[#42 repeated] Dedication to Zeus Kasios by Trajan [c. 113/114 C.E.]

(Inscription of Hadrian)

[FGE I=*Greek Anthology* VI.332]¹⁵³²

To Casian Zeus did Trajan, the descendant of Aeneas, dedicate these ornaments, the king of men to the king of gods: two curiously fashioned cups and the horn of a urus mounted in shining gold, selected from his first booty when, tirelessly fighting, he had overthrown with his spear the insolent Getae. But, [*p.* 477] Lord of the black clouds entrust to him, too, the glorious accomplishment of this Persian war, that your heart's joy may be doubled as you look on the spoils of both foes, the Getae and the Arsacidae.

1130 Hadrian Honors Severus

(Inscription by Hadrian on a Statue Base)

[FGE VI]¹⁵³³

A man of consular rank, a pontifex, the father of Ummidius Quadratus.....

Hadrianus, a friend of the Muses, dedicated this statue to Severus, a patriot citizen, a model of virtue of every kind, a principal man among the Greeks, and eminent among the Italians, the dear father of the famous Quadratus, for whom wedded love built a royal chamber for a happy married life: a statue of bronze to commemorate his patronage. To you, men of Ionia it is ever pleasing to see images [when they are crowned] in this grove near your city.

[382 repeated] Hadrian Writes an Inscription on the Tomb of Epaminondas

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*)¹⁵³⁴

VIII.11 And there are two pillars on his tomb, one ancient with a Boeotian inscription, and the other erected by the Emperor Adrian with an inscription by him upon it.

¹⁵³² *Greek Anthology* (Paton trans.), I, 475, 477 (with Greek text, pp. 474, 476). I modernized the language. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, 562, writes, "The epigram is clear and colourful in a good style; nothing but the subject-matter distinguishes it from compositions of the Hellenistic or early Imperial era." The *urus* was a horned ox.

¹⁵³³ Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Appendix III, 11 [#7]. It is not certain that the emperor Hadrian is the author; it might have been a client honoring his patron (see Wood's note 5). The Greek text can be found in Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, 567 [FGE VI in Epigrams by Imperial Authors]; cf. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Appendix III, 10 [#7].] On the "Severus" being honored, see Page, 566–67. Lloyd-Jones, "Review: Further Greek Epigrams," 144, confidently asserts, "it has long been known that this epigram is not by Hadrian the emperor but by Hadrianus the Tyrian sophist, that its Quadratus is not Pliny's friend but Marcus Aurelius' son-in-law, and that its Severus is not L. Catilius Severus, consul under Trajan, but Cn. Claudius Severus, consul in A.D. 173. . . ."

¹⁵³⁴ Pausanias, *Pausanias Description of Greece* (Shilleto trans.), II, 80.

LETTERS TO PERSONS

1131 To Q. Rammius Martialis [119 C.E.]

[Greek Text of BGU I. 140=Smallwood #333]¹⁵³⁵

Copy of a letter by the Emperor, translated into Greek from Latin, put on public display in Year 3 of Trajan Hadrian Augustus when Publius Aelius, for the third time, and Rusticus, were Consuls. Posted at the winter quarters of the Legio III Cyrenaica and Legio XXII Deiotariana, on day before the Nones of August (i.e., August 4), which is Mesore 11, at headquarters.

I am cognizant, my Rammius, that those persons acknowledged as their children by their parents during their military service have been disqualified from receiving benefit from their fathers' estates, and this rule did not appear severe, given the soldiers had acted in violation of military discipline. But I now take great pleasure in initiating a procedure that more generously interprets the relatively stricter rule established by emperors before me. Thus, even though those acknowledged by parents while in military service are not legal heirs, still I have decided that they also may claim possession of estates by means of that clause of the edict which provides such right to kinsmen by birth.

Your duty shall be to make this privilege I bestow known to my soldiers and veterans, not so I am glorified by it among them, but so that they may use this privilege if they do not know of it.

[#79 repeated] To Plotina

(Letter of Hadrian (alleged), preserved by Dositheus Magister)

[*Judgments of Hadrian (Divi Hadriani Sententiae)*]¹⁵³⁶

Letter of Hadrian (Jan. 24, ??). Be cheerful, best and dearest mother: as you pray to the Gods on my behalf, so do I on yours. Your sense of duty and modesty accomplishes everything. I'm delighted, all the same, by Hercules, that my actions are all pleasing and praiseworthy in your eyes. Mother, as you know, today is my birthday, and we should dine with each other, turn and turn about. If you'd like to, then, come in time with my sisters after your bath. Sabina has

¹⁵³⁵ For an alternative translation, see Johnson et al., *Ancient Roman Statutes*, 179–80 (#236); an alternate translation can be found in *Select Papyri* (Hunt and Edgar trans.), II, 89, 91 (with facing Greek text) [#213]. Cf. Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 183 (#143), or Keenan, Manning, and Yiftach-Firanko, *Law and Legal Practice*, 218 [#4.6.2b] (following Joseph Méléze-Modrzejewski's ed.). BGU is the abbreviation for Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden. The Greek text can be found in Bruns and Mommsen, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*, 421–22 [#196], offering Wilcken's edition. Greek text can also be viewed online at *Berliner Papyrusdatenbank* (BerlPap) (<https://berlpap.smb.museum/01764/?lang=en>), among other places.

¹⁵³⁶ Daniger and Purcell, *Hadrian's Empire*, 19. Also see Birley, *Hadrian*, 110, or Burns, *Great Women*, 118, or Henderson, 185, among others. Also for the source, see Boecking, *Dosithei magistri*. The letter may or may not be genuine, but does reflect a perception of the relationship between Hadrian and Plotina. If authentic, Birley would date it to 120 or 121. It is part of a collection by Dositheus Magister known as the *Divi Hadriani sententiae et epistolae*. On this work, see Lewis, *Hadriani Sententiae*.

already started for the villa, but has personally sent a present. Make sure you come quickly, so that we can celebrate this happy day together.

1132 Correspondence between Hadrian and Plotina [121 C.E.]

(Correspondence in Inscription)

[CIL III, 12283=ILS 7784=SEG XXVIII.99]¹⁵³⁷

Plotina's Request

How much I am interested in the sect of Epicurus, you know very well, *domine*. Your help is needed in the matter of its succession; for in view of the ineligibility of all but Roman citizens as successors, the range of choice is [p. 161] narrow. I therefore ask in the name of Popillius Theotimus, the present successor at Athens, to allow him to write in Greek that part of his disposition which deals with regulating the succession and grant him the power of filling his place by a successor of peregrine status, should personal considerations make it advisable; and let the future successors of the sect of Epicurus henceforth enjoy the same right as you grant to Theotimus; all the more since the practice is that each time the testator has made a mistake in the choice of his successor, the disciples of the above sect after a general deliberation put in his place the best man, a result that will be more easily attained if he is selected from a larger group.

Hadrian's Reply

Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus to Popillius Theotimus: I permit testaments to be made in Greek about those matters which pertain to a successor (to head) the school of Epicurus. And since a successor will be elected more easily if he also has the right to name a substitute from among non-Romans, | I tender this to him as well and thereafter to the others [who] will hold the succession. Permission will be given for this right to be transferred to a non-Roman or || a Roman citizen.

[Also see Plotina's subsequent letter to the Epicureans [IG II² 1099; SEG XXXVI.176; 28-99], translated in Van Bremen, "Plotina to all Her Friends" and reproduced in Fant and Lefkowitz, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome*, 4th ed., as #261.]

¹⁵³⁷ English translation of the request is from Alexander, "Letters and Speeches," 160–61. The reply is from Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 184 (#144); cf. Alexander, 161. For another translation of each, see Johnson, et al., *Ancient Roman Statutes*, 180. On this correspondence see Lassard, "Rescriptum Hadriani De Schola Epicurea Atheniensis." Also see Oliver, "An Inscription Concerning the Epicurean School at Athens" with respect to related interactions between Plotina and the Epicureans. Finally, see Van Bremen, "Plotina to all her Friends," which includes the 3rd letter as well. The Latin text may be found online at EDCS #10242 (EDCS-28000512). Popillius Theotimus was the 'successor' (Greek διάδοχος, *diadochos*)—or 'heir'—to the Epicurean leadership who here is desirous of securing more latitude in the choice of his own successor. On Hadrian's reply, see Alexander, "Letters and Speeches," 161n.2, where he voices his suspicion of a conflation.

1133 To Minucius Fundanus [c. 121 C.E.]

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*)¹⁵³⁸

IV.8.6 The same author, moreover, relates, that Hadrian having received letters from Serenius Granianus, the most illustrious proconsul, respecting the Christians, in which he states, that it did not appear just to put the Christians to death without a regular accusation and trial, merely to gratify the outcries of the populace; and that he wrote back to Minu-[p. 125]cius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, enjoining upon him to put no one to death, without an indictment and lawful accusation.

IV.8.7 Of this epistle, also, he (Justin) adds a copy in the Latin tongue, in which it was written. He also premises the following explanation. “Although we have good cause, from the epistle of your most illustrious father, the emperor Hadrian, to request of you as we requested of him, that the Christians should be regularly tried; this we have requested, not so much because it was ordered by Hadrian, as because we know that the object of our request is just. We have also subjoined a copy of Hadrian’s epistle, that you may know we declare the truth likewise in this. And here it follows.”

IV.8.8 To this, the author adds the copy of the epistle, in the Latin tongue; and we have translated it into the Greek, according to the best of our abilities, as follows.

IV.9.1 “To Minucius Fundanus. I have received an epistle, written to me by the most illustrious Serenius Granianus, whom you have succeeded. I do not wish, therefore, that the matter should be passed by without examination, so that these men may neither be harassed, nor opportunity of malicious proceedings be offered to informers.

IV.9.2 If, therefore, the provincials can clearly evince their charges against the Christians, so as to answer before the tribunal, let them pursue this course only, but not by mere petitions, and mere outcries against the Christians. For it is far more proper, if any one would bring an accusation, that you should examine it.

IV.9.3 If any one, therefore, bring an accusation, and can show that they have done anything contrary to the laws, determine it thus according to the heinousness of the crime. So that indeed, if any one should purpose this with a view to slander, investigate it according to, its criminality, and see to it that you inflict the punishment,” Such, then, is the copy of Hadrian’s letter.

¹⁵³⁸ Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History* (Cruse trans.), 124–25. For another translation, see Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 225–26, or Pick, “Early Attacks on Christianity,” 52–53. The Greek text can be found in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (Lake’s Loeb ed.), I, 322, 324; “Serenius Granianus” = Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus.

**[585, alternate translation] To Servianus
concerning Alexandria [130 C.E. (if genuine)]**

(HA: Life of Saturninus)¹⁵³⁹

7 (end) [Preface to the Letter] But, lest any Egyptian be angry with me, thinking that what I have set forth in writing is solely my own, I will cite one of Hadrian's letters, taken from the works of his freedman Phlegon, which fully reveals the character of the Egyptians.

8 From Hadrian Augustus to Servianus the consul, greeting. The land of Egypt, the praises of which you have been recounting to me, my dear Servianus, I have found to be wholly light-minded, unstable, and blown about by every breath of rumour. [2] There those who worship Serapis are, in fact, Christians, and those who call themselves bishops of Christ are, in fact, devotees of Serapis. [3] There is no chief of the Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no Christian presbyter, who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer, or an anointer. [4] Even the Patriarch himself, when he comes to Egypt, is forced by some to worship Serapis, [p. 401] by others to worship Christ. [5] They are a folk most seditious, most deceitful, most given to injury; but their city is prosperous, rich, and fruitful, and in it no one is idle. [6] Some are blowers of glass, others makers of paper, all are at least weavers of linen or seem to belong to one craft or another; the lame have their occupations, the eunuchs have theirs, the blind have theirs, and not even those whose hands are crippled are idle. Their only god is money, and this [7] the Christians, the Jews, and, in fact, all nations adore. And would that this city had a better character, for indeed it is worthy by reason of its richness and by reason of its size to hold the chief place in the whole of Egypt. [8] I granted it every favour, I restored to it all its ancient rights and bestowed on it new ones besides, so that the people gave thanks to me while I was present among them. Then, no sooner had I departed thence than they said many things against my son Verus, and what they said about Antinous I believe you have learned. [9] I can only wish for them that they may live on their own chickens, which they breed in a fashion I am ashamed to describe. [10] I am sending you over some cups, changing colour and variegated, presented to me by the priest of a temple and now dedicated particularly to you and my sister. I should like you to use them at banquets on feast-days. Take good care, however, that our dear Africanus does not use them too freely.

¹⁵³⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic's trans.), III: *Vita Saturnini*, 399, 401 (with facing Latin text). Cf. Renan, *The History of the Origins of Christianity*, Vol. VI, 103; I added number divisions. On this letter, see Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*, chapter XI (pp. 60–65). He signals his stance on its authenticity very early, writing (p. 60), “Sheer delight, for it is all fiction. . . .” Also see Galimberti, “The Pseudo-Hadrianic Epistle,” 111–13. Galimberti, however, adds (p. 113), “Although I believe that the letter is indeed a fake, nevertheless it seems to me that it provides some clues which merit a degree of belief with relation to Hadrian's religious policy.”

1134 To the Archon of the Panhellenion

(Inscription)

[SEG XXVIII.1566]¹⁵⁴⁰

The people of Ptolemais Barca must be admitted to the Panhellenion: however, they make an unjustified request in desiring the same (privileges) as the people of Cyrene, whose ancestry is Achaeian and perfectly Dorian. They themselves, though, are true-born Greeks, but got the additional name of 'Ptolemaeans' from the fact that the Macedonians (?) when they were masters (of the land?) renamed (resettled, restored?) the city. Since therefore the Cyrenaeans are sending two delegates, it is my decision that the Barcaeans should send only one.

1135 Exchange of Correspondence with Proconsul of Baetica, Egnatius Taurinus (130s? C.E.)

(Entry in a 4th cent. Compilation of Roman Law)

[*Collatio*, I.XI.2–3]¹⁵⁴¹

Letter of Egnatius Taurinus to Hadrian

In the matter of Claudius and Euaristus, Best of Emperors (*Optime Imperator*), I have found as follows: Claudius, son of Lupus, while at a dinner was being thrown about in a cloak, when Marius Eurastius acquired fault by so ineptly catching him that Claudius (was severely injured) and died after five days. Though it seems no hostility existed between them, I thought that the desire to be reckless should be checked in order that others of a similar age might be freed from (committing) the same error. Accordingly, I have banished (*interdixi*) Marius Eurastius, for a period of five years (*quinquennium*), from the City (i.e., Rome), from all Italia, and from Baetica. I further have ordered that Eurastius should pay in compensation two thousand to Claudius' father, because the latter's poverty is so evident.

Letter of Hadrian in reply (Rescript)

The punishment of Marius Eurastius, Taurinus, is correct. You are restrained by the extent of his guilt, for as in even more serious offences whether something happens deliberately or accidentally matters. [To this is added the comment:] And, indeed, in every criminal offence such a distinction must either call forth a full recompense (*aut iustam prouocare debet*), or permit a tempered response (*aut temperamentum admittere*).

¹⁵⁴⁰ Jones, "The Panhellenion," 53 (with Greek text). This was appended to a brief letter Hadrian sent to Cyrene. With respect to that letter, see Oliver, "New Evidence on the Attic Panhellenion," 32–33 (with Greek text and translation). Also see Doukellis, "Hadrian's *Panhellenion*: A Network of Cities?"

¹⁵⁴¹ *Collatio*=*Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio*. For an alternative translation, and the Latin text, see Millar, "Imperial Letters in Latin," 76–77. The Latin text can be found, too, in *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio* (Hyamson ed.), 62. Also see in the following chapter the rescript summary of this case entry #1245, p. 685).

[882 repeated] (Purported) To Antoninus[138 C.E.]

[P. Fayum 19; cf. EIMR 36]¹⁵⁴²

Greetings from the emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus to his most esteemed Antoninus. Above all, I want you to know that I am being released from my life neither before my time, nor unreasonably, nor piteously, nor unexpectedly, nor with faculties impaired, even though I almost seem, as I have found, to do injury to you who are by my side whenever I am in need of attendance, consoling and encouraging me to rest. From such considerations I am impelled to write you as follows, not by Zeus, as one who subtly devises a tedious account contrary to the truth, but rather making a simple and most accurate record of the facts themselves. . . .

My father by birth died at the age of forty a private person, so that I have lived more than half as long again as my father, and have reached about the same age as that of my mother when she died.

[Also see 'Rescripts'¹⁵⁴³ issued by Hadrian (next chapter).]

¹⁵⁴² The English translation for the first part is from Jones and Milns, *The Use of Documentary Evidence*, 160–61 (which see for commentary); the last part is from Grenfell et al., 114. The letter was a school exercise and the papyrus preserves a second hand copying a portion of what is preserved by the first hand (the content presented here). It has been argued that this is the only surviving fragment of Hadrian's autobiography, which ostensibly was presented as a series of letters to Antoninus. Grenfell and colleagues (p. 114) remark on the lines immediately following the greeting that "From the vigour with which the points are reiterated . . . one may conjecture that the Emperor is repudiating the tone of a consolatory letter from Antoninus." The Greek text can be found in Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth, *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*, 115–16; also see Bollansée, "P. Fay. 19," 279–80. Bollansée, 281, sees no reason to question the letter's authenticity. He (p. 283) points to rhetorical stylistic devices found in the letter that are typical of the rhetoric of the Second Sophistic movement so familiar to Hadrian. Bollansée, 290, with respect to the idea that this was part of Hadrian's autobiography, points out that a variation of political autobiography built on an epistolary pattern was a practiced established from the end of the 2nd century B.C.E. Bollansée, 293–97, also addresses objections brought forth against the notion this was part of an autobiography. Westall and Brink, "The Second and Third Century," 289, write, "If we accept the letter to Antoninus as genuine, it was originally a private document addressed by the emperor to his adoptive son and successor. If we also accept that this letter contained, or rather stood, as a preface to the autobiography, then there arises the question of its publication. . . . Is it too much to suppose that Antoninus Pius read out the prefatory letter and Hadrian's autobiography at the meeting of the Senate in which it was decided that Hadrian be declare a *divus*?"

¹⁵⁴³ The word means 'writing back'; Hadrian issued numerous rescripts answering one or another matter previously raised by his correspondent. Millar, "Imperial Letters in Latin," 67, points out that rescripts in the form of a letter (*epistulae*) were addressed to "office-holders, to cities or other bodies, to colleges of priests, and sometimes to individuals who seem to have owed this more ceremonious form of address to their high status."

LETTERS TO PLACES (arranged alphabetically)

[473 repeated] Aizanoi in Phrygia [129 C.E.]

(Bilingual (Latin and Greek) Boundary Stone Inscription at Aizanoi)

[*MAMA* IX, 8 (cf. IX, 1–4)]¹⁵⁴⁴

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Father of the Fatherland, three times Consul, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, has restored the territory to its founder Zeus and to the citizens of Aizanitis, which was given by the kings Attalos and Prusias, as measured by *primus pilus* Septimius Saturninus, just as set by King Prusias.

[144 repeated] Alexandria in Egypt Quelling Unrest [late 117/ early 118 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁵⁴⁵

LXIX.8.1^a The Alexandrians had been rioting, and nothing would make them stop until they received a letter from Hadrian rebuking them. So true is it that an emperor's word will have more force than arms.

1136 Aphrodisias, 1 [119 C.E.]

(Inscription on a White Marble Panel, Lines 1–13)

[*InsAph*2007 11.412 (1–13)]¹⁵⁴⁶

In the first stephanephorate of Claudia Pauleina:

The imperator Caesar, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the third time, consul for the third time (A.D. 119) greets the magistrates, the council and the people of the Aphrodisians. Having received your decree and heard from your ambassadors about the financial [cases I concede to you that if a Greek] who is a citizen of Aphrodisias either by birth or by adoption into the citizen body [is prosecuted by a] Greek who is a citizen of Aphrodisias the trial is to be heard under your [laws and at Aphrodisias], but if, on the contrary, a Greek [from another city (is prosecuted by a Greek Aphrodisian) the trial is to be held under] Roman law and in the province; those, however, who are [in debt to the city or stand surety for such a debt] or in short have a financial involvement with your public [treasury] are to undergo [trial in

¹⁵⁴⁴ *MAMA*=*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*; see *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* IX: *Monuments from the Aezanitis*, 5. Also see Burton, “The Resolution of Territorial Disputes in the Provinces of the Roman Empire.” Both the Latin and Greek texts may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/270352?hs=383-397>).

¹⁵⁴⁵ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 439.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Joyce Reynolds (with Greek text) and available at *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias Project (InsAph)* (<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph110412.html#edition>); used by permission. This and the following three letters are all presented in one continuous text. (Where a line in the inscription runs over a line length in the column presented here, it is continued in an indented line below.) For detailed discussion of the letters to Aphrodisias, see Reynolds, “New Letters from Hadrian to Aphrodisias.”

Aphrodisias]. Since you crown me with a crown [of gold? weighing? pounds], you should know that I have declined it because I do not wish your city to be burdened as far as I am concerned. Farewell.

1137 Aphrodisias, 2 [119 C.E.]

(Inscription on a White Marble Panel, Lines 13–27)

[*InsAph2007* 11.412 (13–27); cf. *InsAph2007* 8.34]¹⁵⁴⁷

The emperor Caesar, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the third time, consul for the third time (A.D. 119) greets the magistrates, the council and the people of Aphrodisias. Your freedom, autonomy, and other privileges given to you by the Senate and the Emperors who have preceded me I confirmed earlier. But having been petitioned by an embassy about the use of iron and the tax on nails, although the matter is controversial, since this is not the first time that the tax-collectors have undertaken to collect it from you too, nevertheless knowing that the city is in other respects worthy of honour and is removed from the *formula provinciae*, I release it from payment of the tax and I have written to Claudius Agrippinus my procurator to instruct the contractor for the tax on iron in Asia to keep away from your city. Farewell.

1138 Aphrodisias, 3 [125 C.E.]

(Inscription on a White Marble Panel, Lines 27–41)

[*InsAph2007* 11.412 (27–41)]¹⁵⁴⁸

In (the stephanephorate of) Claudius Hypsikles, heros.

The emperor Caesar, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the ninth time, consul for the third time (A.D. 125) greets the magistrates, the Council and the People of Aphrodisias. The funds which you have reserved for the aqueduct I confirm. And since there are certain of your citizens who say that they have been nominated for the high priesthood when they are incapable of undertaking it, I have referred them to you to examine whether they are able to undertake the liturgy and are evading it, or are telling the truth; if, however, some of them were to appear to be better off, it is fair that they should hold the high priesthood first. I concede that you should take money from the high priests instead of gladiatorial shows; not only do I concede but I praise your proposal. The supervisors who will be chosen by you for the water-channel will

¹⁵⁴⁷ Joyce Reynolds (with Greek text) and available at *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias Project (InsAph)* (<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph110412.html#edition>); used by permission. The heading “In the first stephanephorate of Claudia Pauleina” precedes letters 1 and 2 (collectively) on the panel. Also see previous footnote.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Joyce Reynolds (with Greek text), used by permission, and available at *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias Project (InsAph)* (<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph110412.html#edition>). (See footnote for letter 1 in this series.)

be able to get advice and help on those matters on which they need them from my procurator Pompeius Severus, to whom I have written. Farewell.

1139 Aphrodisias, 4 [124 C.E.]

(Inscription on a White Marble Panel, Lines 41–end)

[*InsAph*2007 11.412 (41–end)]¹⁵⁴⁹

In the stephanephorate of Tib. Claudius Hypsikles son of Hoplon.

The emperor Caesar, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the eighth time, consul for the third time (A.D. 124) greets the magistrates, the council and the people of Aphrodisias. As [.. ? ..] they, being gathered in a body, addressed ?me [.. ? ..] aqueduct (accusative case) to get [? help .. ? .. name (accusative case) son of Diogenes whom [?you had appointed as] ambassador [...

[451 repeated] Asia Minor:

Dealing with Provincial Issues [129 C.E.]

(Excerpt from Letter on a Stele in Asia Minor

[*AE* 2009.1428=*SEG* LIX.1365]¹⁵⁵⁰)

Good fortune! Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, with proconsular imperium, says: During my residing in your province I became aware that the cities and villages have been troubled more than what is justified by soldiers passing through. Therefore, that those men should know what to keep themselves away from place to place, and so that you (understand) what services you must accomplish as well as what you need not put up with as being required, I found it necessary <to make things clear> by a decree.

1140 Astypalaea (Greek Island), 1 [117/118 C.E.]

[*IG* XII³ 175=*EIMR* 16; cf. *FD* III⁴, 301]¹⁵⁵¹

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, twice consul, to the magistrates and council of Astypalaea, Greetings.

Both from your ambassador, Petronius Heraco, and from your decree I understand how pleased you have been by my accession to the office of my father, and I, in turn, commend you and happily affirm your liberty.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Joyce Reynolds (with Greek text), available at *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias Project* (*InsAph*) (<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph110412.html#edition>); used by permission.

¹⁵⁵⁰ The excerpt covers the first 15 lines (the formulaic opening and introduction). Greek text follows Hauken and Malay, “A New Edict of Hadrian,” which see for text and discussion.

¹⁵⁵¹ The Greek text can be seen in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII/3, 39 [#175]; also Lafoscade, *Epistulis Imperatorum Magistratuumque Romanorum*, 9–10 [#16], or Dubois, “Lettre d’Hadrien,” 406–07. The text of *FD*⁴ III, 301 can be seen at *Saerchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/240491?bookid=452&location=252>).

1141 Astypalaea (Greek Island), 2 [118 C.E.]

[SIG² 385=IG XII³ 176=EIMR 19]¹⁵⁵²

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power, twice consul, to the magistrates and council of Astypalaea, Greetings.

I have your resolution of petition, with your concern about being unable to contribute (the *aurum coronarium*) because you are so poor. But I do not know how much is the expected offering, nor when you began to collect it. . . .

1142 Athens [129/130 C.E.]

(Opening Fragment of a Letter Inscribed on Marble)

[Oliver, 83]¹⁵⁵³

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, three times Consul, Father of the Fatherland, to the council (*boulē*) of the Aeropagus (*Areios Pagos*), and council of the 500 (*τη βουλῇ των Φ*), and the citizens (*dēmos*) of Athens.

1143 Cyrene in Cyrenaica [134/135 C.E.]

(Inscription; Extract from a Letter)¹⁵⁵⁴

Cyrenaeans should not yield to fear; instead, remember that it is dishonorable to permit a city, founded in accord with oracles of Apollo, to remain in a ruinous state unworthy of its ancient renown. You should be not merely residents, but founders of what is your ancestral city.

1144 Delphi in Greece, 1 [118 C.E.]

(Inscribed Letter on Stone)

[FD III⁴, 301]¹⁵⁵⁵

Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the second time, twice Consul, to the City of Delphi: Greeting. You have sent to me your embassy bearing your letters. I praise you because I remember the antiquity and nobility of your city, but no less for your zeal at rejoicing at my accession, calling upon the [Phythian] God [Apollo] to give all

¹⁵⁵² EIMR=*De Epistulis Imperatorum Magistratuumque Romanorum*. The Greek text can be found in Lafoscade, *Epistulis Imperatorum Magistratuumque Romanorum*, 11 [#19]; also in Abott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, 397 [#76].

¹⁵⁵³ See Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 208 [#83] for the Greek text; he offers no translation for this standard opening to a letter. See his comment on p. 4.

¹⁵⁵⁴ For another translation, see Reynolds, “Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and the Cyrenaican Cities,” 118; cf. Jones, “A Constitution of Hadrian Concerning Cyrene,” 260, 264, who also interacts with the Greek text and Reynolds’ translation. Also see Larsen, “Cyrene and the Panhellenion.”

¹⁵⁵⁵ The Greek text can be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/240491?bookid=452&location=252>).

good things to me. I confirm your freedom and autonomy and all grants given you in the past, including those given to you by the embassy of divine Trajan.

[404 repeated] Delphi in Greece, 2 [125 C.E.]

[CID IV.152 (11, 37–40); also note CID IV.302 and 303]¹⁵⁵⁶

I have ordered Claudius Timocrates, who is collecting the Amphictyonic decrees, to send to me those decrees which are in conflict with one another or with the common laws, in order that an investigation also of these may be made.

[346 repeated] Ephesus: to the Gerousia [120 C.E.]

(Letter Inscribed on Marble at Ephesus)

[IEph 1486=Syll.³ 833=EIMR 20]¹⁵⁵⁷

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the fourth time, consul three times, to the *Gerousia* of the Ephesians: Greetings.

The most excellent Mettius Modestus did well when he dispensed justice to you in this decision; but since you showed that many persons appropriate your monies by acquiring the properties of persons who have borrowed from you, and by saying that they are not the heirs, but that these persons are debtors to them, I have sent the copy of your resolution to Cornelius Priscus, the most excellent proconsul, that if there should be such a situation he shall appoint someone who both shall decide the controversial matters and shall exact everything, as much as may be due to the *Gerousia*.

The ambassador was Cascellius Ponticus, to whom the travel allowance shall be given, unless he undertook to serve as envoy at his own expense.

Prosper!

September 27. Publius Rutilius Bassus, scribe.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Cortés-Copete, “*Koinoi Nomoi*,” 115 (with Greek text). The article argues for Hadrian’s strong interest in common laws as a force for unifying the empire. Cortés-Copete, 120, makes the case, “In all of his letters, Hadrian uses the first person singular to embody authority. The pronouns I, me, to me and mine—ἐγὼ, με, μοι, ἐμῆς—are also omnipresent, as are the verbs I want, I ordain, I will call, etc.—βούλομαι, κελεύω, καλέσω. The Emperor was becoming the sole guarantor of legal certainty and safety in the Empire.” One tool was supporting common laws.

¹⁵⁵⁷ I follow Johnson, Coleman-Norton, and Bourne, *Ancient Roman Statutes*, 180 [#237], with modifications, especially in preferring *Gerousia* to their “Senate”; see Bekker-Nielsen, *Urban Life*, 79: “Though Greek writers sometimes use *gerousia* as a gloss for *senatus*, the *gerousia* of a provincial city is in no way comparable to the senate of Rome.” See Bailey, “The *Gerousia* of Ephesus.”

**1145 Ephesus: ‘To the Chief Magistrates (Archontes)
and Council (Boule)’ [128/129 C.E.]**

[*SIG*³ 838= *EIMR* 26; cf. *IEph* 1488 [#469]]¹⁵⁵⁸

The emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex maximus, of tribunician power for the 13th time, 3 times consul, father of his country, to the magistrates and Council of the Ephesians, greetings.

Lucius Erastus states both that he is a citizen of yours and that he has frequently sailed the sea and that he has been as useful to his country as is possible from this profession and that he always conveys the governors of the country. He has twice sailed with me, the first time when I was going to Rhodes from Ephesus, and now when coming to you from Eleusis; and he desires to become a member of your Council. I myself leave the examination of his qualifications in your hands, but, if nothing stands in his way and he is worthy of the honour, I shall give the money, which Councillors give, for his election to office.

Farewell.

**[351 repeated] Ephesus: to the Gerousia of Ephesus
Concerning the Library of Celsus**

(Fragmentary Inscription of a Letter(?) to the Council of Ephesus)

[*IEph* 5114]¹⁵⁵⁹

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, to the Council: Greeting . . . all . . . and . . . the most other(?) . . . the . . . library Julius Aquila . . .

[536 repeated] Hierapolis on Phrygia [130 C.E.]

(Excerpt of a Letter Written from Jerusalem)

[*SEG* LV.1416= *AE* 2004, 1424]¹⁵⁶⁰

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the 14th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland, to the magistrates, council, and assembly of Hierapolis, Greeting. . . . from Jerusalem.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Jones and Milns, *The Use of Documentary Evidence*, 47. The Greek text can be found in *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., 552–53 (*SIG*³ 838). This letter and that at #469 (p. 312) are virtually identical, save for whom is being recommended—here Lucius Erastus; there, Philokyrios. ¹⁵⁵⁹ Not much can be translated here beyond the opening formulaic material one can presume. The large library, built by G. Julius Aquila in memory of his father, Tib. Julius Celsus Polemeanus, was finished in Hadrian’s reign. The Greek text can be seen online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/247896?hs=201-211>).

¹⁵⁶⁰ Greek text and accompanying discussion at Bernini, “New Evidence for Colonia Aelia Capitolina,” 561. Only the first few lines and the last fragment are presented here. The text is badly corrupted and fragmentary.

1146 Koroneia in Boeotia, Greece
(Inscription on a Block of Gray Marble)
[Fossey, #7 (Block IV A)]¹⁵⁶¹

Good fortune. Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, high-priest, in his 9th tribunician power and his 3rd consulate, to the magistrates, council and people of the Koroneians. Greetings. I ordered dykes to be created for the Kephissos, the Herkyna, and the other rivers just as they already run together to flow into the Kopaiis. This shall be done very quickly so that, by running along the banks they shall not allow flooding and they (the rivers) shall not, as right now, flood much of the cultivable ground. I will control the water for you and the money will be given by me 65,000, as much as the specialists in these matters said was necessary. You choose who shall take care of the project.

1147 Naryka in Eastern Lokris, Greece
[between Dec., 137 and July, 138 C.E.]
(Inscription on Bronze Tablet)
[IG IX 12.5]¹⁵⁶²

With Good Fortune.

Imperator Caesar, son of deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, holder of *tribunica potestas* for the 22nd time, *imperator* for the second time, *consul* for the third time, father of fatherland, to Narykeans, greetings.

I do not think that anyone would contest that fact that your city has what it takes to be a city since you pay your contribution to the Amphictyony, and to the Assembly of the Boeotians, to which you contribute a Boeotarch and you elect a Panhellene, send a *theekolos*, that you have a council, magistrate, priests, tribes on the Greek model, that your laws are those of the Opuntians and that you pay tribute with the Achaeans. Some of the most famous poets, both Greek and Roman, mention you as Nyarkeans, and among the heroes they name some come from your city. For these reasons, if you have neglected to write to the emperors and receive [assurances from them?]

¹⁵⁶¹ Fossey, "The City Archive at Koroneia," 48–49 (with Greek text).

¹⁵⁶² English translation of the first part (greeting and addressor) from Vujčić, "A Letter of Hadrian to Naryka," 29 (with a correction of his misreading of "seventh" to the correct "third" as consul); the body of letter's translation by Potter, "Inscriptions and the Narrative of Roman History," 361. The Greek text can be found at *Inscriptiones Graecae* (<http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/digitale-edition/inschrift/IG%20IX%201%C2%B2,%205,%202018>). For more information, see Jones, "A Letter of Hadrian to Naryka (Eastern Lokris)." Also see Vujčić for both Greek text (p. 29) and full translation (p. 29–30). To date, this is the latest surviving letter of Hadrian.

1148 Pergamon [c. 138 C.E.]

(Excerpt from a Letter of Reply to Pergamon)

[Cortés-Copete, “Governing by Dispatching Letters,” 119]¹⁵⁶³

But, as you are eager for erecting a statue of me, you have permission to set one image of me in the temple of my father, beside his own image. But you have to be conscious that I am more delighted at the temples of him than at my own ones.

1149 Rome: Senate, 1: A Request and an Instruction [117 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁵⁶⁴

LXIX.2.2 And he wrote to the senate asking that body to confirm the sovereignty to him and forbidding the passing either then or later of any measure (as was so often done) that contained any special honor for him, unless he should ask for it at some time.

1150 Rome: Senate. 2: A Promise Made [117 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*; cf. *Suda*)¹⁵⁶⁵

LXIX.2.4 In a certain letter that Hadrian wrote, in which were many high-minded sentiments, he swore that he would neither do anything contrary to the public interest nor put to death any senator, and he invoked destruction upon himself if he should violate these promises in any wise.

[#130 repeated] Rome: Senate, 3: Honors for Trajan [117 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁵⁶⁶

6.1 Despatching to the senate a carefully worded letter, he asked for divine honors for Trajan. This request he obtained by a unanimous vote; indeed, the senate voluntarily voted Trajan many more honors than Hadrian had requested.

6.2 In this letter to the senate he apologized because he had not left it the right to decide regarding his accession, explaining that the unseemly haste of the troops in acclaiming him emperor was due to the belief that the state could not be without an emperor.

1151 Smyrna in Asia (Fragment)

(Opening of a Letter Found at Smyrna)

[*I. Smyrna* 605]¹⁵⁶⁷

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, holding tribunician power . . .

¹⁵⁶³ Cortés-Copete, “Governing by Dispatching Letters,” 119 (with Greek text); see p. 118.

¹⁵⁶⁴ *Dio Cassius’ Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 427.

¹⁵⁶⁵ *Dio Cassius’ Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 427, 429. The Greek text and an English translation can also be found online at the *Suda On Line* (<http://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/alpha/527>). As Bekker’s edition makes plain, the *Suda* (or *Souda*) draws principally on Dio’s account.

¹⁵⁶⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 19.

¹⁵⁶⁷ The Greek text may be viewed online at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/254907?bookid=525&location=1688>).

1152 Stratonicaea Hadrianopolis: Two Letters [127/128 C.E.]

(Inscription on a Marble Block at Stratonicaea Hadrianopolis in Lydia)

[SIG³ 837 (1st letter)=IGR IV, 1156 (1st letter)=Oliver, 79 and 80 (cf. 81)

=EIMR 23 (1–22; 23–end), cf. 24]¹⁵⁶⁸

[I] Emperor Caesar—son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva—Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 11th time, three times Consul, to the Archons, council (*boulē*) and citizens (*dēmos*): Greetings.

It seems to me you are justly worthy of those things indispensable for a newly established city. Therefore, the surrounding countryside shall render you taxes (*τέλη*), and the house of Tiberius Claudius Socrates that is in your city—either let Socrates repair it or sell it to one of the local folk, so that it does not collapse because of age and neglect. I have sent these instructions to the most excellent proconsul, Stertinius Quartus, and to my procurator Pompeius Severus. Claudius Candidus came as ambassador; permit the travel allowance to him, unless he has undertaken the trip free of charge.

Fare well (Εὐτυχεῖτε). The Kalends of March, from Rome.

I, Claudius Candidus, have given the letter to Lollius Rusticus, archon, on the day before the Ides of May, in the assembly (ἐκκλησίαι).

[II] [Opening of letter the same as in the 1st paragraph of the above letter.]

In reading the letter from you, I noted you expressed gratitude to the most excellent Avidius Quietus, because he granted to you benefits during his proconsulship.

Claudius Candidus Julianus came as ambassador. Fare well (Εὐτυχεῖτε). The 3rd day before the Ides of February (Πρὸ γ' ἰδῶν φεβρουαρίων), from Rome.

1153 Concerning Maroneia, Abdera, and Philippi [132 C.E.]

(An Edict found at Maroneia)

[SEG XLIX, 886 + LV, 744=AE 2005.1348]¹⁵⁶⁹

[While staying in (?) Maron]eia and Abdera, I noticed them (to be) burdened by those who used the diplomas [unlawfully?]; I [must therefore] indicate clearly by an edict that those arriving in (i.e. crossing to) Samothrace must themselves settle the payment both for the boats and for the rowers, [in no way?] disturbing the city, and not arrive (i.e. cross) for the sake of ----- but for the --- of themselves and (their?) ----. But those going by road from Maroneia to Philippi (must) take vehicles according to [contract?], ... the Greek cities, and [protect?] their plantations situated on the way [.....] cattle... (?)

¹⁵⁶⁸ For an alternate rendering, see Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 203 (with Greek text, p. 202). In this letter Hadrian grants that the taxes collected go to support the city rather than to Rome as tribute.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Jones, “An Edict of Hadrian from Maroneia,” 319 (with text and full examination). Partly by nature of its concerning more than one location and partly by virtue of this being an edict, I have separated this entry from others in this section. Also see Edmondson, “The Roman Emperor and the Local Communities of the Roman Empire,” 134–35.

LETTERS TO ORGANIZATIONS

[#390 repeated] Achaean League [126 C.E.]

(Fragments of an Inscription Found Near the Temple of Zeus at Olympia)

[Oliver, 78B]¹⁵⁷⁰

[Imperator Caesar] Tra[an Hadrian Augustus], son of [divus Trajan] Parthicus, grandson of divus Nerva, [tribunician] power for the tenth time, thrice consul, to the Commonalty of the [Achaean, greetings]. - - other honors voted by you [I accepted] - - I was able to see - - - [I approve] the goodwill which [you continue to] have [for me, but that,] you vote me successive series of honors - - - [of the honors] that have been decreed by the synhedrion - - - and I did not hinder those - - - festivals and sacrifices and - - - to be proclaimed - - to go on an embassy - - - agreement - - - Ambassadors were - - - [Let the] travel money [be] paid [to them - - - care of Claudius - - -

[#155 repeated] Assembly of Young Men at Pergamon

[Nov. 17, 117 C.E.]

(Letter of Reply from Juliopolis to Pergamon)

[IGR IV, 349=*Syll.*³ 839]¹⁵⁷¹

Good fortune!

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, holding tribunician power, to the assembly of young men at Pergamon, Greetings.

Noting from your letter and through your representative Claudius Cyrus the great joy you have expressed at our succession, I consider this a sign of your excellence.

Be prosperous. 11th of November, from Juliopolis.

1154 Athletic Synod [May 5, 134 C.E.]

(Side B of a Marble Inscription)

[IGUR I 235=*EIMR* 28]¹⁵⁷²

Good fortune! Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 18th time, three times consul, Father of the Fatherland: To the Athletic Synod of Herakles, crowned victorious athletes; Greetings.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 198 (with Greek text, p. 197). Also see *SEG* XI 1198 (cf. *IrO* 57).

¹⁵⁷¹ Birley, *Hadrian*, 84 (translation of the body of the letter from after the preliminary formalities and greeting, to before the farewell and date; I added the rest). The Greek text can be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, IV, 136 [#349].

¹⁵⁷² Both the Greek text and an alternate translation can be found in Ascough, Harland and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, 207 (#320). For another translation, with some comments, see Hervás, "Trajan's and Hadrian's Reorganization," 86. The "Synod" was an athletic guild, this one being devoted to the demigod Hercules (Herakles). The Greek text also can be found at *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/187869>). On this letter and the general subject, see Pleket, "Some Aspects of the History of the Athletic Guilds" (especially, p. 223).

As you wish, I will command that a place there be given to you and a building for the safe-keeping of your public documents, and if you are thinking a revision of statutes is needed, that is left to you. Ulpius Domesticus, ambassador. Be well.

The third day before the Nones of May, from Rome.

HADRIAN, BOOK LOVER

1155 Lover of Books and Libraries

(Anonymous Tribute)

[*AP* VII.158]¹⁵⁷³

VII.158 On Marcellus the Physician of Side

This is the tomb of Marcellus the renowned physician, a most celebrated man, honored by the gods, whose books were presented (to the public library) in fair-built Rome by Hadrian the best of our former emperors, and by admirable Antoninus, Hadrian's son; so that among men in after years he might win renown for his eloquence, the gift of Phoebus Apollo. He sung of the treatment of diseases in forty skilled books of heroic verse called the Chironides.

1156 Hadrian Collects Philosophy

(Philostratus of Athens, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*)¹⁵⁷⁴

VIII.19 And in fact he emerged after seven days, a longer period than it had taken anyone of those who until then had entered the oracle, and he had with him a volume thoroughly in keeping with the questions he had asked; for he had gone down saying: "What, O Trophonius, do you consider the most complete and purest philosophy?" And the volume contained the tenets of Pythagoras, a good proof this, that the oracle was in agreement with this form of wisdom.

VIII.20 This book is preserved in Antium, and the village in question, which is on the Italian seaboard, is much visited for the purpose of seeing it. I must acknowledge that I only heard these details from the inhabitants of Lebadea; but in regard to the volume in question I must set on record my conviction, that it was subsequently conveyed to the Emperor Hadrian at the same time as certain letters of Apollonius, though by no means all of them; and it remained in the palace at Antium, which was that one of his Italian palaces in which this Emperor took most pleasure.

¹⁵⁷³ *The Greek Anthology*, II, (Paton trans), 89, 91 (with Greek text, pp. 88, 90).

¹⁵⁷⁴ Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (Conybeare trans.), II, 381, 383. The story recounts Apollonius' visit to the shrine of Trophonius at Lebadea in Boeotia, Greece. Apollonius of Tyana (c. 1–97 C.E.) was a famous Neopythagorean philosopher. His native town of Tyana was among those visited by Hadrian on his journey to Rome after becoming emperor. On the 'certain letters of Apollonius,' Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana*, 80–1, observes that both the Pythagorean book and letters came into Hadrian's possession in Athens and that the letters "also must have been of a Pythagorean character."

HADRIAN'S INTEREST IN LITERARY MATTERS

1157 Hadrian's Literary Preferences

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁵⁷⁵

16.6 He preferred Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Vergil, Caelius to Sallust; and with the same self-assurance he expressed opinions about Homer and Plato.

[397 repeated] Hadrian's Interest in Homer: The Pythia's Answer [Hadrian's visit to Delphi in 125 C.E.]

(Anonymous, *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*)¹⁵⁷⁶

314 We will set down, however, what we have heard to have been said by the Pythia concerning Homer in the time of the most sacred Emperor Hadrian. When the monarch inquired from what city Homer came, and whose son he was, the priestess delivered a response in hexameters after this fashion:

“Do you ask me of the obscure race and country of the heavenly siren?
Ithaca is his country, Telemachus his father, and Epicasta, Nestor's
daughter, the mother that bare him, a man by far the wisest of mortal kind.”

This we must most implicitly believe, the inquirer and the answerer being who they are—especially since the poet has so greatly glorified his grandfather in his works.

1158 Another Version of the Pythia's Answer

(Epigram)

[*Greek Anthology* XIV.102]¹⁵⁷⁷

Spoken by the Pythia to the Emperor Hadrian

You ask me that which is unknown to you: the parentage and country of the ambrosial Siren. A certain Ithaca was the seat of Homer, Telemachus was his father, and his mother Nestor's daughter, Polycaste. Her son was he, the most excellently wise of all mortals.

¹⁵⁷⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magic's trans.), I, 51. On Hadrian as a voracious reader, see entry #956 (*Vita Hadriani* 20.10, end). Marcus Porcius Cato (aka Cato the Elder, or Cato the Censor, 234–149 B.C.E.) wrote the first history of Rome in Latin (*Origines*), and other works (e.g., *De agri cultura—Concerning Agriculture*); he laid a foundation for Latin prose. Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.), widely regarded as the greatest Latin writer, had a highly polished style that aimed for precision in word choice, strong sentence structure, clarity and practicality. If Cato was the father of Latin prose, Quintus Ennius (239–169 B.C.E.) might be called the father of Latin poetry. Vergil may be said to stand in relation to Ennius as Cicero to Cato; Vergil (P. Vergilius Maro, 70–19 B.C.E.) is widely regarded as the greatest Roman poet. M. Caelius Rufus (82–c. 48 B.C.E.) showed a simple and informal style, while Sallust (85–c. 35 B.C.E.) was a noted literary stylist.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Anonymous, *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* (Evelyn-White trans.), 569 (with Greek text, p. 568). Also see Uden, “The *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* and the Ambitions of Hadrian.” The Pythia was a priestess (the Oracle at Delphi) serving the god Apollo at the most prominent shrine in ancient Greece. It was located on the slopes of Mount Parnassus above the Corinthian Gulf. On Hadrian's relation to Delphi, and visit there, see Scott, *Delphi*, 223–225.

¹⁵⁷⁷ *Greek Anthology* (Paton trans.), V, 79 (with Greek text, p. 78. I changed “Thou askest” to “You ask,” and “thee” to “you.”)

PHLEGON OF TRALLES

[1116 repeated] Hadrian and Phlegon

(*HA: Vita Hadrianus*)

16.1 So desirous of a wide-spread reputation was Hadrian that he even wrote his own biography;¹⁵⁷⁸ this he gave to his educated freedmen, with instructions to publish it under their own names. For indeed, Phlegon's writings, it is said, are Hadrian's in reality

1159 Phlegon

(*Suda*)¹⁵⁷⁹

Phlegon, of Tralles, freedman of Caesar Augustus, but some say of Hadrian: historian.

[excerpt from 585] Phlegon Collects Hadrian's Letters

(Prefacing Remark to Letter to Servianus (see above), in

(*HA: Vita Saturninus*)¹⁵⁸⁰

7.6 "I will cite one of Hadrian's letters, taken from the works of his freedman Phlegon. . . ."

1160 Phlegon's Works

(Photius, *The Library*)¹⁵⁸¹

§97.1 Read the *Collection of Chronicles and List of Olympian Victors* by Phlegon of Tralles, a freedman of the emperor Hadrian. The work is dedicated to a certain Alcibiades, one of the emperor's body-guards. It begins with the 1st Olympiad, because, as nearly all other writers affirm, there are no careful or accurate accounts of preceding periods, but different writers make different statements, and even those who have been eager to obtain the credit of writing about them contradict themselves. For this reason, as we have said, the author begins with the 1st Olympiad, and goes down, as he himself says, to the times of Hadrian.

§97.1 (end) We have read five books as far as this Olympiad. The author's style, though not too mean and ordinary, does not always preserve the Attic character. But his ill-timed, if laborious, diligence in reckoning the Olympiads, his lists of names of the victors and their achievements, and his accounts of the oracles, not only disgust the reader, since they do not allow a glimpse of anything else to appear, but also make the language disagreeable and rob it of all charm. He also attaches undue importance to oracles of all kinds.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Though scattered references to an autobiography exist, the actual volume has been lost.

¹⁵⁷⁹ The Greek text can be found in *Suidae Lexicon* (Bekker ed.), 1099. The Greek text and an English translation can also be found online at the *Suda On Line* (search "Phlegon").

¹⁵⁸⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), III, 398.

¹⁵⁸¹ Photius, *The Library of Photius*, vol. I (Freese trans.), 188 (beginning), 189 (end). Cf. *Suda* §phi.527. Greek texts can be found in Photius, *Photii Bibliotheca* (Bekker ed.), 83 (beginning), 84 (end). Alcibiades (P. Aelius Alcibiades) of Nysa, to whom Favorinus also dedicated a book, was a freedman of Hadrian and a *cubicularius* ("chamberlain"), one of those charged with attending Hadrian in his private quarters. These *cubicularii* served in groups of ten, headed by a decurion.

1161 Phlegon Mentions Hadrian, 1

(Phlegon, *Olympiads* (as preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium))¹⁵⁸²

XV.23 At the place on Delos called *Olypieum*, which Athenians built by the wealth of Hadrian, was what was called ‘the new Athens of Hadrian’, as Phlegon writes in book XV of the *Olympiads*.

1162 Phlegon Mentions Hadrian, 2

(Phlegon, *Book of Miracles*)¹⁵⁸³

Mir. 25 In Rome a certain woman brought forth an infant with two heads, which was thrown in to the river Tiber at the suggestion of the sacrificing priests. This happened when the archon at Athens was Hadrian, who later became emperor, and the consuls at Rome were the Emperor Trajan for the sixth time and T. Sextius Africanus [A.D. 112].

1163 Phlegon Mentions Hadrian, 3

(Phlegon, *Long-lived Persons*)¹⁵⁸⁴

Mac. 97 Faustus, a slave of the emperor, from Sabini, at the Palatine Praetorium: 136 years. I saw this man myself when he was displayed to the Emperor Hadrian.



Bust of Hadrian. Naples, National Museum Phot. Alinari

Hadrian

(Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, 247)

¹⁵⁸² Smith, *Dictionary*, 760, writes, “[T]here is great probability that it was the new Athenae Hadrianae, which was built at the expense of the emperor Hadrian, in a position called Olympicum (Phlegon, ap. *Steph. B. s.v.* ‘Ὀλυμπτειον’), perhaps from a temple of Jupiter Olympius . . .” The Greek text can be found in *Rerum naturalium scriptores Graeci minores*, I, 102.

¹⁵⁸³ Hug, “Fecunditas, Sterilitas, and the Politics of Reproduction at Rome,” 159. The Greek text can be found in *Paradoxographoi*, 140; cf. *Rerum naturalium scriptores Graeci minores*, I, 82–83. A German translation (by Kai Brodersen) can be found in *Phlegon von Tralleis. Das Buch der Wunder*, 44.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Hansen, *Phlegon of Tralles*, 54. The Greek text can be found in *Rerum naturalium scriptores Graeci minores*, I, 89–90.

Chapter 16

Hadrian, Judge and Law-Giver

HADRIAN THE MAGISTRATE

1164 Noted for Just Laws

(Paulus Orosius, *History against the Pagans*)¹⁵⁸⁵

VII.13 [488] Hadrian governed the state by very just laws.

1165 Chief Magistrate in Many Places

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁵⁸⁶

19.1 In Etruria he held a praetorship¹⁵⁸⁷ while emperor. In the Latin towns he was dictator and aedile and duumvir,¹⁵⁸⁸ in Naples demarch,¹⁵⁸⁹ in his native city¹⁵⁹⁰ duumvir with the powers of censor. This office he held at Hadria, too, his second native city, as it were, and at Athens he was archon.¹⁵⁹¹

1166 Active in the Courts

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁵⁹²

22.11 He tried a great number of lawsuits himself both in Rome and in the provinces, and to his council he called consuls and praetors and the foremost of the senators.

1167 Zealous Overseer of Judges

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁵⁹³

21.1 He always inquired into the actions of all his judges, and persisted in his inquiries until he satisfied himself of the truth about them.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Orosius, *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans* (Deferrari's trans.), 307; cf. Fear's translation, p. 345). The Latin text can be found in Orosius, *Pauli Orosii. Adversus Paganos*, 275.

¹⁵⁸⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 65.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Magie in a footnote (57, #4), writes, "He held the honorary post of chief magistrate of various towns. Praetor was the original title of this magistrate (the Roman consuls also were originally called praetores) and many towns retained the old name." Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 148, adds, "Hadrian is said to have held office as dictator in 'Latin towns' (*Latina oppida*)."

¹⁵⁸⁸ The *duoviri* (or *duumviri*) were chief magistrates. See Magie's footnote (58, #1): "It was customary for the emperors to hold this magistracy as a compliment to the town."

¹⁵⁸⁹ Naples (Neapolis), in Campania, began as a Greek colony. In the Republic and early Empire it was a center of Greek culture, and this is reflected in the title of *demarche* for its chief magistrate.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Italica, in Spain.

¹⁵⁹¹ See entry #21 (end) [*CIL* III, 0550].

¹⁵⁹² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 69. Hadrian admired Augustus and sought to follow his example. With respect to legal decisions, as Pritchard and Nasmith, *The History of Roman Law*, 238, comment, "Thus, when Augustus had to determine a point regarding codicils, he convoked the jurists and submitted the matter to them. (c) Adrian, when he assumed the position of a judge, always had jurists among his assessors, especially Celsus, Salvius Julianus and Neratius Priscus, of whom Trajan thought so much that he at one time conceived the idea of appointing him his successor."

¹⁵⁹³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 55, 57.

1168 A Summary of Some Notable Decisions

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁵⁹⁴

18.1 When he tried cases,¹⁵⁹⁵ he had in his council not only his friends and the members of his staff, but also jurists, in particular Juventius Celsus,¹⁵⁹⁶ Salvus Julianus,¹⁵⁹⁷ Neratius Priscus,¹⁵⁹⁸ and others, only those, however, whom the senate had in every instance approved.

18.2 Among other decisions he ruled that in no community should any house be demolished for the purpose of transporting any building-materials to another city.

18.3 To the child of an outlawed person he [*p. 57*] granted a twelfth of the property.

18.4 Accusations for *lèse-majesté* he did not admit.

18.5 Legacies from persons unknown to him he refused, and even those left to him by acquaintances he would not accept if they had any children.

18.6 In regard to treasure-trove, he ruled that if anyone made a find on his own property he might keep it, if on another's land, he should turn over half to the proprietor thereof, if on the state's, he should share the find equally with the privy-purse.

1169 Hadrian Composes a Legal Code¹⁵⁹⁹

(Cassiodorus, *Chronicle*, 769–770)¹⁶⁰⁰

776. Verus and Ambiguus

777. Under these consuls in response to the Athenians who had petitioned him for laws, Hadrian composed a legal code drawn from the books of Draco, Solon and the rest.

¹⁵⁹⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 55, 57.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Also see 22.11 (above, after Dio, LXX.7.3–4).

¹⁵⁹⁶ Publius Juventius Celsus—Celsus the Younger (67–130 C.E.)—led the Proculian school, the more liberal of the two schools of Roman legal thought (the other being the Sabinians). He rose to be Consul (for the second time) under Hadrian (129 C.E.).

¹⁵⁹⁷ Lucius Octavius Cornelius Publius Salvius Iulianus Aemilianus, a native of Hadrumetum in Africa, an advocate of the Sabinian school of Roman legal thinking, was a member of Hadrian's council. He rose to be Consul under Antoninus (148 C.E.). See Honoré, "Iulianus."

¹⁵⁹⁸ Lucius Neratius Priscus (died after 133 C.E.) was, with Celsus, head of the Proculian School. Under Nerva he was suffect Consul (97 C.E.), was highly regarded by Trajan, and served on Hadrian's council. See Honoré, "Neratius Priscus, Lucius."

¹⁵⁹⁹ On the general subject, see Corbett, "The Legislation of Hadrian."

¹⁶⁰⁰ Procee, *Cassiodorus Chronicle*, 29. The Latin text can be found in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, XI (Mommsen ed.); see pp. 109–161 for complete text. Cassiodorus has 121 C.E. as the first year of Hadrian's reign; he attributes this act to the 6th year (126 C.E.).

EXAMPLES OF HADRIAN'S JUDGMENTS

1170 Judgments of Hadrian

(*Sententiae Hadriani*)¹⁶⁰¹

[1] (31.24–44 | | 387.11–21)

A certain man, desiring to perform military service, declared his wish to Hadrian to serve in the Praetorian Guard. Hadrian asked his height, which was 5½ feet tall.

Hadrian said, “For now, serve in the Urban Cohort. If you perform well, by the time of your third payment of wages you will have the experience to transfer to the Praetorian Guard.”

[2] (31.45–32.12 | | 387.22–33)

A certain person asked that the measure [i.e., his *congiarium*¹⁶⁰² from the State] that would have been given to his freedman, had not the Prefect sentenced him to the quarries under the *Lex Aelia Sentia*, be given to himself.

Hadrian said, “Shameless fellow! You seek to ruin and steal the *congiarium* from a man who is already being punished.”

[3] (32.13–32 | | 387.34–46)

A certain man pleaded he had been left by his son's neglect in a condition of poverty and hunger after all his own resources had been spent.

Hadrian told the young man, “Watch over your father! I mean, in other words, see to it that there is not a second occasion that I should have to investigate this matter.”

[4] (32.33–56 | | 387.47–388.10)

A note from someone, given to Hadrian, alleged that many lenders were charging usurious rates taking 100 *denarii* from 1000 borrowed on the day of delivering the loan, and then charging one percent interest on top of that!

¹⁶⁰¹ These *sententiae* were, at the end of the 19th century, held in much disrepute and therefore neglected throughout most of the 20th century. However, reexamination has led to a higher regard among scholars although the work remains largely unknown by a wider audience. Preserved by the 4th century Roman Dositheus Magister in his *Grammar* (*Ars Grammatica*), the *Sententiae Hadriani* (full title=*Sententiae et Epistolae Divi Hadriani*) themselves may have originated in the late 2nd century. They strike many contemporary scholars as consistent in tone and substance with what is otherwise known about Hadrian. Sirks, “A Decision of the Emperor Hadrian,” 318, remarks, “Notwithstanding the validity of Schiller's observation that we now know that records of such informal sessions in which the emperor decided cases existed and were copied, it remains nevertheless true that the selection is focused on the theme of peity. But this does not exclude the possibility that these cases were selected from the stenographic recordings of Hadrian's times, and that they are authentic in origin.” The Latin text can be found in *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, III; the page and line numbers for each entry are indicated in the parentheses (most of the texts exist in two versions).

¹⁶⁰² The *congiarium* was a state gratuity (*donative*) provided to the people; the word refers to a “measure” (*congius*). Trajan had been generous in this regard and Hadrian followed his example.

Hadrian said, “That most excellent man, my Prefect, will look into this matter and report back to me.”

[5] (32.57–33.25 | 388.10–21)

By means of a petition a certain person aimed at the opportunity of achieving equestrian rank. He explained that although he had sufficient wealth, for two years he had been denied a horse at public expense and, moreover, on the basis of an accusation by some slaves the Prefect had exiled him from his city for a year.

Hadrian told him, “Just having a public horse is only a start for achieving such rank as you desire; you must also show by your life in future a blamelessness and ability in other respects that merit the status.”

[6] (33.26–36 | 388.22–29)

A certain person asked that his father be permitted to be recalled from exile.

Hadrian said, “Allow me to look at the records, then come back to me.”

[7] (33.37–34.5 | 388.30–47)

A certain man asserted that although his freedmen kept shops (*taberna*) in which they did business using his property, they paid him nothing out of their profits. The freedmen’s attorney answered this complaint by saying that each and every one of them had many times paid their patron—and would continue to act responsibly if permitted to continue with business.

Hadrian said (to the freedmen), “Splendid! Well, then, now be certain there is no reason for further complaint.” (And to the petitioner,) “But also you yourself must manage some common sense (in this matter).”

[8] (34.6–32 | 388.48–389.8)

By petition a certain person whose father’s property was confiscated and himself removed from the office of *decurion* now was seeking justice in these matters.

Hadrian asked this person why it had taken him so long to bring this petition about the confiscation of his father’s property and then told him, “These matters have been long decided and it would be quite wrong for me to overturn what others have decided.”

[9] (34.33–60 | 389.9–23)

In the city a petitioner said he wished to emancipate one of his charges early, a girl who was willing and whose mother had acted against her; he was therefore acting as an advocate on behalf of the girl. Hadrian inquired concerning the age of the child in question. He was told she was ten years old.

Hadrian said, “You propose to be free from responsibility for this girl; (instead) I free you from this petition!”

[10] (35.1–40 | 389.24–45)

A certain man, who had taken his son's *congiarium*, and his Latin 'wife,' who had been 'married' when he was in the military, appeared in order to dispute about their son and his right to *congiarium*.

Hadrian said, "You do not have standing in this matter as *pater familias* concerning your son's *congiarium*." He inquired with whom was the child residing and was told he lived with his mother. Hadrian then said to the man, "Shameless fellow! Restore your son's *congiarium*."

[11] (35.41–36.14)

A certain woman expressed her dismay over her son's guardian's negligence in providing maintenance from three years past to the present day. Hadrian questioned the guardian, who defended himself by saying that because his partner in the guardianship was absent he was unable by himself to hand anything over.

Hadrian replied to the guardian, "So your argument is that you were appointed guardian to your ward to murder him by hunger? I order you to provide him maintenance from your resources."

[12] (36.15–48)

A man interrupted one day, saying to Hadrian, "My sons, Lord, have been conscripted for military service!"

Hadrian responded, "Happy news! I wish them well."

The man replied, "But they are ignorant of what such service means and I fear they'll truly make a mess of it, leaving me miserable and alone."

Hadrian said, "Don't be alarmed, for they serve in a time of peace."

At this the father said, "Then send me back into service, Lord Emperor, that I might be their attendant and guide them."

Hadrian answered, "By the gods, you shall not serve your sons! Instead, accept another course and be their centurion."

[13] (36.49–37.15 | 389.46–390.6)

To Hadrian a certain woman spoke concerning her *congiarium*, exclaiming, "Lord Emperor, I entreat you to order my son to give me my *congiarium*, because he is doing nothing about it!"

Her son said, "Lord Emperor, I do not recognize this woman as my mother."

"If you do not recognize this woman as your mother, neither do I recognize you as a citizen of Rome!"¹⁶⁰³

¹⁶⁰³ Selected examples of the *Sententiae Hadriani* can be found in various volumes; in this regard might be mentioned Duroy, *History of Rome and the Roman People*, V, 400–01. Brief summaries of all of them, with a discussion of the work as a whole, appear in Gil and Tovar, *Hadrianus*. The original language texts can be found in Pellat, *Manuale Juris Synopticum*.

Special Note

In the materials that follow, the translated material is attributable to the sources listed in the footnotes. However, in the interest of consistency of original source citation I have generally regularized the entries to follow one citation form. For example, for Justinian's *Digest*, the book and title section are in Roman numerals even though that is not always the case in the translator's materials.

S. P. Scott's translation, published in 1932 in 17 volumes, though used much here, has not been regarded as adequate, relying on antiquated Latin manuscripts and suffering other limitations. But it was for a long time the only English translation of some the works it covers. It lapsed into the public domain (by failure to renew copyright), making it highly accessible. On his translation, see Kearley, "The Enigma of Samuel Parsons Scott," 31–34. I have tried to indicate alternative translations that might be reviewed.

ON GENERAL MATTERS OF LAW & LEGAL PROCEDURES

1171 On the Origin of Law

*(The Digest of Justinian)*¹⁶⁰⁴

I.II.2[49] (Pomponius, *Manual*) It was the deified Augustus who, in order to enhance the authority of the law, first established that opinions might be given under his authority. And from that time this began to be sought as a favor. As a consequence of this, our most excellent emperor Hadrian issued a rescript on an occasion when some men of praetorian rank were petitioning him for permission to grant opinions; he said that this was by custom not merely begged for but earned and that he [the emperor] would accordingly be delighted if whoever had faith in himself would prepare himself for giving opinions to the people at large.

(Also see entry, bottom of facing page)

1172 On the Authority of the Roman Senate

*(The Digest of Justinian)*¹⁶⁰⁵

XLIX.II.2 (Ulpian, *On the Edict*, I) It should be remembered that an appeal cannot be taken from the Senate to the Emperor; and this was established by an address of the Divine Hadrian.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 18. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), I, 18. The Latin text can be found in Holland and Shadwell, *Select Titles from the Digest of Justinian*, 11–12. The Digest is one part of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* ("Body of Civil Law"), more commonly known as the Justinian Code. This comprehensive code is presented in many volumes spread across four great works: the Codex (*Codex Constitutionum*), the Institutes (*Institutiones*), the Digest (*Digesta*, also known as the *Pandectae*), and the New Constitutions (*Novellae Constitutiones Post Codicem*). The Institutes and the Digest are by far the better known parts and the ones most translated, which accounts for their greater presence here. I have slightly altered excerpts to regularize the manner of citation of sources in and by the Digest.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 146.

1173 On Changes to the Law

(*The Codex of Justinian*)¹⁶⁰⁶

I.18 Because things divine are most perfect but the condition of human law is to run on indefinitely, and there is nothing that can last forever—for nature hastens to produce many new forms—We have no doubt that cases shall emerge that are not enmeshed in the bonds of the present laws. If, then, some such thing should occur, let the august aid (of the Emperor) be sought, because God set the fortune of the Emperor over human affairs so that he might both remedy, resolve, and regulate by appropriate measures and rules all new controversies that arise. We are not the first to state this, but it descends from ancient stock: Julian himself, that most acute author of laws and of the Perpetual Edict, also relates in his books that, if anything should be found defective, it should be supplemented by imperial decree. Indeed, not only he, but also the divine Hadrian, in the compilation of the Edict and in the decree of the senate that followed, most manifestly laid down that if anything was not found included in the edict, new authority (of later emperors) could establish it according to its rules and inferences and analogies based thereon.¹⁶⁰⁷

1174 On the Right to Deliver Legal Opinions

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁰⁸

I.II.49. It may be observed in passing that before the days of Augustus the right of delivering opinions in the public interest was not granted by the head of the state, but any persons who felt confidence in their own learning gave answers to such as consulted them; moreover they did not always give their answers under seal; they very often wrote to the judge themselves, or called upon those who consulted them to testify to the opinions they gave. The Divine Augustus was the first to lay down, in order to ensure greater authority to the law, that the jurisconsult might deliver his answer in pursuance of an authorization given by himself; and from that time such an authorization was asked for as a favour. It was in consequence of this that our excellent Emperor Hadrian, on receiving a request from some lawyers of praetorian rank for leave to give legal opinions, answered the applicants that this privilege was not usually asked for but granted [or that there was no leave asked for this practice, it was simply carried out], consequently, if any one were confident of his powers, he (the Emperor) would be much pleased to find that he took steps to qualify himself for delivering opinions to the citizens.

(Also see penultimate entry of facing page)

¹⁶⁰⁶ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 18.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Corbett, "The Legislation of Hadrian," 755, remarks, "Hadrian's reign was marked by a striking increase in what we may call this chancery legislation. The number of references in the Digest to his predecessor Trajan, whose reign was of practically equal length, is in comparison a mere fraction."

¹⁶⁰⁸ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro's ed.), I, 311–12. For an alternate translation, see Scott, *The Civil Law*, 3, 151.

1175 On Deciding among Legal Opinions

(Rescript¹⁶⁰⁹ in Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁶¹⁰

I.§7. The responses of the jurisconsults are the decisions and opinions of individuals licensed to lay down the law. If those consulted be unanimous, their decision or opinion has the force of statute; but if they differ, the judge may adopt any of their opinions he pleases; so it is declared in a rescript of our late emperor Hadrian's.

1176 On the Appointment of Judges

(Rescript, *The Institutes of Justinian*)¹⁶¹¹

V.I.47. Callistratus, *Questions*, I. Care must be exercised that a person not be appointed judge, whom either side expressly petitions for; as the Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript that this would offer a bad precedent unless it should be especially allowed by the Emperor through respect for him whose appointment was requested.

1177 On the Limitations of Magistrates

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶¹²

V.I.48. (Paulus, *Opinions*, II) Care must be taken not to [p. 312] appoint as judge anyone whom one side asks for expressly by name; (such an appointment, according to a rescript of Hadrian, would be a thing of bad example;) unless special permission for this being done should be given by the Emperor out of respect for the person asked for as judge.

1178 On Trials at Law

(Extract from Letter, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶¹³

V.1.48 (Paulus, *Responsa* 2) The following is an extract from a letter of the Divine Hadrian: Magistrates are not in the year of their office to commence any proceedings on their own behalf either as plaintiffs or defendants, nor are they to be judges in a matter which they are concerned in as guardians or curators. But as soon as the term of their office expires, then actions may be brought both by them and against them.

¹⁶⁰⁹ A rescript—a 'return writing'—was a response to an inquiry. Corbett, "The Legislation of Hadrian," 753–54, observes, "... the rescript frequently purports to be nothing more than an application of existing law to a particular case. New rules are indeed often established in this form, but much of our material is simply declaratory rather than creative of new law." Tellegen-Couperus, *A Short History of Roman Law*, 97, notes, "Hadrian was the first to use the rescript to give juridical advice."

¹⁶¹⁰ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 4 (with Latin text); cf. Ibbettson, "Sources of Law," 35; also see Gaius, *Institutes de Gaius* (Studemund ed.), 5. Du Plessis, *Borkowski's Textbook*, 44, notes, "It appears that the rescript was emphasizing that *responsa* were binding only if given by jurists with the *ius respondendi*, and provided that the opinion was unanimously held by such jurists. Hadrian was probably planning to abandon the practice of granting the *ius respondendi*."

¹⁶¹¹ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro's ed.), I, 312; cf. Scott, *The Civil Law*, 3, 151.

¹⁶¹² Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro's ed.), I, 311–12; cf. Scott, *The Civil Law*, 3, 151.

¹⁶¹³ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 313. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen's ed.), I, 170.

1179 On Judgment and Effect of Judicial Decisions

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶¹⁴

XLII.I.33 (Callistratus, *Judicial Examinations*, V) The deified Hadrian received a written complaint from Julius Tarentinus who alleged that the judge in his case had been deceived by false evidence through a conspiracy of his opponents, who had bribed the witnesses, and asked that he be granted *restitutio in integrum*. The emperor issued the following rescript: “I have directed that there be forwarded to you a copy of the complaint which I have received from Julius Tarentinus. If you establish that he has fared badly through the conspiracy of his opponents and their bribing of witnesses, you are to deal severely with them and, if the judge made any ruling through being misled by this base conduct, you will grant the suppliant *restitutio in integrum*.”

1180 On Reliability of Witnesses

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶¹⁵

XXII.V.3 (Callistratus, *Cognitiones*, IV) Evidence can be admitted if it is free from suspicion, because of the witness (an honest man) or the motive (not gain, favor, or enmity). 1. Hence, the deified Hadrian gave a rescript to Vibius Varus, legate of the province of Cilicia, that the judge knows best what weight to attach to witnesses. It runs as follows: “You know best what weight to attach to witnesses, what their dignity and reputation is, who speaks simply, and whether they keep to a premeditated story, or give likely answers to your *ex tempore* questions.” 2. There is a rescript of the same emperor to Valerius Verus about assessing witness evidence as follows: ‘It is impossible to define strictly the amount and mode of proof needed on each issue. The truth can often but not always be found without recourse to public records. Sometimes the number of witnesses, sometimes their dignity and authority, at others common knowledge settles the truth of the matter in [p. 193] issue. In short, all I can reply to you is that a *cognitio* should not be tied at once to a single mode of proof. You must judge from your own conviction what you believe and what you find not proved.” 3. The deified Hadrian also sent a rescript to Rufinus, proconsul of Macedonia, that he should believe witnesses, not depositions. This part of the letter runs: “Alexander made charges against Aper before me. He did not prove them or produce witnesses but wanted to use depositions, which are out of place before me, since my practice is to question witnesses. I sent him to the governor, to inquire about the veracity of the witnesses and, if he did not make out his charges, relegate him.” 4. The same emperor gave the following rescript to Gabinius Maximus: “The evidence of witnesses actually present has a different weight from that of depositions recited in court. So reflect and, if you believe the witnesses, give them expenses.”

¹⁶¹⁴ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson’s ed.), IV, 54. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, Vol. II., 540 (Mommsen’s ed.), II, 540.

¹⁶¹⁵ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson’s ed.), II, 192–93. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen’s ed.), I, 650–51.

1181 On Active Duty Military Witnesses

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶¹⁶

XXII.V.6 (Callistratus, *Cognitiones*, IV) Witnesses should not lightly be summoned from long distances, still less soldiers called away from their military duties, as the deified Hadrian said in a rescript.

1182 On the Testimony of a Slave Thought to be Free

(Rescript to Catonius Verus, *The Institutes of Justinian*)¹⁶¹⁷

II.10.7 A witness, who was thought to be free at the time of making the testament, was afterwards discovered to be a slave, and the Emperor Hadrian, in his rescript to Catonius Verus, and afterwards the Emperors Severus and Antoninus by rescript, declared, that they would aid such a defect in a testament, so that it should be considered as valid as if made quite regularly; since, at the time when the testament was sealed, this witness was commonly considered a free man, and there was no one to contest his status.

1183 On Excuses

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶¹⁸

XXVII.I.6.19 (Modestinus, *Excuses*, II) Paul writes about peasants, those of humble status, and the illiterate as follows: “Being of mean status and born on the land sometimes provides an excuse according to rescripts of the deified Hadrian and Antoninus. An excuse ought not to be accepted from someone who says that he is illiterate unless he be ignorant of business affairs.”

1184 On Interrogatories

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶¹⁹

XI.I.6[1] [Ulpian,¹⁶²⁰ *On the Edict*, XXII] Sometimes a man who is asked whether he is heir is not compelled to answer, for instance, where he is made defendant to an action in which his heirship is the matter in dispute; this was laid down by the Divine Hadrian; because otherwise, if the defendant denied that he was heir, he might be prejudicing his own case, or, if he said that he was heir, he might find himself entangled even if he should lose the inheritance.

¹⁶¹⁶ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), II, 193. For an alternate translation, see Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 168 [#278]. Latin text from Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, Vol. I., 651 (Mommsen's edition).

¹⁶¹⁷ Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Sandar's 5th edition), 167 (with Latin text). For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Moyle's trans.), 61–62.

¹⁶¹⁸ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), II, 326. Latin text from Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, Vol. I., 784 (Mommsen's edition).

¹⁶¹⁹ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), II, 223. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen's ed.), I, 336–37. Interrogatories are formal questions that must be answered.

¹⁶²⁰ For a close examination of Ulpian, see Honoré, *Ulpian*.

1185 On Motions to a Court

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶²¹

III.I.8b (Papinianus, *Questions* 2) The Emperor Titus Antoninus laid down by rescript that where a man was debarred by interdict from practising as an advocate for a period of five years, there was nothing to prevent his making motions after the lapse of the five years for whomsoever he pleased. The Divine Hadrian too laid down that a man was qualified to make applications after his return from exile. No distinction is admitted in connexion with the nature of the offence for which the party was forbidden to speak or exiled, otherwise a penal period which was definite as to duration might be further prolonged, in contradiction to the terms of the judgment.

1186 On Trials at Law

(Rescript to Thessalonians, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶²²

V.I.37 (Callistratus, *Inquiries* 1) If an inquiry is made as to alleged violence and as to the fact of possession; the question of violence should be taken before the question of ownership, according to a rescript of the Divine Hadrian addressed to the Thessalian community in the Greek language.

1187 On Weighing Intent

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶²³

XLVIII.VIII.14 (Callistratus, *On Judicial Inquiries*, VI) The Divine Hadrian stated the following in a Rescript: "In the perpetration of a crime, the intention, and not the event, is considered."

1188 On Protection against 'Double Jeopardy'

(On Persons Who Cannot Be Accused)

(Rescript to Glabrio, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶²⁴

XLVIII.II.12. (Venuleius Saturninus, *On Public Prosecutions*, II) It is not lawful to accuse the following persons, namely: the Deputy of the Emperor, that is to say, the Governor of a province; according to the decision of Lentulus, rendered during the Consulate of Sylla and Trio; nor the deputy of a Governor, for a crime which he committed before he obtained his office; nor a magistrate of the Roman people; nor anyone who is absent on business for the State; provided he did not depart for the purpose of evading the law.

(1) Persons who are classed as offenders can make use of this privilege, if, having been discharged, they contend that they should not again be accused, which is in accordance with the Epistle of the Divine Hadrian addressed to Glabrio, Consul.

¹⁶²¹ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 143. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommson's ed.), I, 81.

¹⁶²² Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 310. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommson's ed.), I, 169.

¹⁶²³ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 63.

¹⁶²⁴ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 19.

ON FAMILY LAW (INCLUDING ON WOMEN & CHILDREN)

1189 On Adultery

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶²⁵

XXIV.2.8 (Papinianus, *On Adultery*, II). The deified Hadrian relegated for three years a man who had led someone else's wife to his own home (in marriage) while she was on a journey and had only then sent a *repudium* to her husband.

1190 On the Status of Pregnant Free Women

(Rescript to Publicius Marcellus, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶²⁶

I.V.18 (Ulpian, *Controversies* 6) The Emperor Hadrian laid down in a rescript to Publicius Marcellus that if a free woman were condemned to the extreme penalty, being with child at the time, her child would be born free, and that the custom was to keep the woman until she was delivered of the child.

1191 On the *Potestas* Over Children, 1

(Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁶²⁷

I.§55. Likewise in our *potestas* are those of our children begotten in a marriage approved by the *ius civile*. This right is one peculiar to Roman citizens: there are scarcely any other men [*p.* 22] who have over their sons such a power as we have;—a fact noticed by our late emperor Hadrian in an edict of his in reference to persons applying for a grant of citizenship for themselves and their children.

1192 On the Legal Status of Children, 1

(Senatusconsult in Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁶²⁸

I.§30. The reason why in reference to the son we add 'if he also be of the same condition,' is this, —that if the wife of a Latin happen to be a Roman citizen, then, by a recent senatusconsult, of which our late emperor Hadrian was the author, any child born of the marriage will be a Roman citizen in right of birth.

1193 On Dubious Cases

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶²⁹

XXXIV.V.7(8) (Gaius, *Fideicommissa*, I) In our own time, in fact, an Alexandrine woman called Serapias was presented to Hadrian with the five children she had borne in one confinement. However, where more than three children are born at once, the event is regarded as almost sinister.

¹⁶²⁵ Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire*, 190.

¹⁶²⁶ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 27. The Latin can be found in Holland and Shadwell, *Select Titles from the Digest of Justinian*, 82. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*, II.93(2).

¹⁶²⁷ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 21–22 (with Latin text). For alternate translations: *The Institutes of Gaius* (Gordon and Robinson trans.), 47, or Scott, *The Civil Law*, 1, 89.

¹⁶²⁸ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 12 (with Latin text). I capitalized his 'latin.'

¹⁶²⁹ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), III, 171. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen's ed.), II, 171. Cf. Phlegon of Tralles, *Mirabilia* 28 (see Phlegon of Tralles' *Book of Marvels* (Hansen's trans.), 163–64.

1194 On the Legal Status of Children, 2

(Senatusconsult in Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁶³⁰

I.§77. (At the present day, however, in virtue of a senatusconsult which we owe to the late emperor Hadrian, the issue of a marriage between a Roman citizen woman and a peregrin is held to be a lawful child of his father even though there may not have been *conubium* between the parents.) . . .

I.§80. But we follow the rule laid down in Hadrian's senatusconsult, — that, in whatever way their marriage may have been contracted, the issue of a Latin husband and a Roman citizen wife shall be a Roman citizen.

I.§81. In entire conformity with all that has been said above, this also is laid down in the same senatusconsult,—that the child born of a Latin father and peregrin mother, or vice versa, follows the condition of its mother.

1195 On the Legal Status of Children, 3

(Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁶³¹

I.§84. Take the Claudian senatusconsult: under its provisions a Roman citizen woman cohabiting with another person's slave with the owner's consent, might, in virtue of agreement with the latter, herself retain her freedom, and yet give birth to a slave; for the senatusconsult declared that any such agreement between her and her slave-paramour's owner should be sustained as valid. But afterwards Hadrian, moved by the want of equity in the matter and the incongruity of the rule, reestablished the principle of the *ius gentium*, — that if the woman herself remain free it will be to a freeman that she will give birth.

1196 On the Legal Status of Children, 4

(Senatusconsult in Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁶³²

I.§92. If a peregrin woman who has conceived in illicit intercourse afterwards become a Roman citizen, and then give birth to her child, it will be of a Roman citizen that she is delivered; if, however, she have conceived by a peregrin according to the laws and customs of peregrins, it appears from Hadrian's senatusconsult that she will give birth to a Roman citizen then only when the father also of the child has had a gift of citizenship.

I.§93. If a peregrin have petitioned for a grant of citizenship for himself and his children, these will not be in his *potestas* unless the emperor has expressly subjected them to it. This he does only when, having investigated the whole circumstances, he considers it for their advantage; and, as enjoined in an edict

¹⁶³⁰ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 30, 32 (with Latin text). Cf. Scott, *Roman Civil Law*, I, 93. A 'senatusconsult' is a decree of the Roman Senate. A 'peregrin' is a 'foreigner'—not a Roman citizen. The Latin *conubium* refers to legal intermarriage. I capitalized his 'latin.'

¹⁶³¹ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 33 (with Latin text). The Latin *ius gentium* ('law of nations') was the notion of natural law, i.e., law applying to all people by its inherently rational nature and not as a matter of legal decree.

¹⁶³² Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 36–37 (with Latin text). An alternate translation, with original text and discussion, is in Wilfand, "'A Proselyte,'" 353–54.

of Hadrian's, the inquiry is to be all the more careful and minute if the children be under puberty or absent at the time.

I.§94. Further, if a peregrin have obtained a gift of [p. 37] citizenship for himself and his pregnant wife, while, as already said, the child when born will be a Roman citizen, yet he will not be in his father's *potestas*; so it is declared in a rescript of our late emperor Hadrian's.

1197 On the Legal Status of Children, 5

(Senatusconsult in Ulpian, *Rules*)¹⁶³³

[Of Latins] III.§3. For it is [p. 369] provided by the Junian law that if he have taken to wife either a Roman citizen or a Latin, declaring before witnesses that he was marrying in order that he might get children, he may, after the birth of a son or daughter, and when it has completed its first year, show cause before the praetor or provincial governor, and thus not only himself become a Roman citizen, but also his child and his wife,—these, of course, only if the wife too be a Latin; for if she be a Roman citizen, then, in terms of Hadrian's senatusconsult, her child is born a citizen.

1198 On Maintenance of Children

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶³⁴

XXXIV.I.14[1] (Ulpian, *Fideicommissa*, II) Hadrian established that boys are maintained up to the age of eighteen, and girls up to the age of fourteen, and our emperor has ruled in a rescript that the formula worked out by Hadrian is to be observed

1199 On Guardians

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶³⁵

XXXVI.VII.12 (Paulus, *On the Edict*, XXXVIII) According to the Rescripts of Trajan and Hadrian, the transaction of all business by a guardian in good faith should be ratified.

1200 On Guardians Appointed by Magistrates (*dativa tutela*)

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶³⁶

XXVII.VIII.1 (Ulpian, *On the Edict*, XXXVI) (8) The Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript that an action should be granted even against the party who was selected to examine the value of securities offered by a guarantee.

(9) Where understanding existed between magistrates that guardians shall be appointed only at the risk of one of them, the Divine Hadrian stated in a

¹⁶³³ Ulpian, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 368–69 (with Latin text). I capitalized 'latin.'

¹⁶³⁴ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), III, 144. For an alternative translation, see Scott, *The Civil Law*, 7, 233. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen's ed.), II, 144. A *Fideicommissum* is an obligation on an heir (or legatee) in a will to transfer property to someone.

¹⁶³⁵ Scott, *Roman Civil Law*, 6, 88.

¹⁶³⁶ Scott, *Roman Civil Law*, 6, 165.

Rescript that such a contract should not prejudice the rights of the ward; for the public law cannot be changed by a mere agreement of the Duumvirs. . . .

1201 On Guardianship and Patriarchal Responsibility

(Constitution of Hadrian, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶³⁷

XXVII.I.15 (Modestinus, *Excuses*, VI) (17) Where anyone under paternal control is appointed a guardian, and his father refuses to become his surety, the laws direct that the father himself shall be made guardian, and that the security of the guardianship shall in no way be interfered with, as is stated in a Constitution of the Divine Hadrian, which is as follows: “The Emperor Hadrian to Bitrasius Pollio, Deputy at Lyons. If Claudius Macer, although he is a son under paternal control, appears to be a suitable person to be a guardian, and his father is unwilling to provide security for him, in order that he may deprive his son of the guardianship, and he continues to display this perfidious spirit, I think that you can properly counteract this fraud by compelling both his son and himself to administer the guardianship of the children of Clement.”

1202 On the Right of Women to Make a Testament, 1

(Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁶³⁸

I.§115a-b. Fiduciary coemption was also had recourse to of old to enable a woman to make a will; for then women, with a few exceptions, had not the right to execute a testament unless they had performed coemption, afterwards been remancipated, and finally manumitted. But the necessity for this coemption was abolished by the senate [p. 44] on the authority of our late emperor Hadrian; [and women are now held to have ipso iure as much right in this matter as if they had gone through the old form. But, observe, that though a woman's coemption with her husband may be intended to be only fiduciary], she nevertheless begins to stand to him in the position of a daughter; for, no matter what the cause of a wife's being in the *manus* of her husband, it is held that she thereby acquires a daughter's rights.

1203 On the Right of Women to Make a Testament, 2

(Senatusconsult in Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁶³⁹

II.§112 But eventually] a senatusconsult was passed, on the proposition of the emperor Hadrian, allowing women who were *sui iuris* to make a testament without coemption, provided they were not under the age of twelve, with the auctoritas of their tutors.

¹⁶³⁷ Scott, *Roman Civil Law*, 6, 133. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), II, 330. 'Bitrasius Pollio' is 'Vitrasiun Pollio.'

¹⁶³⁸ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 43–44 (with Latin text). 'Coemption' was a legal way of contracting marital status through purchase; fiduciary coemption provided a way through a fictitious sale for the woman to gain the legal right to make a will (i.e., 'execute a testament'). For another translation, and discussion, see Friar and McGinn, *A Casebook on Roman Family Law*, 455–56. Hadrian preserves some older conditions but liberalizes a woman's ability to make a will.

¹⁶³⁹ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 111 (with Latin text); see p. 608 for explanation of the legal history.

1204 Mothers Can Inherit from Children Who Die Intestate

(Senatusconsult in *The Institutes of Justinian*)¹⁶⁴⁰

III.3.2 Afterwards, the *senatusconsultum Tertullianum*, in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, established the general rule that mothers, but not grandmothers, should have the melancholy privilege of succeeding to their children; so that a mother, born of free parents, having three children, or a freedwoman having four, should be admitted, although in the power of an ascendant, to the goods of her intestate children. Except that a mother in the power of another can only enter upon the inheritance of her children at the command of him to whom she is subject.

1205 On Legal Protection of Minors

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁴¹

XXXVII.X.3 (Ulpian, *On the Edict*, XIV) (5) The Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript: "Where the decision is ordinarily deferred until the age of puberty, this is done for the benefit of the minors, in order that this condition may not be imperiled before they are able to protect themselves. Moreover, if they have persons by whom they may be properly defended, and if it is to the interest of the said minors that the case should be quickly brought to trial, and a decision rendered, and the guardians of the minors desire it to be heard, what has been devised for the benefit of the minors should not be employed against them, and their condition remain in suspense when it can be established beyond a doubt."

1206 On Recognition of Children Born after Divorce

(Senatusconsult in *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁴²

XXV.III.3(1) (Ulpian, *On the Edict*, XXXIV) For the reason that the Plautian Decree of the Senate has reference to children born after a divorce, another Decree of the Senate was enacted during the reign of the Divine Hadrian, which prescribed that children born during marriage must be recognized by their parents.

1207 On Recognition of Children Born after Spouse's Death

(Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*)¹⁶⁴³

III.16.12 (end). Moreover, on the subject of human gestation, besides what I have read in books, I have discovered that the following situation actually took place at Rome. A woman of good and honorable character, and of unquestioned sexual virtue, gave birth to a child in the eleventh month after the death of

¹⁶⁴⁰ Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Sandar's 5th edition), 283 (with Latin text). For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Moyle's trans.), 112. Friar and McGinn, *A Casebook on Roman Family Law*, 339, write, "This statute . . . promoted mothers who possessed the 'right of children' to the rank of statutory heirs (*legitimi*), the second praetorian class; other mothers remained in the third class (*cognati*)."

¹⁶⁴¹ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 8, 180..

¹⁶⁴² Scott, *The Civil Law*, 6, 39.

¹⁶⁴³ Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* (Rolfe trans.), I, 293 (with Latin text). Friar and McGinn, *A Casebook on Roman Family Law*, 300, remark that Hadrian probably heard this case on appeal.

her husband. Because of the time involved, she was accused of having conceived after her husband was already dead, since the decemvirs had written that a person is born within ten months and not in the eleventh month. The deified Hadrian, however, after hearing the case, gave his decision that birth can also take place in the eleventh month. I have read the actual decision of this case. In it, Hadrian states that he delivers his opinion after having consulted the views of ancient philosophers and doctors.

1208 On Inheritance Rights of the Unborn, 1

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁴⁴

V.IV.3. (Paulus, *On Plantius*, XVII). The ancient authorities were so solicitous to maintain the interest of an unborn child who would be free at birth, that they reserved all its rights unimpaired until the time it was to be born. This is apparent in the law of succession concerning those who are in a more remote degree of relationship than the unborn child, and who are not admitted to the succession, as long as it is uncertain whether or not a child will be born. Where, however, there are others in the same degree of relationship as the one that is unborn, then the question has arisen what share of the estate should remain in suspense, since it is impossible to ascertain how many may be born; hence, there are so many various and incredible accounts given with reference to this matter that they are usually classed with fables. It is said that four daughters were born of a married woman at a single birth; and, also, certain writers, who are not unreliable, have stated that five children were born of a Peloponnesian woman on four different occasions, and that many Egyptian women have had several children at once. We have seen three brothers, the Horatii, senators, of one birth, girded for battle; and Lælius states that he had seen a free woman on the Palatine Hill who had been brought from Alexandria in order to be shown to Hadrian with her five children, four of whom he alleges she was said to have brought forth at one time, and the fifth four days afterward.

1209 On Inheritance Rights of the Unborn, 2

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁴⁵

XXXVII.IX.1(14) (Ulpian, *On the Edict*, XLI) Where the woman who desires to be placed in possession of an estate is not the wife of the testator, nor his daughter-in-law, nor has ever sustained such a relation to him, or it is asserted that she is not pregnant by him, the praetor will render a decree, as under the Carbonian Edict. This the Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript addressed to the Praetor, Claudius Proculus, directing him to assume summary jurisdiction of the case; and if it was evident that the woman who desired to be placed in possession of the estate in the name of her unborn child had been guilty of

¹⁶⁴⁴ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 3, 198. For an alternative translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 366–67.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 8, 174. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), III, 302.

fraud, he must not decide in her favor. If, however, any doubt should exist, he was ordered to be careful not to cause any injury to the unborn child, but to place it in possession of the estate. Hence, it appears that, unless the woman was evidently guilty of deceit, she could demand a decision of the Praetor; and in case there should be any reasonable doubt as to whether she was pregnant by her husband, she must be protected by a decree, in order that the rights of the unborn child might not be prejudiced.

1210 On Inheritance Rights of the Unborn, 3

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁴⁶

XXXVII.IX.8. (Paulus, *On Adultery*, I) Where a woman is placed in possession of an estate in the name of her unborn child, the Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript addressed to Calpurnius Flaccus that an accusation of adultery should be postponed, in order that no wrong may be done to the child.

1211 On Forbidding the Use of Force against Someone Sent to Take Possession

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁴⁷

XLIII.IV.3(3) (Ulpian, *Edict*, LXVIII) If a woman is alleged to have come into possession by reason of a false claim on the grounds that she is not pregnant or not pregnant by such a one, or if something is alleged about the woman's status, then according to a letter of the deified Hadrian in conformity with the presumption of the Carbonian Edict, the praetor promises possession to the unborn child.

1212 On Gifts between Spouses¹⁶⁴⁸

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁴⁹

XXIV.VII (ULPIAN, *Sabinus*, XXXI) 2. If a man and his wife give each other five gold pieces and the man keeps his but the wife spends hers, it was quite rightly held that there was a set-off between the gifts, and the deified Hadrian decreed this to be so.

3. Where a woman bought land and her husband paid the price for her as a gift, he also decreed that an estimate should be made of the extent to which the woman was enriched.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 8, 177. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), III, 303.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), IV, 85. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommson's ed.), II, 571.

¹⁶⁴⁸ On the general matter of gifts between spouses, Blume, *Annotated Justinian Code*, Book V, Title XVI (<http://www.uwyo.edu/lawlib/blume-justinian/ajc-edition-2/books/book5/index.html>), remarks, "Generally speaking, gifts between husband and wife during marriage were forbidden, the theory being that there would be no end of gifts between them, if not forbidden, and might lead to strife, contention and divorce. Reasonable gifts on festive occasions were, however, not forbidden."

¹⁶⁴⁹ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), II, 242.

1213 On Liability for Alienating Property

(Rescripts, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁵⁰

XXVI.7.12.1 (Paulus, *On the Edict*, XXXVIII) What a *tutor* has done in good faith is deemed valid, a point also supported by rescripts of Trajan and Hadrian. And for this reason a *pupillus* cannot claim title to something that was lawfully alienated by the *tutor*. For it is also disadvantageous to *pupilli* if the management of their property is not confirmed, because, obviously, no one would buy (from them). Nor does it matter whether the *tutor* was solvent or not, since if the act was done in good faith, it must be upheld; (and) if in bad faith, the alienation is invalid.

1214 On the Carbonian Edict

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁵¹

XXXVII.X.3(5) The Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript: “Where the decision is ordinarily deferred until the age of puberty, this is done for the benefit of the minors, in order that this condition may not be imperiled before they are able to protect themselves. Moreover, if they have persons by whom they may be properly defended, and if it is to the interest of the said minors that the case should be quickly brought to trial, and a decision rendered, and the guardians of the minors desire it to be heard, what has been devised for the benefit of the minors should not be employed against them, and their condition remain in suspense when it can be established beyond a doubt.”

1215 Hadrian’s Consideration Based on Family

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁶⁵²

LXIX.23.3 And if it was absolutely necessary to punish any man who had children, yet in proportion to the number of children he would lighten the penalty imposed.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Friar and McGinn, *A Casebook on Roman Family Law*, 437 (with Latin text). In addition to text and translation is a discussion of this matter. The *tutor* (from Latin *tueri*, to watch (over) or protect) was a guardian for a person not under a ‘father’s power’ (*patria potestas*) who, by reason of young age or female sex was legally unable to act for him- or herself (not possessing *sui iuris*, ‘of one’s own right,’ i.e., legally independent). A tutor was such a person’s ‘protector’ and thus had functions similar to those of one holding *patria potestas*, though more limited. The label for a person under guardianship (*Tutela*) was *pupillus* (masc.) or *papilla* (fem.).

¹⁶⁵¹ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 8, 180. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson’s ed.), III, 306. Watson’s translation makes clearer that they “are at risk in the matter of status.” He also clarifies that the ‘guardians’ are the ‘tutors.’ The Carbonian Edict concerned children born of lawful marriage with uncontested legitimacy of birth and proven legal right of succession. The edict applied to minor or unborn heirs whose claim to an estate was in dispute. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code*, 575, in his glossary entry offers: “Carbonian Edict (*edictum Carbonianum*), an edict issued by the Praetor Carbo, of uncertain date, but probably of the last century of the Republic. It protected a posthumous heir in the possession of a contested inheritance until he reached the age of puberty, if it was charged that he was supposititious.”

¹⁶⁵² *Dio Cassius’ Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 465. Rawson, “Children as Cultural Symbols,” 35, with this text quoted and mindful of other acts by which Hadrian protected children, remarks, “It is easy to see why Pietas took on an enhanced role in Hadrian’s ideology.”

1216 The Power of Making a Testament

*(The Institutes of Justinian)*¹⁶⁵⁴

II.12.1 The power of making a testament is not granted to everyone. In the first place, persons in the power of others have not this right; so much so, that, although their ascendants give permission, still they cannot make a valid testament. We must except those whom we have already mentioned, and particularly *filiifamiliarum* who are soldiers, for the imperial constitutions have given them the power of bequeathing whatever they have acquired while on actual service. This permission was at first granted by the Emperors Augustus and Nerva, and the illustrious Emperor Trajan, to soldiers on service only; but afterwards it was extended by the Emperor Hadrian to veterans, that is, to soldiers who had received their discharge; and therefore, if a *filiifamiliarum* disposes by testament of his *castrense peculium* this *peculium* will belong to the person whom he makes his heir; but, if he dies intestate, without children or brothers, this *peculium* will then belong, according to the ordinary [*p. 178*] law of the *patria potestas* to the person in whose power he is. We may hence infer, that whatever a soldier, although under power, has acquired while on service, cannot be taken from him even by his father, nor can his father's creditors sell it, or otherwise disturb the son in his possession, nor is he bound to share it with brothers upon the death of his father, but it remains his sole property, although, by the civil law, the *peculia* of all those who are in the power of ascendants are reckoned among the goods of their ascendants, exactly as the *peculium* of a slave is reckoned among the goods of his master; those goods excepted, which by the constitutions of the emperors, and especially by our own, are prevented, for different reasons, from being so acquired. With the exception, therefore, of those who have a *castrense* or *quasi-castrense peculium* if any other *filiifamiliarum* makes a testament, it is useless, although he becomes *sue juris* before his death.

¹⁶⁵³ Jakab, "Inheritance," 498, observes that in dealing with matters of ownership, in books 2 and 3 of the *Institutes of Gaius*, inheritance considerations receive roughly three times more attention than does contract law. Of the fifty books of the *Digest*, eleven consider the law of succession. This preoccupation was merited, writes Jakab: "Modern scholars have calculated that some 60 or 70 percent of all Roman litigation arose over problems connected with inheritance. . . ." With respect to Hadrian's changes to these laws, Corbett, "The Legislation of Hadrian," 763, writes, "These amendments of the law of wills all point in the same direction, viz., to the establishment of the general principle, effectively preached by Julian and Papinian, that the terms of a testament should be given effect to in accordance with what can be ascertained of the testator's intentions, rather than as required by the strict rules of law."

¹⁶⁵⁴ Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Sandar's 5th edition), 177–78 (with Latin text). For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Moyle's trans.), 65.

1217 On Illicit Interference with Making or Altering a Testament

(*The Digest of Justinian* ¹⁶⁵⁵)

XXIX.VI.1. (Ulpianus, *On the Edict*, XLVIII) The Divine Hadrian decreed that if anyone, while endeavoring to obtain possession of an estate to which he was entitled either by descent or by will, should prevent a person from entering, who had been sent for, either to draw up a will which the testator desired to execute, or to change one already made, he shall be denied the right to bring any action, and when this is done, the Treasury will be entitled to the estate.

1218 On Interference with Opening a Will

(*The Theodosian Code*)¹⁶⁵⁶

XI.XXXVI.26. Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius Augustuses to Hypatius, Prefect of the City.

If any person should venture to appeal, to prevent the opening of a will written as the testament of a deceased person or to prevent the parties who appear to have been appointed as heirs in such will from obtaining the benefit of the edict issued by the sainted Hadrian, and if the judge who has cognizance of the matter should suppose that such an interposed appeal should be accepted, the litigant who took such an untimely appeal and the judge who stupidly connived at his doing so shall each be subject to a fine of twenty pounds of gold.

Given on the Nones of April at Trier in the year of the consulship of Auxonius and Olybrius.—April 5, 379.

1219 On Abstaining or Relinquishing an Inheritance (see below)

(Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁶⁵⁷

II. §163. But if an heir who has the right of abstaining have once intromitted with hereditary effects, or one who is entitled to deliberate as to entering have once entered, he has not the power of afterwards relinquishing the inheritance, unless he be under twenty-five years of age; for, as the praetor grants relief to men of this age in every other case in which they have been taken advantage of, so does he when they have accepted a detrimental inheritance. I am aware, however, that the late emperor Hadrian once granted the same relief to an individual above twenty-five, on his discovery after entry of the existence of a debt of large amount which was latent when that step was taken.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 7, 3.

¹⁶⁵⁶ *The Theodosian Code and Novels* (Pharr trans.), 338. I have changed his manner of citation (11.36.26) but not the wording. An edict by Hadrian commanded that heirs should not have to petition for the possession of goods left by will to them. See Code of Justinian VI.XXXIII.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 131–32 (with Latin text).

1220 On Witnesses to a Will

(*The Codex of Justinian*)¹⁶⁵⁸

VI.23[1] *Emperor Hadrian Augustus to Catonius Verus. Whether witnesses (to a will) were slave or free should not be considered in this case, when at the time when the will was sealed they were considered as free by general agreement and no one thus far has raised a dispute as to their status.*

1221 On Sons Inheriting

(*Senatusconsult in Gaius, Institutes*)¹⁶⁵⁹

II.§141. A son also, who is manumitted after a first or second mancipation, breaks a previous testament of his father's by reverting into his *potestas*; nor does it matter though in said testament he may have been either instituted or disinherited.

§142. Formerly the rule was the same in the case of a person on whose account cause of error had been established under the senatusconsult, say because he had been born of a peregrin or Latin woman whom his father had married by mistake, believing her to be a citizen; for, whether he had been instituted or disinherited by his parent, and whether the cause of error had been established before or after his father's death, in any case the testament was broken by his quasi-agnation.

§143. But now, by a later senatusconsult, due to the late emperor Hadrian, if the cause of error have been established in the father's lifetime the testament is invariably broken just as it used to be; but if cause be not shown till after the father's death, while it will still be broken if the son have been passed over, that will not happen if he has been either instituted in it or disinherited, lest otherwise a carefully executed testament be set aside when it is no longer possible to remake it.

1222 On Special Permission to Relinquish an Inheritance (see above)

(*The Institutes of Justinian*)¹⁶⁶⁰

II.19.6 The Emperor Hadrian, however, once gave permission to a person above twenty-five years to relinquish an inheritance, when it appeared to be encumbered with a great debt, which was unknown at the time that he entered on the inheritance. But this was granted as a special favor to a particular person.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Justinian, *The Codex of Justinian* (Corcoran et al. ed. based on Blume trans.), 2, 1503 (with Latin text).

¹⁶⁵⁹ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 123 (with Latin text). The idea of 'quasi-agnation' concerns sorting out inheritance rights through the father, especially where there are descendants of different relationship to a man (e.g., son, grandson, etc.). For further explanation see, for example, Leage, *Roman Private Law*, 183–85. I capitalized his 'latin.'

¹⁶⁶⁰ Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Sandar's 5th edition), 219 (with Latin text). For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Moyle's trans.), 82.

1223 On Giving Anything to an “Uncertain” (i.e., Unidentified) Person

(Rescript, *The Institutes of Justinian*)¹⁶⁶¹

II.20.25 Formerly it was not permitted that either legacies or *fideicommissa* should be given to uncertain persons, and even a soldier could not leave anything to an uncertain person, as the Emperor Hadrian decided by rescript.

1224 On the Role of Preception

(Constitution of Hadrian, Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁶⁶²

II. §221. The authorities of the other school think that a legacy may be left by preception even to a stranger, as if the words *ran*— ‘Titius is to take the slave Stichus;’ holding that the addition of the syllable *prae* [i.e. before distribution] is superfluous, and the thing therefore to be regarded as legated by vindication. This opinion is said to have been confirmed by a constitution of the late emperor Hadrian’s.

1225 On Bequeathal by Trust-Gift

(Senatusconsult in Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁶⁶³

II. §287. Further, it was formerly possible to bequeath by trust to an uncertain person or a stranger after-born, although it was impossible either to institute him heir or leave him a legacy; but, by a senatusconsult passed at the instance of our late emperor Hadrian, the rule has been made the same for trust-gifts as for legacies and inheritances.

1226 On a Distinction between Trust-Gifts and Legacies

(Rescript, Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁶⁶⁴

II. §280. Interest and fruits and profits are due upon a trust-gift if the debtor be *in mora* in paying it, but interest is not due upon legacies; so it is stated in a rescript of our late emperor Hadrian’s.

1227 On Contested Wills

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁶⁵

XXXIV.V.10(1) (Tryphonius, *Disputations*, XXI) Where a son and his father lost their lives in war, and the mother claimed the estate of her son on the ground of his having died last, and the relatives of her father declared that the son died first, the Divine Hadrian decided that the father died first.

¹⁶⁶¹ Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Sandar’s 5th edition), 239 (with Latin text). For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Moyle’s trans.), 89. A *fideicommissum* is a gift of property intended to be held by someone on behalf of another person unable to directly receive the gift.

¹⁶⁶² Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 151 (with Latin text). ‘Preception’ refers to acquisition of some legacy, under an option provided by the will to the legatee, before the general distribution of things left by the will.

¹⁶⁶³ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 172 (with Latin text).

¹⁶⁶⁴ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 170 (with Latin text).

¹⁶⁶⁵ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 7, 281. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson’s ed.), III, 172.

1228 On Debts of the Deceased

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁶⁶

XLVI.XXVI.1 (Gaius, *On the Provincial Edict*, VIII) An obligation is not divided amongst co-sureties under the letter of the Emperor Hadrian *ipso jure*, and so if one of them has died without an heir before his portion of the debt has been recovered from him or has come to poverty, his share falls to the burden of the rest.

1229 On Inofficious Testaments, 1

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁶⁷

V.II.8[16] (Ulpian, *On the Edict*, XIV) If the judge goes into the case of inofficiousness and decides against the testament, and there is no appeal made, the testament is rescinded in law, the person in whose favor judgment is given will be *suus heres* or *bonorum possessor*, according to the nature of his claim, testamentary manumissions are absolutely void, legacies are not payable, and, if they should have been paid already, they can be recovered, either by the person who paid them or by the successful applicant, the recovery being by *utilis actio*. As a rule, if they were paid before the proceedings commenced, the person to recover them is the successful applicant, so the Divine Hadrian and the Divine Pius laid down by rescript.

1230 On Inofficious Testaments, 2

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁶⁸

V.II.28 (Paulus, *On Septemviral cases*) In a case where a mother was informed falsely that her son, who was a soldier, was dead, and she thereupon appointed other persons heirs, the Divine Hadrian decreed that the inheritance should belong to the son, on the understanding that manumissions and legacies were to be maintained. Particular attention should be paid in this case to the additional clause about manumissions and legacies; as where a testament is made out to be inofficious, none of its provisions are valid.

1231 On Inofficious Testaments, 3

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁶⁹

V.II.8 (Ulpian, *On the Edict*, XIV) (16) Where a judge investigates a case based on an inofficious testament and renders a decree against the testament, and no appeal is taken, the testament is rescinded by operation of law; and the party

¹⁶⁶⁶ Robinson, *The Digest or Pandects of Justinian*, 13.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 325. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommson's ed.), I, 177.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 333. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommson's ed.), I, 181. An "inofficious testament" is an improper omission or illegal disinheritance of an heir and thus is void under Roman law. Such testaments violate Roman *pietas* because they proceed unnaturally from what is a normal expectation of what the testator's affections *should* be and the expected moral duty accompanying a testament. As a result an heir (or heirs) is unlawfully deprived of what is a legal entitlement.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 3, 162–63.

who succeeds will become the direct heir, or the possessor of the property in accordance with the terms of the decree; testamentary grants of freedom will become void by operation of law; legacies will not be due; and if they have been paid they can be recovered either by him who paid them or by the successful litigant (by means of a praetorian action). Generally, however, where they have been paid before proceedings were instituted, the successful litigant should bring suit for their recovery; as the Divine Hadrian and the Divine Pius stated in a Rescript.

1232 On Things Religious and Funeral Expenses

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁷⁰

XI.VII.37[1] [Macer, *On the Five Per Cent. Succession Duty Statute*, I] A sepulchral monument (according to a rescript of the Divine Hadrian) is whatever is constructed by way of a muniment, in other words, in order to protect the spot where the body is laid; so that, if the testator ordered any extensive building to be made, as, for instance, a series of porticoes in a ring, such expense is not incurred for the funeral.

1233 On Action for Recovery of Inheritance, 1

(Rescript to Trebius Sergianus, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁷¹

V.III.5[1] (Ulpian, *On the Edict* 14) The Divine Hadrian laid down in a rescript to Trebius Sergianus that Aelius Asiaticus should give security for the inheritance which it was sought to recover from him; and then, the rescript continues, he can raise the question of the testament being forged; the point is that proceedings on the *hereditatis petitio* will be stayed while the question of forgery is being tried.

1234 On Action for Recovery of Inheritance, 2

(Senatusconsult in *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁷²

V.III.20 (Paulus, *On the Edict*, XV) (6) Beside the above, we find a great many questions discussed relative to the *petitio hereditatis*, to the sale of the assets of deceased persons, to past fraud and to mesne profits. But as an express rule was laid down on these subjects by a decree of the senate, the best plan is to give the text of the decree and append an explanation. “On the fourteenth of March Quintus Julius Baibus and Publius Juventius Celsus, Titus Aufldiua, Oenus Severianus, consuls, expressed themselves on the subject of those matters which

¹⁶⁷⁰ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), II, 256. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommson’s ed.), I, 355. A ‘muniment’ is a document such as a record found in an archive.

¹⁶⁷¹ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 336. For an alternative translation, see Watson’s translation, I, 336, or Scott, *The Civil Law*, 3, 172. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommson’s ed.), I, 182.

¹⁶⁷² Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 345–46. For an alternative translation, see Scott, *The Civil Law*, 3, 180–81. ‘Mesne profits’ are those illicitly gained by a person in wrongful possession of an estate. The *petitio hereditatis*—petition for an inheritance—was a legal means of protecting one’s hereditary rights; see Johnston, “Succession.”

the Emperor Caesar, son of [the Divine] Trajanus the Parthian conqueror and grandson of the Divine Nerva, Hadrianus Augustus, Emperor and mighty Prince on the third of March last preceding propounded and set forth in a bill as to what he desired should be done, whereon they resolved as follows:— 6a, ‘Whereas, before such portions of the goods of Rusticus as fell to the State were sued for by the Treasury, those persons who deemed themselves the heirs sold the inheritance, we hold that interest ought not to be demanded on the purchase money received as the price of the things sold, and the same rule must be observed in similar cases. 8b. We hold further that, if judgment were given against those persons who were defendants to the *petitio hereditatis* they would be bound to pay over the purchase money which came to their hands as the price of any objects included in the inheritance [p. 346] which were sold, even though such objects were destroyed or damaged before the *petitio* was brought. 6e. Furthermore, that where any persons should have laid hands on the goods of the deceased, knowing that they did not belong to them, even though they contrived before joinder of issue to avoid being in possession of them, judgment ought to be passed upon them just as much as if they were in possession; but, wherever they should have had reasonable ground to believe that the goods belonged to them, the judgment should be only for the amount to which they were enriched by what they had done. 6d. The senate held that the *petitio hereditatis* must be deemed to have been brought for the Treasury so soon only as the party knows that it is being brought against him, that is, so soon as it is notified to him or he is summoned by a letter or citation’.”

1235 On Action for Recovery of Inheritance, 3

(Speech to Senate, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁷³

V.III.22 (Paulus, *On the Edict*, XX) In an address of the Divine Hadrian we find this passage : — “You must consider, conscript fathers, whether it is not the fairest rule that the possessor should not make a profit, but should give up the price which he received for another man’s goods, as it may be held that the purchase money received for the thing sold, where such thing formed part of the estate of the deceased, takes the place of the thing itself, and has in a certain sense become a portion of such estate.” Accordingly the possessor will be bound to give up to the plaintiff both the thing itself and the profit he made by the sale of it.

¹⁶⁷³ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 349. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen’s ed.), I, 189.

1236 On Action for Recovery of Inheritance, 4

(Speech, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁷⁴

V.III.40 (Paulus, *On the Edict*, XX) It may be added that the provision in the address of the Divine Hadrian to the effect that when the parties are at issue there ought to be made good to the plaintiff whatever he would have had, if the inheritance had been handed over to him at the time of the action being brought, sometimes acts oppressively.

1237 On the *Condictio* for Money Paid

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁷⁵

XII.VI.2[1] (Papinianus, *On Sabinas*, XVI) If anything should be paid in pursuance of a testament, but afterwards the testament proves to be forged or inofficious or void or to have been avoided, what was paid may be asked back, and [the same is the case] if, after a long time, some debt owing from the estate should come to light, or codicils which have been long undiscovered in which there is a revocation of legacies which have been already paid, or the legacies are reduced in amount by the fact that there are other persons discovered to whom legacies were left. This results from the rescript of the Divine Hadrian concerning forged or inofficious testaments, to the effect that an action must be allowed to the person in whose favor judgment should be given as to the right to the inheritance.

1238 On the Right to Bequeath to Municipal Corporations

(Senatusconsult in Ulpian, *Rules*)¹⁶⁷⁶

XXIV.§28 A man may legate to any municipal corporation within the Empire; a power first conferred upon testators by the emperor Nerva, and afterwards more carefully defined by the senate at the instance of Hadrian.

1239 On Legacies, 1

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁷⁷

XXXI.I.8(5) (Paulus, *On Plantius*, IX) If I bequeath to anyone a certain part of an estate, the Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript that neither the value of any manumitted slave, nor the funeral expenses of the deceased, could be deducted from the legacy.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 358. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), I, 359. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen's ed.), I, 194.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), II, 306; Scott, *The Civil Law*, 4, 139, has the authority as Ulpian, *On Sabinus*, XV. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen's ed.), I, 379. A *condictio* is a legal summons or action.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Ulpian, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 420 (with Latin text). For an alternate translation, see Lomas, *Roman Italy*, 234 [#386].

¹⁶⁷⁷ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 7, 63–64. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), III, 39.

1240 On Legacies, 2

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁷⁸

XXXI.I.57 (Gaius, *Lex Julia et Papia*, II) If you have left a legacy to the empress and she ceases to sojourn among mankind, the legacy is void, as the deified Hadrian ruled in the case of Plotina. . . .

1241 On Legacies, 3

(*The Codex of Justinian*)¹⁶⁷⁹

VI.50[4] *The same Augustus to Philetianus*. It has been rightly decided by the deified Hadrian that the *lex Falcidia* applies even for legacies given to the Emperor.

1242 On Protecting a Son against a Father's Fraud

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁸⁰

XXXVI.I50 (Papinianus, *Questions*, XI) When Vivius Cerealis had been appointed heir, and directed to transfer the estate to his son Vivius Simonides, when he should be free from his control, and it was proved that many fraudulent acts had been committed for the purpose of avoiding the trust, the Emperor Hadrian ordered the estate to be delivered to the son, so that the father would have no right to the money as long as his son should live. For, as security cannot be given as long as paternal control exists, the Emperor inflicted this loss upon the father because of the fraud perpetrated by him.

1243 On Factors that Affect the Validity of a Will

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁸¹

XXVIII.III.6(6) (Ulpian, *On Sabinus*, X) Where, however, anyone convicted of a capital crime is condemned to be thrown to wild beasts, or to fight as a gladiator, or some other sentence is imposed which will deprive him of life, his will becomes void, not from the time when he suffered punishment, but from the date of his sentence, for he then at once becomes a penal slave; unless, being a soldier, he is convicted of some military offence, for under such circumstances, it is customary for him to be permitted to make a will, as the Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript; and I think that he can make one in accordance with military law. On this principle, therefore, as he is allowed, to make a will after his conviction, should one which he had previously executed be held valid, if he was allowed to make it, or should it be considered void on account of the penalty, after it has been made? There can be no doubt that, if he has a right to make a will by military law, and wishes the first will to be valid, he will be considered to have executed it.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), III, 50. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen's ed.), II, 50.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Justinian, *The Codex of Justinian* (Corcoran et al. ed. based on Blume trans.), 2, 1679 (with Latin text). Cf. Scott, *The Civil Law*, 14, 65.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 8, 77.

¹⁶⁸¹ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 6, 200.

ON CRIMINAL CASES¹⁶⁸²

1244 On Murderers

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁸³

XLVIII.VIII.1. (Marcianus, *Institutes*, XIV) (3) The Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript that anyone who killed a man, without the intention of doing so, could be acquitted; and that anyone who did not kill a man, but wounded him for the purpose of killing him, should be convicted of homicide; and that the decision should be rendered according to the circumstances of the case, for if the aggressor drew a sword and struck him with it, there is no doubt of his having done this with the intention of killing him. Where, however, during a quarrel, he struck him with a spike, or a brass vessel used in a bath, although the article employed was made of metal, still the attack was not made with the intention of killing him; and the penalty imposed upon one who in a quarrel committed homicide rather accidentally than intentionally, should be mitigated.

(4) The Divine Hadrian also stated in a Rescript that he who killed anyone who was forcibly attempting to commit an act of debauchery with himself, or those belonging to him, should be discharged.

1245 On Negligent Homicide

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁸⁴

XLVIII.VIII.4 (Ulpian, *On the Duties of the Proconsul*, VII) (1) When a man, through mere wantonness, causes the death of another, the decision of Ignatius Taurinus, Proconsul of Baetica, who relegated the guilty party for a term of five years, was confirmed by the Divine Hadrian.

1246 On Killing Someone Committing Sexual Assault

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁸⁵

XLVIII.VIII.1(4) (Marcian, *Institutes*, XIV) Again, the deified Hadrian wrote in a rescript that he who kills someone forcibly making a sexual assault on him or a member of his family should be discharged.

¹⁶⁸² With respect to Hadrian's contribution to criminal laws, Corbett, "The Legislation of Hadrian," 764–65, remarks, "Those of Hadrian cover a multitude of points—the penalty for driving off cattle, for removing boundary marks, for peculation of municipal funds, for the use of false measures, for attempted suicide by soldiers; the prohibition of life sentences to chains; the disposal of the convict's property."

¹⁶⁸³ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 59. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), IV, 333. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen's ed.), II, 819. Cf. *Digest* XLVIII.8.14, where a rescript of Hadrian affirms that it is the *intention* to which attention should be paid when weighing the penalty for a crime. See Corbett, "The Legislation of Hadrian," 765 on the matters discussed in this and the following two entries.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 61. Such a five year term was known as a *quinquennium*. Also see the full exchange between Hadrian and Ignatius Taurinus (in the previous chapter).

¹⁶⁸⁵ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), IV, 333. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, Vol. II., 819 (Mommsen's ed.), II, 819.

1247 On Reasoning Out a Case

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁸⁶

XLVIII.IX.5 (Marcianus, *On Public Prosecutions*, XIV) It is said that the divine Hadrian, in a case where a certain man had, while hunting, killed his son who had committed adultery with his stepmother, caused him to be deported to an island, on the ground that he killed him rather as a thief than by asserting his right as a father; for paternal authority should rather be influenced by affection than by cruelty.

1248 On the Clothing of the Convicted, 1

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁸⁷

XLVIII.XX.2 (Callistratus, *On the Rights of the Treasury and the People*, VI) It is not necessary to strip a person of his clothing when he is placed in prison, but only after he has been sentenced. This was stated by the Divine Hadrian in a Rescript.

1249 On the Clothing of the Convicted, 2

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁸⁸

XLVIII.XX.6. (Ulpian, *On the Duties of Proconsul*, X) The Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript to Aquilius Bradua: "It is evident that, by the name itself, one ought to understand what is meant by 'clothing.' For no one can reasonably say that under this term is included the property of persons who have been condemned, for if anyone is wearing a girdle, no one should claim it on this ground; but any clothing which he wears, or any small sums of money which he may have in his possession for the purpose of living, or any light rings, that is to say, any which are not worth more than five *aurei*, can be demanded.

"Otherwise, if the convicted person should have on his finger a sardonyx, or any other precious stone of great value, or have in his possession any note calling for a large sum of money, this can, by no right, be retained as part of his clothing."

1250 On the Consideration of Violence Involved

(Rescript, *The Institutes of Justinian*)¹⁶⁸⁹

V.1.36. Callistratus, *Inquiries*, I. Where inquiry is made concerning violence and the existence of possession, investigation must be made of the violence before the ownership of the property is considered; in accordance with a Rescript of

¹⁶⁸⁶ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 65; cf. Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), IV, 336. On this case, Radin, "The Exposure of Infants in Roman Law," 338–39, remarks, "In his reign a man was deported,—(a capital punishment, since it involved *capitis deminutio media*)—for having killed his son informally, *latronis magis quam patris iure*, although the provocation the father had received was the most atrocious known to ancient society. . . ."

¹⁶⁸⁷ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 125.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 126.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 3, 149.

the Divine Hadrian in the Greek language directed to the Commonwealth of Thessaly.

ON SLAVES¹⁶⁹⁰

1251 A Published Decision

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁶⁹¹

LXIX.16.3 After he had returned to Rome the crowd at a spectacle shouted their request for the emancipation of a certain charioteer; but he replied in writing on a bulletin-board: "It is not right for you either to ask me to free another's slave or to force his master to do so."

1252 A Summary of Hadrian's Decisions on Slaves

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁶⁹²

18.7 He forbade masters to kill their slaves, and ordered that any who deserved it should be sentenced by the courts.

18.8 He forbade anyone to sell a slave or a maid-servant to a procurer or trainer of gladiators without giving a reason therefor.

18.9 He ordered that those who had wasted their property, if legally responsible, should be flogged in the amphitheatre and then let go. Houses of hard labour for slaves and free he abolished.

18.10 He provided separate baths for the sexes.

18.11 He issued an order that, if a slave-owner were murdered in his house, no slaves should be examined save those who were near enough to have had knowledge of the murder.

1253 On a Mother and Son Seeking Freedom

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁹³

XL.XII.23 (Paulus, *On the Edict*, I) (2) Where a mother and her son both demand their freedom, the cases of the two should be joined, or that of the son should be deferred until the mother's case has been decided; as was decreed by the Divine Hadrian. For where the mother has instituted proceedings before one judge, and her son before another, Augustus stated that the condition of the mother must first be established, and after that the case of the son should be heard.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Corbett, "The Legislation of Hadrian," 755, comments, "Hadrian's legislation shows a marked tendency on the one hand to determine doubtful cases of status in favor of liberty and on the other to better the lot of the slave." He adds (p. 757), "As for the amelioration of the condition of the slave by limitation of the powers of the master, this movement, already apparent under the earliest *principes*, was carried on by Hadrian."

¹⁶⁹¹ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 455.

¹⁶⁹² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 57.

¹⁶⁹³ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 9, 143; cf. Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian*, (Watson's edition), III, 480. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommson's ed.), I, 543.

1254 On a Condition Set to the Purchaser

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁹⁴

XVIII.VII.10 (Scaevola, *Digest*, VII) The question was asked whether those slaves concerning whom an agreement was made between vendor and purchaser were freed by operation of law on the death of the purchaser. The reply was that in accordance with a ruling of the deified Hadrian on this matter, Pamphila and Stichus, the subjects of the question, will not be free unless they are manumitted.

1255 On Slaves Claiming Freedom

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁹⁵

XL.XII.27(1) (Ulpian, *On the Duties of Consul*, II) If the person who raised the question concerning the condition of another fails to appear at the trial, he who demands his freedom is in the same condition as he was before the controversy arose with reference to it. He, however, is benefited to this extent, namely, that he who disputed his status will lose his case. This fact, however, does not render him freeborn who previously was not so, for the failure of an adversary to appear does not confer the right of freedom.

I think that judges will act lawfully and regularly if they pursue the regular order; so that where the party claiming the man as his slave fails to appear, his adversaries shall be given the choice either of having the case continued, or of having it heard and determined. If the judges should hear the case, they must decide that the party in question does not appear to be the slave of So-and-So. This decision does not take undue advantage of anyone, as the person whose estate is in controversy is not found to be freeborn, but is merely held not to be a slave.

Where, however, one who is in slavery claims his freedom, the better course for the judges to pursue will be to continue the case, in order to avoid deciding that the said person appears to be born free, when no adversary appears, unless there should be good reason to cause them to hold that it is clear that judgment should be rendered in favor of liberty; as is also stated in a Rescript of Hadrian.

1256 On the Fraudulent Freeing of Slaves

(Gaius, *Institutes* ¹⁶⁹⁶)

I.§47. Finally, it is to be noted that the provision of the *Aelia-Sentian* law negating the freedom of slaves manumitted in fraud of creditors applies even to peregrins,—so it was declared by the senate at the instance of Hadrian.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian*, (Watson's edition), II, 85. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen's ed.), I, 543.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 9, 145. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian*, (Watson's edition), III, 481. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen's ed.), I, 543.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 19 (with Latin text).

1257 On Manumission of a Slave, 1

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁹⁷

XXXVII.XIV.8 (Modestinus, *Rules*, VI) The Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript that where a slave was manumitted by a son under paternal control, who was a soldier, he became the freedman of the soldier and not of his father.

1258 On Manumission of a Slave, 2

(Constitution of Hadrian, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁹⁸

XXXVIII.II.3(8) (Ulpian, *On the Edict*, XLI) If a son under paternal control manumits a slave who forms part of his *castrense peculium*, he becomes his patron by a Constitution of the Divine Hadrian, and, in the capacity of patron, he can obtain praetorian possession of the estate of the freedman in opposition to the terms of the will.

1259 On Manumission of a Slave, 3

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁶⁹⁹

XL.I.8(3) (Marcianus, *Institutes*, XIII) The Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript that where slaves have been manumitted in order that their master might be released from liability for crime, they were not legally entitled to their freedom.

1260 On Those Who Sell Themselves into Slavery

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷⁰⁰

XL.XIV.2 (Saturninus, *On the Duties of Proconsul*, I) The Divine Hadrian decided that anyone who was of age, and permitted himself to be sold in order that he might receive a portion of the price, should be forbidden to bring an action to obtain his freedom; but that he could do so under certain circumstances, if he returned his share of the price which had been paid.

1261 On Slaves Freed by a Trust, 1

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷⁰¹

XXXVIII.I.7(4) (Ulpian, *On Sabinus*, XXVII) It was stated in a Rescript by the Divine Hadrian, and also subsequently by other Emperors, that a demand for services cannot be made against one who has obtained his freedom in consideration of the execution of a trust.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 8, 204.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 8, 224. The *castrense peculium* (lit., “camp savings”) was a provision for soldiers to keep goods acquired during their service. By Justinian’s time the idea had been broadened to include a variety of things, including professional earnings and property acquisitions.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 9, 48. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson’s ed.), III, 423.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 9, 150. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian*, (Watson’s edition), III, 484. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommson’s ed.), I, 543.

¹⁷⁰¹ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 8, 212.

1262 On Slaves Freed by a Trust, 2

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷⁰²

XL.V.24(21) (Ulpian, *Trusts*, V) Whenever freedom is legally bequeathed by the terms of a trust, the condition is such that the right can neither be extinguished by a donation, nor by usucaption;¹⁷⁰³ for no matter into whose hands the slave whose freedom has been left under the trust may come, his owner will be compelled to manumit him. This has been frequently set forth in the Imperial Constitutions. Therefore, he into whose hands the slave may come will be compelled to grant him his freedom by virtue of the trust, if he who was requested to do so prefers it; for it has been settled by a broader interpretation that, even if freedom were left to a slave conditionally, and he should be alienated while the condition is pending, he is, nevertheless, alienated with the understanding that he is to be free if the condition is complied with. If, however, the slave is unwilling to be manumitted by him, but prefers to obtain his freedom from the person who was charged to emancipate him, the Divine Hadrian and the Divine Pius stated in a Rescript that he must be heard.

1263 On Slaves Freed by a Trust, 3

(Senatusconsult, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷⁰⁴

XL.V.5 (Paulus, *On the Edict*, LVII) With reference to freedom granted by the terms of a trust, if the Praetor should, in the absence of the heir, decide that the slave was entitled to be free, he will become so, and will be the freedman of the deceased, if he was his slave, or of the heir if he belongs to the latter. Moreover, if the heir should die without a successor, the Senate, in the time of Hadrian, decreed that the freedom of the slave should be preserved.

1264 On Underage Slaves Freed by a Trust

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷⁰⁵

XXVI.V.13 (Papinianus, *Questions*, XI) Where freedom and an estate are granted to a slave under the age of puberty by means of a trust, and the appointed heir refuses to accept the estate, the Senate decreed that he can be forced to do so, if this is demanded in the name of the minor; just as a guardian may be appointed for a male or female minor by someone who has the right of appointment, and he will retain the guardianship until the estate is delivered, and security given by the heir for the preservation of the property. The Divine Hadrian subsequently stated in a Rescript that the same rule should be observed in the case of a slave to whom freedom had been directly bequeathed.

¹⁷⁰² Scott, *The Civil Law*, 9, 83. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), III, 444.

¹⁷⁰³ 'Usucaption' refers to a way of acquiring property through possessing it uninterruptedly for the time required by law to be recognized as its owner.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 9, 74.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 6, 73.

1265 On Slaves Freed by a False Provision in a Trust

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷⁰⁶

XXXVII.XIV.23(1) (Tryphoninus, *Disputations*, XV) Where a false codicil had been made, which at first was considered to be genuine, and the heir, ignorant of the fact, granted freedom to certain slaves by virtue of a trust created by said codicil, it was stated in a Rescript of the Divine Hadrian that the slaves would be free, but that they must pay the heir their full value. And it was justly held that the said slaves should become the manumitted freedmen of the heir, for the reason that his right over them as patron still remained in force.

1266 On the Obligations of a Slave

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷⁰⁷

XXIX.V.1(28) (Ulpian, *On the Edict*, XXX) The Deified Emperor Hadrian seems to have ruled similarly in the following rescript:

On occasions when slaves are able to come to the help of their masters, they ought not to have more regard for their own safety than for that of their masters. The slave girl who was sleeping in the same bedroom as her mistress could certainly have been able to do something to help her, if not physically then at least shouting out so that someone in the house or nearby might hear her; that is proved by the very fact that she said that the murderers had threatened to kill her if she cried out. She therefore deserves to suffer the penalty of death, so that no other slaves should think that, when their masters are in danger, they should look out for their own interests.

1267 On Torture, 1

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷⁰⁸

XLVIII.XVIII.23 (Ulpian, *Duties of the Proconsul*, VIII) Enquiry by torture is a thing fragile and dangerous and cheats the truth.

1268 On Torture, 2

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷⁰⁹

XLVIII.XVIII.12 (Ulpian, *On the Edict*, LIV) If someone, to avoid interrogation under torture, alleges to be free, the Divine Hadrian replied that he is not to be tortured before an action to determine his free status has been heard.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Pölönen, "Plebeians and Repression of Crime in the Roman Empire," 229 (with Latin text on p. 228); see this for a comprehensive overview of the general subject of torture under Roman Law. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), III, 319, or Scott, *The Civil Law*, 8, 208.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Gardner and Wiedemann, *The Roman Household: A Sourcebook*, 28.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 209 (with Latin text); cf. Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), IV, 355.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 104. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), IV, 357.

1269 On Torture, 3

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷¹⁰

XLVIII.XVIII.1. (Ulpian, *On the Duties of Proconsul*, VIII) It is customary for torture to be applied for the purpose of detecting crime. Let us see when, and to what extent, this should be done. A beginning ought not to be made by the actual infliction of the question, and the Divine Augustus decided that confidence should not unreservedly be placed in torture.

(1) This is also contained in a letter of the Divine Hadrian addressed to Sennius Sabinus. The terms of the Rescript are as follows: “Slaves are to be subjected to torture only when the accused is suspected, and proof is so far obtained by other evidence that the confession of the slaves alone seems to be lacking.”

(2) The Divine Hadrian also stated the same thing in a Rescript to Claudius Quartinus, and in this Rescript he decided that a beginning should be made with the person who was most suspected, and from whom the judge believed that the truth could most easily be ascertained.

1270 On Torture, 4

(In Accusations of Adultery)

(Rescript to Cornelius Latianus, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷¹¹

XLVIII.V.27(6) (Ulpian, *On Adultery*, III) The law directs that torture shall be applied to the male or female slaves of the man or woman complained of, or to those of the parents of either of them; if the said slaves have been given to the accused by his or her parents for their own use.

The Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript addressed to Cornelius Latianus that the slaves of strangers should be tortured.

1271 On Torture, 5

(In Accusations of Theft)

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷¹²

XLVIII.XVIII.1(5) (Ulpian, *On the Duties of Proconsul*, VIII) The Divine Antoninus and the Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript to Sennius Sabinus that where it was alleged that slaves, in company with their master, had carried away gold and silver, they should not be interrogated against their master, and not even anything which they may have said when not under torture will prejudice him.

¹⁷¹⁰ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 98. Along similar lines, see *Digest of Justinian* XLVIII.XVIII.21: “The Divine Hadrian said in a rescript, ‘No one should be condemned for the purpose of being put to the question (i.e., tortured)’” (*Quaestionis habendae causa neminem esse damnandum diuus Hadrianus rescripsit*). The general tenor of his thinking seems to be a desire to curb the tendency of officials to rush to judgment by bending rules so as to justify the use of torture; see Pölönen, “Plebeians and Repression of Crime in the Roman Empire,” 232–33.

¹⁷¹¹ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 44.

¹⁷¹² Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 99.

1272 On Torture, 6

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷¹³

XLVIII.XVIII.1 (Ulpian, *On the Duties of the Proconsul*, VIII) (22) The Divine Hadrian stated the following in a Rescript addressed to Calpurnius Celerianus: “Agricola, the slave of Pompeius Valens, may be interrogated concerning himself; but if, while undergoing torture, he should say anything more, it will be considered as proof against the defendant, and not the fault of him who asked the question.”

1273 On Torture, 7

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷¹⁴

XLVIII.XVIII.17 (Papinianus, *Opinions*, XVI) (2) In a case of fraudulent birth, if a person whom the other children assert is not their brother claims the estate, torture shall be applied to slaves belonging to the estate, for the reason that is not employed against the other children as masters, but in order to determine the succession of the deceased owner. This agrees with what the Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript; for when a man was accused of murdering his partner, the Emperor decreed that a slave owned in common could be put to the question, because this appeared to be done in behalf of his master who had been killed.

1274 On Theft by a Slave

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷¹⁵

XL.XII.43 (Pomponius, *Decrees of the Senate*, III) The Emperor Hadrian published a Rescript with reference to those who had stolen the property of the persons whom they were serving as slaves, and afterwards demanded their freedom, the words of which Rescript are as follows: “As it is not just that a slave, in expectation of his freedom, should take property belonging to the estate of his master, where freedom is to be granted him under the terms of a trust, so it is not necessary to seek for any reason to delay the grant of his freedom.” Hence, in the first place, an arbiter should be appointed, in whose presence it should be determined what can be preserved for the heir, before he can be compelled to manumit the slave.

1275 On Punishment for Mistreatment of Slaves

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷¹⁶

I.VI.2 (end) (Ulpian, *On the Office of Proconsul*, VIII) Moreover the Divine Hadrian relegated one Umbricia, a lady of good social position (*matrona*), for five years, for treating her female slaves with extreme cruelty on very trivial grounds.

¹⁷¹³ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 100; cf. Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), IV, 355.

¹⁷¹⁴ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 105; cf. Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), IV, 358. Being ‘put to the question’ means being questioned under torture.

¹⁷¹⁵ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 100; cf. Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), III, 483.

¹⁷¹⁶ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 29. See *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio* (Hyamson ed.), 71. The Latin text can be found in Holland and Shadwell, *Select Titles*, 84.

1276 On a Slave Sold on Condition Not to Be Prostituted

(Constitution of Hadrian, *The Codex of Justinian*)¹⁷¹⁷

IV.LVI.1 *Emperor ALEXANDER Augustus to Socrates. pr.* The City Prefect, Our friend, will provide the power to take away a female slave who has been sold under the condition that, if she had been prostituted (after the sale), the person to whom this is available in accordance with the constitution of the divine Hadrian would have the power to take her away.

ON FINANCIAL AND PROPERTY MATTERS, ETC.

1277 On Trust

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷¹⁸

XLIX.XIV.3(1) (Cattistratus, *On the Rights of the Treasury*, III) If anyone should, both publicly and privately, be charged to execute a trust, the question arises which would prevail, and whether what he was asked to do secretly, or what he was requested to do openly, would prejudice him. The Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript that, where anything had been publicly confided to the honor of anyone, it should not be believed that he had made use of it in order to defraud the law.

1278 On the Obligations of a Guarantor for a Debt

(Rescript, *The Institutes of Justinian*)¹⁷¹⁹

III.20.4 Where there are several *fidejussores*, whatever is their number, each is bound for the whole debt, and the creditor may demand the whole from any of them he pleases. But, [*p.* 357] by a rescript of the Emperor Hadrian, the creditor is forced to divide his demand between all those *fidejussores* who are solvent at the time of the *litis contestatio* so that, if any of the *fidejussores* is not solvent at that time, the rest have so much additional burden. But, if the creditor obtains his whole demand from one of the *fidejussores* the whole loss falls upon him alone, if the principal debtor cannot pay; for he has no one but himself to blame, as he might have availed himself of the rescript of the Emperor Hadrian, and might have required that no action should be given against him for more than his share of the debt.

¹⁷¹⁷ Justinian, *The Codex of Justinian* (Kehoe ed. based on Blume trans.), 2, 1037 (with Latin text).

¹⁷¹⁸ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 159. Hadrian here gives the benefit of the doubt to the trustee in cases where the matter had been set out publicly.

¹⁷¹⁹ Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Sandar's 5th edition), 356–57; cf. Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Moyle's trans.), 142. A *fidejussor* was a person who either entered into *fidejussio* (i.e., a contractual stipulation adding a guarantee to fulfil someone else's obligation in case of a default), or authorized such. *Litis contestatio* refers to the time when parties to a lawsuit made statements to a magistrate with respect to a claim, including any defense to a demand being made. The ruling falls under the general idea known today as 'ignorance of the law is no excuse'; the creditor should have known and advantaged himself of what the law set out by Hadrian offered.

1279 On Fairness in a Creditor's Demands

(Rescript, Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁷²⁰

III.§121. Now however, by a letter of our late emperor Hadrian's, a creditor is compelled to limit his demand against each of them who is solvent to a proportionate share of the whole.

1280 On Collection of Taxes: Dealing with Recalcitrant Collectors

(Fragment of an Inscription on Marble at Athens, Greece)

[*ARS* 231=*IG* II² 1104]¹⁷²¹

. . . they shall determine a penalty to fit the measure of their recalcitrance. If they are unwilling to pay when they have been taken to court, then they shall be held liable for interest at the rate of 1 per cent per month for two months calculated from their payment which they failed to make. After these two months if they still refuse to make payment the treasurers with the crier shall sell their securities, with the right to recover within sixty days; then also their sureties, whoever may have furnished security for the principals, shall have the same right of recovery within sixty days . . .

1281 On Lawful Seizure of Property

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷²²

XLII.IV.7(16) (Ulpian, *On the Edict*, LIX) Let us see whether the property of a man who conceals himself to avoid appearing in a real action can be taken in execution and sold. An opinion of Neratius is extant in which he says that his property can be sold. This is also stated in a Rescript of Hadrian, and is our practice at present.

1282 On the *Senatus Consultum Macedonianum*

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷²³

XIV.VI.9[4] [Ulpian, *On the Edict*, XXIX] And yet those who have intervened on behalf of the *filius-familias* without the father's consent cannot recover on paying, for so the Divine Hadrian also enacted, and it may be said that they will not get their money back.

¹⁷²⁰ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 220 (with Latin text). Cf. *The Codex of Justinian*, II (Kehoe ed.), 847 (4.18[3]).

¹⁷²¹ *ARS*=Johnson et al., *Ancient Roman Statutes*, 176 (#231). They note that the 'crier' (or 'herald') was of the Council of the Aeropagus. They speculate this fragment was part of a law regulating the legal liability of tax collectors on those occasions they failed to deliver collections owed.

¹⁷²² Scott, *The Civil Law*, 9, 249. Lucius Neratius Priscus, native of the town of Saepinum in central Italy, was a prominent Roman lawyer, who with Celsus headed the Proculian school of legal thinking. Suffect Consul under Nerva (May–June, 97 C.E.), highly regarded by Trajan, he became part of Hadrian's council and lived at least until 133 C.E.

¹⁷²³ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), II, 412. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen's ed.), I, 434. The *Senatus consultum Macedonianum*—"Macedo's Resolution"—was a Senate decree from Vespasian's reign to protect fathers from the excessive spending and debts of their profligate children.

1283 On *Usus* and *Habitatio*

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷²⁴

VII.VIII.22 [Pomponius, *On Q. Mucius*, V] The Divine Hadrian, in a case where the *usus* of a forest was bequeathed to certain legatees, laid down that the produce too must be held to be bequeathed to the same persons; because, unless the legatees were at liberty to cut and sell the timber in the way that usufructuaries are, they would take nothing by their legacy.

1284 On Punishing Cattle Thieves

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*, as preserved in the *Collectio*)¹⁷²⁵

XLVII.XIV.1. Ulpian, *On the Duties of Proconsul*, VIII. The late Emperor Hadrian, in a rescript to the Council of Baetica concerning the punishment of cattle-raiders, wrote as follows:

When cattle-raiders are punished very severely, they are usually sentenced to 'the sword.' They are not, however, punished with extreme severity in all districts, but only where this class of offences is rampant; otherwise, they are condemned to labour in the public works; and that, sometimes, only for a limited period.

I am, accordingly, of the opinion that the highest penalty inflicted for this offence should suffice in your jurisdiction, and that the raiders should be sentenced to the sword; or, if anyone has been so notorious and persistent in raiding as to have been previously punished for this offence, he should be sent to the mines.

1285 On the Difference between Citizen and Resident

(*The Codex of Justinian*)¹⁷²⁶

X.40[7] *The same Augusti and Caesars to Aurelius*. **pr.** Origin, manumission, adlection, and adoption make citizens, whereas, just as the deified Hadrian declared most clearly in his edict, domicile (only) makes residents.

¹⁷²⁴ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), II, 58; Latin in Justinian, *Digesta* (Mommsen's ed.), I, 247. 'Usufructuaries' are people conveyed a legal right for temporary use of a property.

¹⁷²⁵ *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio* (Hyamson ed.), 113, with facing Latin text. For an alternative translation, see Scott, *Roman Civil Law*, XI, 3. Churchin, *Roman Spain*, 64, notes that provincials could draft a petition (*libellus*) to be carried by an assembly to the emperor, whose secretary (*a libellis*) handled such matters. In this case, the petition reached Hadrian, who responded by letter ('rescript'). Hyamson, 113, 115, observes, "The terms of the Emperor Hadrian's rescript would imply that labour in the mines is the severer punishment. Unless, possibly, the Emperor Hadrian meant by the phrase 'punishment of the sword' the gladiatorial games. There is, however, a distinction between those sentenced to the sword and those sentenced to the games; the former are despatched without delay, or at any rate ought to be despatched within a year, and this instruction is contained in the Orders. But those condemned to the games are not necessarily despatched; they may even, after a time, be restored to freedom, or be discharged from the obligation of being a gladiator; since, after five years, they may be restored to freedom, while, on the expiration of three years, they are permitted to receive their discharge from the gladiatorial games."

¹⁷²⁶ Justinian, *The Codex of Justinian* (Kehoe ed. based on Blume trans.), 3, 2585 (with Latin text).

1286 On the Difference between Residence and Domicile

(Rescript, *The Codex of Justinian*)¹⁷²⁷

X.40[2] *Emperor ALEXANDER Augustus to Crispus. pr.* Those very people who stay in some place for the sake of studies (*studiorum causa*) are not believed to have a domicile there unless they have established an abode for themselves in that place for a period of ten years, in accordance with a letter of the deified Hadrian; nor does a father who rather frequently travels there because of a son who is studying.

1287 Found Treasure

(*The Institutes of Justinian*)¹⁷²⁸

II.1.39 The Emperor Hadrian, in accordance with natural equity, allowed any treasure found by a man in his own land to belong to the finder, as also any treasure found by chance in a sacred or religious place. But treasure found without any express search, but by mere chance, in a place belonging to another, he granted half to the finder, and half to the proprietor of the soil. Consequently, if anything is found in a place belonging to the emperor, half belongs to the finder, and half to the emperor, And hence it follows, that if a man finds anything in a place belonging to the *fiscus*, the public, or a city, half ought to belong to the finder, and half to the *fiscus* or the city.

1288 On the Offices of Proconsul and Legate

(Rescript to Calpurnius Rufus, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷²⁹

I.XVI.10[1] (Ulpian, *On the Office of Proconsul*, I) Dismissal of his legate before he leaves the province himself is a thing [*p. 56*] which he is warned against doing by the *lex Julia* on extortion and also by the rescript of the Divine Hadrian to Calpurnius Rufus, the proconsul of Achaia.

1289 On Rendering Others Impotent

(Constitution of Hadrian, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷³⁰

XLVIII.VIII.5. (Paulus, *On the Duties of Proconsul*, II) Those also who render persons impotent are, by a Constitution of the Divine Hadrian addressed to Ninius Hasta, placed in the same class with those who perform castration.

¹⁷²⁷ Justinian, *The Codex of Justinian* (Kehoe ed. based on Blume trans.), 3, 2585 (with Latin text).

¹⁷²⁸ Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Sandar's 5th edition), 110–11 (with Latin text). For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Institutes of Justinian* (Moyle's trans.), 44. The subject concerns the so-called 'treasure trove'; with reference to this text, Siklósi, "Treasure Trove in Roman Law," 99, writes, "Considering the imperial constitutions related to treasure trove, the most famous and significant regulation was introduced by Hadrian."

¹⁷²⁹ Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Monro trans.), I, 55–56. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommesen's ed.), I, 34. Calpurnius Rufus, reproved by Hadrian for permitting his legate to leave the province before he did so himself, *might* be the same person whose name appears on a tombstone from Ephesus, where it is indicated he had been prefect of the corn supply, governor (*legatus*) in Cyprus, and governor (*propraetor*) of Pontus and Bithynia, and of Asia. Achaia, a senatorial province, was a coveted posting.

¹⁷³⁰ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 61. Ninius Hasta was proconsul of Asia sometime after 130 C.E.

1290 On Castration, 1

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷³¹

XLVIII.VIII.4 (Ulpian, *On the Duties of the Proconsul*, VII) (2) The Divine Hadrian also stated the following in a Rescript: “It is forbidden by the Imperial Constitutions that eunuchs should be made, and they provide that persons who are convicted of this crime are liable to the penalty of the Cornelian Law, and that their property shall with good reason be confiscated by the Treasury.”

1291 On Castration, 2

(Constitution of Hadrian, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷³²

XLVIII.VIII.5 (Paul, *Duties of the Proconsul*, II) Under the constitution of the deified Hadrian to Ninnius Hasta, those too who crush¹⁷³³ the testicles of others are in the same position as those who castrate them [with a knife].

1292 On Freedmen

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷³⁴

XL.X.6. (Ulpian, *On the Lex Julia et Papia*, I). A freedman who has obtained the right to wear a gold ring (although he may obtain the right attaching to the condition of being freeborn, reserving the rights of his patron), is still considered as freeborn. This the Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript.

1293 On the Right of Freedmen to Attain Citizenship

(Senatusconsult in Gaius, *Institutes*)¹⁷³⁵

III.§73 As it seemed to be the effect of this constitution [of Trajan’s] that such freedmen could never die as Roman citizens, even although they afterwards took advantage of the procedure for becoming citizens either under the Aelia-Sentian law or under the senatusconsult, the late emperor Hadrian, moved thereto by the unfairness of the case, induced the senate to decree that if those who had obtained the *ius Quiritium* from the emperor, without the knowledge or notwithstanding the objections of their patrons, afterwards made use of the procedure whereby, had they remained Latins, they would have acquired Roman citizenship either under the Aelia-Sentian law or under the senatus-consult, they

¹⁷³¹ Horbury, *Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*, 312 (with Latin text); cf. Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson’s ed.), IV, 334.

¹⁷³² Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 60. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian*, IV (Watson’s ed.), IV, 334. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (Mommsen’s ed.), II, 819.

¹⁷³³ The Latin is *thlibias*, from the Greek *θλίβιας*, “the pressed,” i.e., crushed, in the sense of “to make a eunuch.”

¹⁷³⁴ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 9, 134.

¹⁷³⁵ Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian*, 201 (with Latin text). I capitalized his ‘latins.’ Koops, “Masters and Freedmen,” 124 n. 132, remarks, “Children of the freedman cannot inherit intestate. The freedman may make a will, but only to appoint his patron heir, though substitutions are possible. This posed a problem, which Hadrian corrected, namely that a freedman would be worse off with an imperial grant than with citizenship acquired under the lex Aelia Sentia. Gaius, Inst. 1.73.”

were to be regarded as if they had in fact attained citizenship under one or other of these enactments.

1294 On Exemptions for Certain Professionals

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷³⁶

L.IV.17(30) (Hermogenianus, *Epitomes*, I) The Divine Vespasian and the Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript that exemption from furnishing lodgings was granted by the Emperor to teachers who were not liable to civil employment, as well as to grammarians, instructors in rhetoric, and philosophers.

1295 On Punishment for Removing Boundary Markers

(*Collectio* preservation of Ulpian)¹⁷³⁷

Ulpian, *On the Duties of Proconsul*, VIII.XIII.3.1 The Emperor Hadrian sent, on the 16th of August, [in the third year of his Consulship,] a rescript to Terentius Gentianus, that removers of landmarks should not be suffered to go unpunished. In this rescript he fixed varying penalties.

The terms of the Rescript are as follows: Removal of landmarks, which are set up to indicate boundaries, is undoubtedly a most wicked act. The punishment to be awarded, however, is determined by the status of the offender and his motive. If those convicted be persons of rank, I do not doubt that their purpose was to appropriate lands belonging to others. They may be deported for terms proportionate to their age [that is, the younger offender for a longer period; the older for a shorter one. If others have performed the actual removal in obedience to orders, they are to be whipped] and sent for two or three years to the public works. But if they have stolen the stones in order to use them, not knowing that they were landmarks, or thoughtlessly, a flogging is sufficient punishment.

1296 On Questions of Civil Condition

(*The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷³⁸

XL.XV.1(2) (Marcianus, *On Informers*) Nor can any question be raised with reference to the condition of a man who is living, if, by doing so, the condition of one who dies more than five years previously will be prejudiced. This point was decided by the Divine Hadrian.

1297 On an Exemption for Shipowners from Compulsory Services

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷³⁹

L.VI.6 The deified Hadrian stated in a rescript that only shipowners of maritime vessels who serve the grain supply of the city possess exemption.

¹⁷³⁶ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 11, 228.

¹⁷³⁷ *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio* (Hyamson ed.), 123, with facing Latin text.

¹⁷³⁸ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 9, 152. For an alternate translation, see Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), III, 485. The 'civil condition' was of a person as free or slave.

¹⁷³⁹ Lewis and Reinhold, *Roman Civilization Sourcebook*, II, 203.

1298 On Obligations for Shipwrecked Goods

(Edict, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷⁴⁰

XLVII.IX.7 (Calistratus, *Questions*, II) For the Divine Hadrian provided by an Edict that those who owned land on the shore of the sea should, when a ship either badly damaged or broken up within the boundaries of any of them, see that nothing was stolen from the wreck; and that the Governors of provinces should grant actions against them in favor of those who were searching for the property of which they had been deprived, to enable them to recover anything which they could prove had been taken from them during the shipwreck, by those who had possession of the same. With reference to such as are proved to have taken the property, the Governor should impose a severe sentence upon them, as upon robbers.

1299 On Supporting Governors and Military Commanders

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*)¹⁷⁴¹

XXXIX.IV.4(1) (Paulus, *On the Edict*, LII) The Divine Hadrian, in a Rescript addressed to the Governors of Gaul, stated with reference to property which the Governors were accustomed to have transported for their use, that when anyone sends for the purpose of making purchases for the benefit of those who command armies or govern provinces, or for that of their agents, he shall sign an order with his own hand, and send the same to the farmer of the revenue, so that if the latter should transfer anything more than he had been ordered to do, he must make it good.

1300 On Senators Having Taxes Farmed to Themselves

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁷⁴²

LXIX.16.2b Among numerous laws that he enacted was one to the effect that no senator, either personally or through the agency of another, should [p. 455] have any tax farmed out to him.

1301 On Human Sacrifice

(Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*)¹⁷⁴³

I.31 (beginning) We have spoken of the gods themselves who are worshipped; we must now speak a few words respecting their sacrifices and mysteries. Among the people of Cyprus, Teucer sacrificed a human victim to Jupiter, and handed down to posterity that sacrifice which was lately abolished by Hadrian when he was emperor.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 10, 303.

¹⁷⁴¹ Scott, *The Civil Law*, 9, 18; cf. Justinian, *The Digest of Justinian* (Watson's ed.), III, 404.

¹⁷⁴² Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 453, 455.

¹⁷⁴³ Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes* (Fletcher trans.,) I, 58. Teucer was the half-brother of the Greek hero Ajax, famed in the *Iliad* (in which Teucer, an archer, also appears). Illegitimate heir to the throne of the island state of Salamis, when he brought news of Ajax' death to his father the king, he was banished. He went to Cyprus and founded the city-state of Salamis on its east coast. At the place was allegedly established an annual human sacrifice to Jove (Jupiter; Zeus).

Chapter 17

Hadrian, Military Man

HADRIAN'S SERVICE UNDER TRAJAN

[#36 excerpted] Service under Trajan: The Dacian Wars [101–102; 105–106 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹⁷⁴⁴

3.2b–3 and later accompanied Trajan in the Dacian war on terms of considerable intimacy. . . .

3.6 In the second Dacian war, Trajan appointed him to the command of the First Legion, the Minervia, and took him with him to the war; and in this campaign his many remarkable deeds won great renown.

3.7 Because of this he was presented with a diamond which [*p. 11*] Trajan himself had received from Nerva, and by this gift he was encouraged in his hopes of succeeding to the throne.

[#37 excerpted] Praetor and Legate [106–107 C.E.]

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹⁷⁴⁵

3.9 Next he was sent as praetorian legate to Lower Pannonia, where he held the Sarmatians in check, maintained discipline among the soldiers, and restrained the procurators, who were overstepping too freely the bounds of their power.

[#24 excerpted] Hadrian's Military Service: A Record [112/113 C.E.]

(The Athens Inscription [*CIL* III, 550])¹⁷⁴⁶

. . . quaestor of the emperor Trajan and companion on the Dacian expedition, endowed with military decorations by him (Trajan) twice, tribune of the 2nd legion Adiutrix, loyal and faithful, and of the 5th legion Macedonica, and of the 22nd legion Primigenia, loyal and faithful, one of the six commanders of a contingent of Roman equestrians . . .

[#72 repeated] Hadrian in Syria for the Parthian Campaign [117 C.E.]

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁷⁴⁷

LXVIII.33.1 Trajan was preparing to make a fresh expedition into Mesopotamia, but, as his malady began to afflict him sorely, he set out, intending to sail to Italy, leaving Publius Aelius Hadrian with the army in Syria.

¹⁷⁴⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 9, 11.

¹⁷⁴⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 11.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Harvey, *Roman Lives*, 24. See Timeline for more details. The Latin text can be found in Smallwood, *Documents*, 55 [#109], and many other places.

¹⁷⁴⁷ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 422.

Roman Officials and Soldiers
(Hope, *Costume of the Ancients*)



Tribune



Senator



Soldier



Soldier

HADRIAN AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

1302 Summary of Hadrian's Time as Commander-in-Chief

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁷⁴⁸

21.8 There were no campaigns of importance during his reign, and the wars that he did wage were brought to a close almost without arousing comment.¹⁷⁴⁹

21.9 The soldiers loved him much on account of his very great interest in the army and for his great liberality to them besides.

[Excerpt from 961] Care for Veterans

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁷⁵⁰

17.6 For on a certain occasion, seeing a veteran, whom he had known in the service, rubbing his back and the rest of his body against the wall, he asked him why he had the marble rub him, and when the man replied that it was because he did not own a slave, he presented him with some slaves and the cost of their maintenance.

¹⁷⁴⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 67.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Note the contrast with Dio, who gives considerable attention to the Bar Kokhba revolt of 132–134. Note also that the *Vita Hadriani* does make mention of the 'wars that he did wage' (5.1–2), where he names the Moors, Sarmatians, Britons, Egyptian rioters, Libyan rebels, and the Jews. With respect to some of these, also see 6.6 (Sarmatians and Roxolani; Mauretanian campaign).

¹⁷⁵⁰ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 53.

1303 A Vigorous Commander

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁷⁵¹

LXIX.9.1 Hadrian travelled through one province after another, visiting the various regions and cities and inspecting all the garrisons and forts. Some of these he removed to more desirable places, some he abolished, and he also established some new ones.

LXIX.9.2 He personally viewed and investigated absolutely everything, not merely the usual appurtenances of camps, such as weapons, engines, trenches, ramparts and palisades, but also the private affairs of every one, both of the men serving in the ranks and of the officers themselves,— their lives, their quarters and their habits,¹⁷⁵² —and he reformed and corrected in many cases practices and arrangements for living that had become too luxurious.

LXIX.9.3 He drilled the men for every kind of battle, honoring some and reproving others, and he taught them all what should be done. And in order that they should be benefited by observing him, he everywhere led a rigorous life and either walked or rode on horseback on all occasions, never once at this period setting foot in either a chariot or a four-wheeled vehicle.

1304 Provisioner

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹⁷⁵³

17.2 When he himself called any to military service, he always supplied them with horses, mules, clothing, cost of maintenance, and indeed their whole equipment.

1305 Policy for Advancement to Command

(Letter of Marcus Aurelius to Cornelius Balbus [c. 178 C.E.])¹⁷⁵⁴

It is your part to show that the man has reached this rank, which my grandfather Hadrian and my great-grandfather Trajan reserved for the most tried soldiers, not by partiality, which is abhorrent to our principles, but by merit.

¹⁷⁵¹ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 441.

¹⁷⁵² Of Hadrian's knowledge of these men, cf. *Historia Augusta* 20.10 (above, parallel to Dio, LXIX.6.1–3), and 21.9 (below).

¹⁷⁵³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 53.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Fronto, *Correspondence*, II, 315 (with Latin text, p. 314). The letter concerns the promotion of Pescennius Niger to command. Pescennius Niger (c. 135–194 C.E.), born in Aquinum in Italy near the end of Hadrian's reign, was in his 30s in Marcus Aurelius' reign. Though of an equestrian family, he rose through the military, serving as prefect of an auxiliary cohort. Under the reign of Marcus' son Commodus, Niger held the military tribuneship, became a senator and praetor. He was in a command leadership position in Dacia when conflict with the Sarmatians broke out. When trouble broke out in Gallia Lugdunensis, Commodus sent Niger there as governor. Following office as Consul, he was appointed governor of Syria (with its two legions, III Cyrenaica and III Scythica). After the assassination of Commodus (193 C.E.), and shortly thereafter his successor, Pertinax, the accession of Didius Julianus led to further unrest and a rival claimant to the throne in Pescennius Niger, who proclaimed himself emperor in April, 193 C.E. But Septimius Severus, who had succeeded Julianus in Rome, met Niger in battle and defeated him (January, 194). A final defeat at the end of March, 194, led to Niger's death.

HADRIAN'S PERSONAL EXAMPLE

1306 Hadrian's Personal Habits and Example, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*¹⁷⁵⁵)

LXIX.9.4 He covered his head neither in hot weather nor in cold, but alike amid German snows and under scorching Egyptian suns he went about with his head bare. In fine, both by his example and by his precepts he so trained and disciplined the whole military force throughout the entire empire that even [p. 443] today the methods then introduced by him are the soldiers' law of campaigning.

1307 Hadrian's Personal Habits and Example, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁷⁵⁶

17.9 Cold and bad weather he could bear with such endurance that he never covered his head.

1308 Hadrian's Personal Habits and Example, 3

(*HA: Vita Hadriani*)¹⁷⁵⁷

10.4 He incited others by the example of his own soldierly spirit; he would walk as much as twenty miles fully armed; he cleared the camp of banqueting-rooms, porticoes, grottos, and bowers,

10.5 generally wore the commonest clothing, would have no gold ornaments on his sword-belt or jewels on the clasp, would scarcely consent to have his sword furnished with an ivory hilt,

10.6 visited the sick soldiers in their quarters, selected the sites for camps, conferred the centurion's wand on those only who were hardy and of good repute, appointed as tribunes only men with full beards or of an age to give to the authority of the tribuneship the full measure of prudence and maturity,

10.7 permitted no tribune to accept a present from a soldier, banished luxuries on every hand, and, lastly, improved the soldiers' arms and equipment.

10.8 Furthermore, with regard to length of military service he issued an order that no one should violate ancient usage by being in the service at an earlier age than his strength warranted, or at a more advanced one than common humanity permitted. He made it a point to be acquainted with the soldiers and to know their numbers.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 441, 443.

¹⁷⁵⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 55.

¹⁷⁵⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 33. Note on 10.6: The "centurion's wand" is a rather expansive rendering of the Latin *tribunum*, but meant to convey the sign of the post conferred on appointment, which was a vinewood rod—a staff about a meter long. This could be used to discipline troops under his command. Note on 10.8: Broadly speaking, men in the Roman army ranged from adults just entering adulthood (17–20) to those in middle age (mid-40s). See entry #1170, nos. 1 and 12.

1309 Hadrian's Personal Habits and Example, 4

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹⁷⁵⁸

26.2 He rode and walked a great deal and always kept himself in training by the use of arms and the javelin.

1310 Hadrian's Command of Military Operational Details

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹⁷⁵⁹

11.1 Besides this, he strove to have an accurate knowledge of the military stores, and the receipts from the provinces he examined with care in order to make good any deficit that might occur in any particular instance. But more than any other emperor he made it a point not to purchase or maintain anything that was not serviceable.

1311 Hadrian's Requirement of Marching Exercise

(*Vegetius, Epitome of Military Science*)¹⁷⁶⁰

I.27 Next, the ancient procedure both survived and is enacted by constitutions of the deified Augustus and Hadrian that thrice a month both cavalry and infantry should be led out *ambulatim*. That is the term by which they call this type of exercise: the infantry were commanded to advance ten miles at the military step, armed and equipped with all their weapons, and then to retire to camp, completing some part of the march at the brisker running pace. The cavalry also, divided by troops and armed, similarly traversed the same distance, performing equestrian maneuvers, now pursuing, now retreating, and by some rally renewing the charge. Both formations had to go not merely on the flat but to go down and up in hilly and difficult terrain, to the end that nothing, even quite by chance, could befall the fighting [p. 27] men, which good soldiers had not learned to deal with beforehand by the constant practice.

c171 Hadrian's Discipline

(*Duruy, History of Rome and the Roman People*,
V, 2, 319)



Legend reads: *Disciplina Aug(ustus)*

¹⁷⁵⁸ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 79.

¹⁷⁵⁹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie's trans.), I, 33.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Vegetius, *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Milner trans.), 26–27. For an alternate translation, see Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 16 [#14]. Latin text can be found in Vegetius, *Flavi Vegeti Renati, Epitoma Rei Militaris*, 28–29.

THE DISCIPLINE OF HADRIAN

1312 ‘The Discipline of Hadrian’

(Inscription on Altar at Chesters)

[RIB III, 3298¹⁷⁶¹]

To the Discipline of the Emperor Hadrian Augustus, (dedicated by) the Cavalry Regiment styled Augusta for its valour [...]

1313 Instilling Discipline in the Military, 1

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*¹⁷⁶²)

LXIX.5.2b He subjected the legions to the strictest discipline, so that, though strong, they were neither insubordinate nor insolent. . . .

[1306 excerpted] Instilling Discipline in the Military, 2

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*¹⁷⁶³)

LXIX.9.4b. . . by his precepts he so trained and disciplined the whole military force throughout the entire empire that even [p. 443] today the methods then introduced by him are the soldiers’ law of campaigning.

1314 Instilling Discipline in the Military, 2

(*HA: Vita Hadrian*)¹⁷⁶⁴

10.2b Though more desirous of peace than of war, he kept the soldiers in training just as if war were imminent, inspired them by proofs of his own powers of endurance, actually led a soldier’s life among the maniples, and, after the example of Scipio Aemilianus, Metellus, and his own adoptive father Trajan, cheerfully ate out of doors such camp-fare as bacon, cheese and vinegar. And that the troops might submit more willingly to the increased harshness of his orders, he bestowed gifts on many and honors on a few.

10.3 For he reestablished the discipline of the camp, which since [p. 33] the time of Octavian had been growing slack through the laxity of his predecessors. He regulated, too, both the duties and the expenses of the soldiers, and now no one could get a leave of absence from camp by unfair means, for it was not popularity with the troops but just deserts that recommended a man for appointment as tribune.

¹⁷⁶¹ Tomlin, *Britanni Romana*, 87.

¹⁷⁶² *Dio Cassius’ Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 435.

¹⁷⁶³ *Dio Cassius’ Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 441, 443.

¹⁷⁶⁴ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), I, 31, 33. Scipio Aemilianus (Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus), also called Scipio Africanus the Younger (185–129 B.C.E.), was a famed Roman general who oversaw the destruction of Carthage in the Third Punic War. Metellus names more than one famous Roman politician and general; Magie, 31n.6, opts for Quintus Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (c. 155–91 B.C.E.), though his son, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (c. 128–63 B.C.E.) was arguably the better general; there was also Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (c. 210–115 B.C.E.), who enjoyed military success in Greece, but was accused later of leaving a poorly prepared army in Spain. Octavian was later known as the emperor Augustus—a figure Hadrian sought to emulate.

1315 Training the Army in Place of War

(Fronto, *Preamble to History of the Parthian War* ¹⁷⁶⁵)

Preamble 10a . . . For after the Emperor Trajan's time the armies were almost destitute of military training, Hadrian being energetic enough in mobilizing his friends and eloquently addressing his armies and generally in the appliances of war. Moreover he preferred to give up, rather than to hold with an army, the provinces which Trajan had taken in various wars, and which now required to be organized. Records of his progresses one can see set up in many a city of Asia and Europe, as well tombs built of stone as many others.

Preamble 10b He made his way not only into frozen lands, but also into others of a southern situation, to the advantage of those provinces which, lying beyond the Euphrates and the Danube, Trajan had annexed to the Roman Empire with the hope that he could add them to Moesia and the province of Asia. These entire provinces, Dacia and the parts lost by the Parthians, Hadrian voluntarily restored. His armies in Asia. he amused with "sallies" in the camp instead of with swords and shields: a general the like of him the army never afterwards saw.

1316 Hadrianic Innovations in the Training of the Legions

(Arrian, *Manual of Tactics* ¹⁷⁶⁶)

XLIV.1a Now to be joined to the customary exercises of the Roman cavalry and their ancient practices are these:

[1b] The king has obliged his soldiers to practice barbaric movements, both those of the mounted archers of Parthia and the rapid evolution of the Samartians and Celts. They have been obliged also to learn the native war cries proper to such movements—those of the Celts, and the Dacians, and the Raeti.

XLIV.2 They have been trained also to leap their horses across trenches and over ramparts. In a word, in addition to their ancient exercises they have learnt all that has been invented by the king tending to grace or speed, or calculated to strike terror into the enemy,

XLIV.3 so that the words once applied to ancient Lacedaemon seem to me to apply to this present monarchy which Hadrian now holds for the 20th year, "where the strength of the young flourishes, and the clear-voiced muse, and broad justice, the helper of noble deeds."

¹⁷⁶⁵ Latin text (p. 206) and English translation (p. 207) from Fronto, *Preamble to the History of the Parthian War* in Haines' edition of Fronto, *Correspondence*, II. For more on this text, see Davies, "Fronto, Hadrian and the Roman Army." Also see Dio, LXIX.9.1–3 and parallels (below).

¹⁷⁶⁶ Pelham, "Arrian as Legate of Cappadocia," 640 (except for 1a, which he does not render). Also see Arrian, *TECNH TAKTIKA* (DeVoto's edition and translation); Hyland, *Training the Roman Cavalry*; and Wheeler, "The Occasion of Arrian's *Tactica*," 354, 357. The Greek text can be found in Arrian, *Arriani Nicomediensis Scripta Minora* (Hercher and Eberhard ed.), 137, 139.

ADMIRABLE SOLDIERS

1317 Example of Product of ‘Hadrian’s Discipline’

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*¹⁷⁶⁷)

LXIX.9.6 So excellently, indeed, had his soldiery been trained that the cavalry of the Batavians, as they were called, swam the Ister with their arms. Seeing all this, the barbarians stood in terror of the Romans, and turning their attention to their own affairs, they employed Hadrian as an arbitrator of their differences.

1318 Admiring a Noted Soldier [Event of 118 C.E.]

(Latin Inscription on Tombstone (allegedly) at Danube River, Pannonia)

[CIL III, 3676=ILS 2558=Smallwood #336 (and see above)]¹⁷⁶⁸

I am that one who was very well known on the shores of Pannonia, who was foremost of the 1,000 Batavians in my unit. I was able, with Hadrian looking on, to swim across the wide waters of the deep Danube in all my armor. Also, when an arrow shot from my bow still hung in the air, I shot another arrow and hit the first arrow as it was falling back to the earth. I am the one who neither Roman nor Barbarian soldier was ever able to best with the javelin, nor could the Parthian best me with the bow. Here I am buried. Here I entrust my deeds to this mindful stone. It remains to be seen whether anyone after me will match my deeds. As the first to do such things, I am an example for the future.

1319 A Gift for Veterans

(Latin Inscription at Troesmis, Moesia Inferior)

[CIL III, 6166=ILS 2474]¹⁷⁶⁹

To Jupiter, Best and Greatest, for the well-being of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus: Gaius Valerius Pudens, veteran of Legio V Macedonica, and Marcus Ulpus Leontis, Master (*magistri*) of the veterans’ settlement (*canabensium*), and Tuccius Aelianus, aedile, have presented this gift to the veterans and Roman citizens dwelling at the vetrans’ settlement of Legio V Macedonica.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Dio Cassius’ *Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 443. Batavia, territorial home of the Germanic Batavi tribe, encompassed area along the rivers of the modern Netherlands. The region supplied many troops for the imperial army. Ister River=Danube River.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Harvey, *Roman Lives*, 6 (with Latin text); cf. translation of Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 174. A translation can also be found in Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 35 [#47]. The Latin inscription can also be accessed online at EDCS (EDCS-26600590). The name of this soldier is sometimes reported as “Soranus,” but this may refer to the town of Sora (about 60 mi./117 km) southeast of Rome, a veterans’ colony, where the inscription may have had its origin. Though written in first person, the author has been alleged to be Hadrian. See Kovacs, “*Eques Super Ripam Danuvii*.”

¹⁷⁶⁹ For an alternate translation, see Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 147 [#247], or Knapp, *Invisible Romans*, 199. The Latin text can be viewed online at EDCS (EDCS-27800940). On ‘Master’ as a Roman title, see Boak, “The Roman Magistri,” especially 115–61. The term *canabensium* is a technical one, referring to a small settlement near an auxiliary fort. Such a settlement was comprised of several rows of houses (a row being termed a *vicus*; pl. *vici*). See Tomas, *Living with the Army*, I, 15.

LEGAL PROVISIONS

1320 On Prioritizing the Needs of Soldiers

(*The Digest of Justinian*¹⁷⁷⁰)

XLIX.V.7 (Paulus, *On Appeals*) If the matter does not admit of delay, it is not permitted to appeal to prevent the opening of a will, as the Divine Hadrian decided that grain collected for the use of soldiers should not be used for the sustenance of the public, and that an appointed heir should not be placed in possession.

1321 On Restoring to Duty Soldiers Captured by the Enemy

(*The Digest of Justinian*¹⁷⁷¹)

XLIX.16.5(6) [Arrius Menander, *On Military Affairs*, II] Hadrian stated in a Rescript that soldiers who had been returned by barbarians should be reinstated, where it was proved that after having been captured they had escaped, and had not fled to the enemy as deserters. But although this cannot positively be established, still it can be ascertained by sufficient evidence, and if the person in question had previously been considered a good soldier, his statements should almost absolutely be credited; but if he was a vagabond, or negligent in the performance of his duties, or lazy, or often left his tent, he should not be believed.

1322 On Sparing Certain Deserters

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*¹⁷⁷²)

XLIX.16.5(8) [Arrius Menander, *On Military Affairs*, II] The Divine Hadrian stated in a Rescript that a soldier who deserted and afterwards had seized several robbers, and detected other deserters, might be spared, but nothing should be promised to one who agreed to do anything of this kind.

1323 On Sparing Soldiers Who Try to Commit Suicide

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*¹⁷⁷³)

XLIX.16.6(7) [Arrius Menander, *On Military Affairs*, V] The Emperor Hadrian stated in a Rescript that when a soldier has wounded himself in an attempt at suicide, an investigation should be made of the case, and he should not be punished, but dishonorably discharged, if he had preferred to die because he was unable to bear pain, or was influenced by weariness of life, or by disease, insanity, or the fear of dishonor; and if he did not allege any of these things as an excuse, that he should be punished with death.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Scott, *Civil Law*, 11, 152. For other legal texts that remark on soldiers, see the preceding chapter, where they are sometimes mentioned in connection with one or another law.

¹⁷⁷¹ Scott, *Civil Law*, 11, 192. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, 895.

¹⁷⁷² Scott, *Civil Law*, 11, 192. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, 895. Arrius Menander was a Roman jurist who rose to prominence in the early 3rd century, becoming a member of the emperor Caracalla's council (*consilium*), which Dio (LXXVIII.17) suggests was not much attended to by the emperor.

¹⁷⁷³ Scott, *Civil Law*, 11, 193. The Latin text can be found in Justinian, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, 895.

1324 On Exemption from Liability in the Administration of Duties

(Rescript, *The Digest of Justinian*¹⁷⁷⁴)

L.VIII.9(6) (Papirius Justus, *On the Constitutions*, II) They also stated in a Rescript that officers charged with the purchase of grain would, according to an Epistle of Hadrian, be exempt from liability where they had properly discharged the duties of their office.

[637 repeated] To Q. Rammius Martialis [119 C.E.]

[BGU I. 140 (Greek Text)=Smallwood #333]¹⁷⁷⁵

Copy of a letter by the Emperor, translated into Greek from Latin, put on public display in Year 3 of Trajan Hadrian Augustus when Publius Aelius, for the third time, and Rusticus, were Consuls. Posted at the winter quarters of the Legio III Cyrenaica and Legio XXII Deiotariana, on day before the Nones of August (i.e., August 4), which is Mesore 11, at headquarters.

I am cognizant, my Rammius, that those persons acknowledged as their children by their parents during their military service have been disqualified from receiving benefit from their fathers' estates, and this rule did not appear severe, given the soldiers had acted in violation of military discipline. But I now take great pleasure in initiating a procedure that more generously interprets the relatively stricter rule established by emperors before me. Thus, even though those acknowledged by parents while in military service are not legal heirs, still I have decided that they also may claim possession of estates by means of that clause of the edict which provides such right to kinsmen by birth.

Your duty shall be to make this privilege I bestow known to my soldiers and veterans, not so I am glorified by it among them, but so that they may use this privilege if they do not know of it.

1325 On Inheritance Matters, 1

(*The Digest of Justinian*¹⁷⁷⁶)

XLVII.17.16.p.r. I gave the opinion that a dowry given or promised to a son-in-power [who is a soldier] is not within his *peculium castrense*. This will not be seen as contrary to the fact that in the time of the deified Hadrian, it was agreed that a son-in-power, who was a soldier, had been heir to his wife and had possessed the inheritance for his *peculium castrense*. For an inheritance is obtained by a right

¹⁷⁷⁴ Scott, *Civil Law*, 11, 243.

¹⁷⁷⁵ For an alternative translation, see Johnson et al., *Ancient Roman Statutes*, 179–80 (#236); an alternate translation can be found in *Select Papyri* (Hunt and Edgar trans.), II, 89, 91 (with facing Greek text) [#213]. Cf. Sherck, *The Roman Empire*, 183 (#143), or Keenan, Manning, and Yiftach-Firanko, *Law and Legal Practice*, 218 [#4.6.2b] (following Joseph Méléze-Modrzejewski's ed.). BGU is the abbreviation for *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*. The Greek text can be found in Bruns and Mommsen, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*, 421–22 [#196], offering Wilcken's ed. Greek text can also be viewed online at *Berliner Papyrusdatenbank* (BerlPap) (<https://berlpap.smb.museum/01764/?lang=en>), among other places. On this letter, see Corbett, "The Legislation of Hadrian," 759.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Phang, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers*, 97 (with Latin text).

other than from one's parents, but a dowry, being united to a marriage, is given for the burdens of the marriage and for its children, who are in the power of their grandfather.

1326 On Inheritance Matters, 2

(*The Digest of Justinian*¹⁷⁷⁷)

XLIX.17.13 The deified Hadrian wrote in a rescript of a man whom his wife had instituted heir while he was a son-in-power and in the army, that he was the heir and that slaves of the inheritance manumitted by him became his own freedmen.

1327 On Inheritance Matters, 3

(*The Digest of Justinian*)

XXIX.1.14.1 [Tryphoninus, 18 *disp.*] A woman on whom a suspicion of disgrace may fall, cannot take anything from a soldier's will, as the deified Hadrian stated in a rescript.

ROMAN DISCHARGE RECORDS

1328 A Record of Honorable Discharge for Service in Syria Palestina, 1 [139 C.E.]

(Military Diploma extract (inferior side, Tablet 1) found at Aphek, Israel)

[*CIL* XVI, 87]¹⁷⁷⁸

Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Hadrian, grandson of the deified Trajan Parthicus, Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 2nd time, twice consul and designate for a 3rd consulship, Father of the Fatherland: To the cavalry and foot soldiers who served in the cavalry squadron III and cohort XII called 'Gallorum' and 'Antiana,' and VII Phrygum, I Thracum, I Sebastena, I Damascenorum, I Montanorum, I Flavia of Roman citizens, I and II Galatarum, III and IV Bracaraugustanorum, IV and VI Petraeorum, and V Gemella of Roman citizens, who were in Syria Palestina under Calpurnius Atilianus, having served honorably for 25 years, have been discharged; to those whose names are written is granted citizenship and right of marriage to the 'wives' they have cohabitated with at the time of this grant, and to them and their children citizenship, and, if now single, the same rights to those women they marry latter, provided only one such to each man.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Phang, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers*, 97 (with Latin text).

¹⁷⁷⁸ The Latin text is available online at *EDCS* (EDCS-12300291). On the Roman forces stationed in the area during the 1st and early 2nd centuries (6–130 C.E.), see Zeichmann, "Military Forces in Judea." The inscription is said to have been found at Aphek (a name borne by more than one place, including the city renamed as Antipatris), located on the Golan Heights east of Lake Tiberias (Sea of Galilee). Calpurnius Atilianus, here said to be the commander, is a shadowy figure, said by some to have been the governor at the time, but others doubting that. A Publius Calpurnius Atilianus had been consul *ordinarius* in 135 C.E. The diploma was issued to Caius, son of Lucius, of Nicaea in Bithynia. An ordinary trooper in Ulpia Galatarum, he was under the immediate command of Q. Flavius Amatianus. The units named can plausibly be associated with the Bar Kokhba war.

1329 A Record of Honorable Discharge for Service in Syria Palestina, 2 [150 C.E.]

(Petition for Discharge on Papyrus found at Caesarea, Syria)

[PSI 1026=Smallwood #330]¹⁷⁷⁹

To Vilius Cadus, legate of the Emperor with *propraetorian* power, from twenty-two veterans of Legion X Fretensis who began their military service in the consulship of Glabrio and Torquatus or in the consulship of Paulinus and Aquilinus (AD 124 and 125), and whose names are listed below. Since, sir, we served in the praetorian fleet at Misenum and then, after transfer to the Fretensis Legion through the generosity of the divine Hadrian, conducted ourselves over twenty [years] in every respect as good soldiers should, now indeed in these most felicitous times we have been discharged from our military oath and, as we are about to return to Egypt, to our native city of Alexandria, we ask and request that you should think it appropriate to affirm for us that we have been discharged by you, in order that it may be obvious [p. 202] from your affirmation that we have been discharged from this very legion, not from the fleet, so that your endorsement (*scriptio*—a response to the petition written at the end) may serve us as written evidence (*instrumentum*) if circumstances demand, and so that we may be eternally grateful to your compassion.

(The names and centuries of twenty-two veterans follow.)

I, Lucius Petronius Saturninus, presented (this petition) on behalf of myself and my fellow-veterans. I, Pomponius, wrote it.

A FINAL WORD

1330 Hadrian's Long-lasting Success

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*¹⁷⁸⁰)

LXIX.9.4b. . . by his precepts he so trained and disciplined the whole military force throughout the entire empire that even [p. 443] today the methods then introduced by him are the soldiers' law of campaigning.

LXIX.9.5 This best explains why he lived for the most part at peace with foreign nations; for as they saw his state of preparation and were themselves not only free from aggression but received money besides, they made no uprising.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Excerpted from Campbell, *The Roman Army*, 201–02 [#329]. On this diploma, see Mor, *The Second Jewish Revolt*, 334–36. An excerpt of #1329 is found as entry #747 (p. 456). Marcus Acilius Glabrio was Consul January–April, 124 C.E., with C. Bellicius Flaccus Torquatus Tebanianus as his colleague. Marcus Lollius Paulinus and L. Titius Epidius Aquilinus were consular colleagues in 125 C.E.

¹⁷⁸⁰ *Dio Cassius' Roman History* (Cary's trans.), VIII, 441, 443.

Chapter 18

Hadrian and the Christians

1331 A Chronology

(Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*)¹⁷⁸¹

VII.17§§106–107 For the teaching of our Lord, during His life upon earth, begins with Augustus, and is completed in the middle of the reign of Tiberius, and the preaching of His Apostles, at least up to the end of Paul's ministry, is completed under Nero; while the heresiarchs begin quite late about the time of the emperor Hadrian and lasted to the age of Antoninus the elder, as was the case with Basilides, in spite of his claiming to have been taught by Glaucias, whom they themselves boast to have been the interpreter of Peter.

1332 A Summary of Emperors' Stances toward Christians

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*)¹⁷⁸²

V.5.7 [Citing Tertullian] The author goes on as follows: "What kind of laws are these which wicked, unrighteous, and cruel men use against us alone? Vespasian did not observe them although he conquered the Jews. Trajan partially allowed them, but forbade Christians to be sought out. Neither Hadrian, though busy in all curious matters, nor Pius, as he is called, ratified them."

[367 repeated] Hadrian's Initiation into Mysteries at Eleusis [124/125 C.E.] Used as a Pretext to Persecute Christians

(Jerome, *Concerning Illustrious Men*)¹⁷⁸³

19a And when Hadrian finished the winter in Athens, he visited Eleusis. And having been initiated into almost all the sacred rites of Greece, he had given an opportunity to those who hated the Christians, for they believed they could persecute the Christians without the emperor's command.

1333 A Positive Christian Appreciation for Hadrian's Speeches

(Photius, *The Library*)¹⁷⁸⁴

§100 Read several of the *Declamations* of the emperor Hadrian, distinguished by moderation of style, and not disagreeable to read.

¹⁷⁸¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Clement of Alexandria: Miscellanies Book VII* (Hort and Mayor ed.), 189 (with Greek text, p. 188). Basilides of Alexandria, active during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, founder of a school (Basilidians), created an early and influential version of Gnosticism, a system of religious thought that competed with early Christianity.

¹⁷⁸² Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (Lake's trans.), I, 449. See earlier Tertullian entry.

¹⁷⁸³ For an alternate translation, see Galimberti, "Hadrian, Eleusis, and the Beginning of Christian Apologetics," 78–79 (with Latin text in a footnote). The Latin text can also be found in Jerome, *De viris illustribus* (Bernoulli ed.), 20.

¹⁷⁸⁴ Photius, *The Library of Photius, vol. I* (Freese trans.), 193. Also see entries #1118–1119 (p. 631) for surviving excerpts of Hadrian's speeches. Photius, writing in the 9th century, was the Patriarch of Constantinople. This excerpt tells us that at least some of Hadrian's speeches were still known and read in the Byzantine Empire more than half a millennium after he composed them.

HADRIAN'S KNOWLEDGE OF CHRISTIANITY

1334 History of Hadrian's Reign

(Paulus Orosius, *Anglo-Saxon Version*)¹⁷⁸⁵

VI.11 1. Eight hundred and sixty-seven years after the building of Rome . . . , Hadrian, Trajan's nephew, succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it twenty-one years. Soon afterwards Christian books were known to him, through one of the followers of the apostles, named Quadratus; he [then] forbade, over all his empire, that they should annoy any Christian man. If any Christian were guilty, he was then to be taken before him, and he himself would at once judge him as he thought right.

2. He then became so dear to the Romans, and so honoured, that they never called him anything but father; and, in honour of him, they called his wife Empress. He ordered all the Jews to be put to death, because they tortured the Christians that were in Palestine, which is called the land of Judea. He commanded that they should build on the place of the city Jerusalem, and that they should afterwards call it by the name of Aelia.

1335 Early Christian Apologies Directed at Hadrian

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*)¹⁷⁸⁶

IV.3.1 After Trajan had ruled for nineteen and a half years, Aelius Hadrian succeeded him in power. It was to him that Quadratus addressed discourse, an apology which he had composed on behalf of our religion. . . .

IV.3.3 This, then, was Quadratus. There was Aristides, too, a man of faith and a follower of religion. Like Quadratus he left behind him an apology addressed to Hadrian on behalf of our faith, and the text of this is also preserved by many today.

1336 Hadrian "Instructed" on Christianity

(Paulus Orosius, *History against the Pagans*)¹⁷⁸⁷

VII.13 He, being a learned man, instructed in the Christian religion from books composed by Quadratus, a disciple of the Apostles, by Aristides of Athens, a man full of faith and wisdom, and by Serenius Granius the legate, through a letter addressed to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, gave orders that no one was permitted to condemn Christians without the presentation and proof of a crime.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Orosius, *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version* (Bosworth ed.), 182. Orosius' *History* was translated from Latin in Old English under the auspices of King Alfred the Great. This translation is also commonly known as *Old English History of the World*.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Colm, *The Essential Eusebius*, 120, 121. The Greek text can be found in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (Lake's Loeb ed.), I, 306.

¹⁷⁸⁷ The Latin text can be found in Orosius, *Pauli Orosii. Adversus Paganos*, 274–75. For an alternate English translation, see Raymond, *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*. Renan, "The Emperor Hadrian and Christianity," 506, comments, "Hadrian's inquisitive temper and open mind, the thought that he would be pleased by hearing of some new fact or argument, encouraged overtures which would have been purposeless in Trajan's time."

1337 The Apology of Quadratus Presented to Hadrian

(Jerome, *Concerning Illustrious Men*; cf. Jerome, *Epistles*, Letter 74)¹⁷⁸⁸

19b At this time he (Quadratus) handed him (Hadrian) a book compiled for our religion, which was a well-arranged book of what is very essential, and full of reason and faith, and worthy of apostolic instruction (*doctrina*). In it, showing the antiquity of his age, he said that he had seen many who, overwhelmed by misfortunes at the time of the Lord in Judea, had been healed and some who had risen from the dead.

1338 The Apology of Aristides of Athens to Hadrian, 1

(Jerome, *Concerning Illustrious Men*; cf. Jerome, *Epistles*, Letter 74)¹⁷⁸⁹

20 Aristides of Athens, a most eloquent philosopher and a disciple of Christ even under his former state, at the same time as Quadratus, gave to the prince (*principi*) Hadrian, a volume of our doctrines, that is, an *Apologia* for the Christians, which continues to this day, recognized among philologists as an indication of his genius.

1339 The Apology of Aristides of Athens to Hadrian, 2

(Excerpts from Aristides of Athens, *Apology*)¹⁷⁹⁰

I. [T]he apology which Aristides the philosopher made before Hadrian the king concerning the worship of God.

II. This is plain to you, O king, that there are [p. 82] four races of men in this world; Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians.

Now the Barbarians reckon the head of the race of their religion from Kronos and from Rhea and the rest of their gods: but the Greeks from Helenus, who is said to be from Zeus. . . .

Moreover the Jews reckon the head of their race from Abraham, who begat Isaac, from whom was born Jacob, who begat twelve sons, who removed from Syria and settled in Egypt, and there were called the race of the Hebrews by their lawgiver: but at last they were named Jews.

The Christians, then, reckon the beginning [p. 83] of their religion from Jesus Christ, who is named the Son of God most High. . . .

¹⁷⁸⁸ For an alternate translation, see Galimberti, "Hadrian, Eleusis, and the Beginning of Christian Apologetics," 79 (with Latin text in a footnote). The Latin text can also be found in Jerome, *De viris illustribus* (Bernoulli ed.), 20.

¹⁷⁸⁹ For an alternate translation, see Galimberti, "Hadrian, Eleusis, and the Beginning of Christian Apologetics," 79 (with Latin text in a footnote). The Latin text can also be found in Jerome, *De viris illustribus* (Bernoulli ed.), 20. The Latin *principi*, 'prince,' denotes one recognized as 'foremost among men.' It was a common informal title for emperors from Augustus on.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Aristides, *The Newly Recovered Apology of Aristides* (Harris trans.), 78 [I], 81–83 [II], 91 [VII], 94 [XI]. It is commonly thought the apology was presented to Hadrian c. 125 C.E., though Harris translates from the Syriac: "[To the Emperor] Caesar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius." As the entries nearby in this volume indicate, the address was probably to Hadrian, not Pius.

VII But those who have thought concerning men of old, that some of them are gods, these have greatly erred. . . .

XI The Greeks, then, O king, have brought forward what is wicked, ridiculous, and foolish concerning their gods and themselves; in that they called such like persons gods, who are no gods. . . .

1340 The Apology of Ariston of Pella Presented to Hadrian

(*Paschal Chronicle (Chronicon Paschale)*)¹⁷⁹¹

In this year (134 CE), the Pellaian Ariston, who is mentioned by Eusebius Pamphilus in his *Ecclesiastical History*, (he) presented a composition (in the form of an) apology concerning our religion to the Emperor Hadrian.

1341 An Apocryphal Account: Hadrian and John the Apostle

(*The Acts of John*, recension of Codex Vatican 654)¹⁷⁹²

5 [Report of Ephesians to Emperor Hadrian after the destruction of the Temple of Artemis of the Ephesians] “To the imperator Caesar Augustus, the glorious, the triumphator. Be it known to you, that a certain man, named John, of Jewish descent and a Galilean according to his religion, has come into Asia, even into your devoted city of Ephesus. He has excited all and turned them away from the religion of the fathers, and made them follow him, so that a strange name and a strange people originated. And unless you destroy him quickly, you will lose the people and the country.” When the Emperor Hadrian heard this, he sent swift-footed soldiers to fetch the apostle. [*p. 129n.2*] [When the soldiers had come to Ephesus and asked for John the Galilean, they] were shown his cell. And when they entered they found the theologian and asked him: Are you John the Galilean? He said: I am he. But when they saw the virtue of the man and his modest and quiet demeanor, as well as his noble countenance, they were afraid, and respectfully said to him; “The King of the Romans wants you; come, go with us.” Upon hearing this, John got up quickly, took his *pallium*, together with about two handfuls of dates, and said to them: “Come, let us go.”

7 [*p. 130n.3*] John kissed the King’s head and breast. The King said to him: “Why did you kiss me? I am only a man, and you teach, [*p. 131n.3 cont.*] as I hear, that all men worship and adore a heavenly God.” John replied: “Because it

¹⁷⁹¹ Tolley, “Ariston of Pella’s Lost Apology for Christianity,” 95 (with Greek text). Tolley defends the 18th century reconstruction by J. A. Fabricius of a text (Dindorf ed., I, 477) in the *Chronicon Paschale* edition published by Charles Du Fresne Du Cange (1688), the basis of the 19th century standard edition of the *Chronicon*. Greek: ἐπιδίδωσιν ἀπολογίας σύνταξιν περὶ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείας Ἀδριανῶ τῷ βασιλεῖ.

¹⁷⁹² Adapted from Pick, *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul, Peter, John, Andrew and Thomas*, 128–34. I have modernized the language. Pick’s handling of this recension is a mix of summary, paraphrase, and translation. The original text can be found in *Acta Ioannis*, in *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* (Bonnet ed.), 2/1, 153–59. This recension is an 11th, 12th, or 13th century Greek variant to a 5th century addition to the original *Acts of John* (2nd or 3rd cent.). This earlier addition constituted the first 17 chapters of the *Acts* and is often left out of modern editions. In these chapters the 5th century’s longer account has the emperor Domitian persecuting the Christians and testing John.

is written, 'the heart of the King is in the hand of God' and again, 'the hand of the Lord is over the King's head.' For this reason I kissed your breast and head." The King being pleased with John's answer, said to him, "I heard concerning you that you excited all people, especially that of the Ephesians, by deceptions and magical arts. You also preach a strange God and adore him instead of the true gods, which we worship. Meanwhile I will try and find out whether the God, whom you preach, will help you."

9 [p. 132n.4] The King ordered a magician, an excellent worker of the devil, to come, and said to him: "Prepare for me such a deadly poison, that he who touches it, dies within an hour." The magician did as he was bid and brought the poison to the King. The King said: "Let it be given to John the Galilean." The magician filled the cup and gave it to John. He took the poison, made the sign of the cross over it, called upon the Lord Jesus Christ and drank it as with great pleasure.

10 [p. 133n.5] The King and the magician and all standing beside the King were amazed at the non-effect of the poison. The King was enraged against the magician, as having spared John. But John said to him: "The poison is deadly; but Christ, my God, who said, 'If those who believe on him shall drink something deadly, it shall not hurt them,' has made this also and all arts of the devil and his servants of no effect. But if you, O King, will know the truth of those words, let some condemned criminal be brought from the prison." And when he had come, John put water into the cup, and swirled it round, and gave it with all the dregs to the condemned criminal. And he, having taken it and drunk, immediately fell down and died.

11 [p. 133n.6] When the king and all beside him saw this, they were greatly afraid. Said John: "Since I am the cause of the death of this man, it is my duty to revive him by prayer." Having stood there for one [p. 134n.6 cont.] hour in prayer, he raised the dead in the presence of the King and those who were with him.

12–13 [p. 134n.7] When the King and those with him saw this they feared the God of heaven and many believed on God and on the apostle. When the King saw that he had a plausible reason, he said to the apostle: "Since we have accepted the accusation against you and the royal edicts demand that the accused shall not go unpunished, we command that you be taken for a time to an isle called Patmos." John said to him: "Do as you please."

HADRIAN'S POLICY TOWARD CHRISTIANS

1342 Continuity of Policy with Trajan

(Tertullian, *Apology*)¹⁷⁹³

V (end) Reflect a little now, I pray you, upon the nature of these laws, which only the most consummate villains in impiety, injustice, filthiness, folly, and madness ever put in execution against us; which laws Trajan in part evacuated by his edict against searching for Christians; and neither Hadrian the inquisitive, whose genius [*p. 19*] no doubt led him into the curiosities of our religion, nor Vespasian, who must know something of it too by conquering the Jews, nor Pius, nor Verus ever took the advantage of the laws against us; and therefore were we Christians, in truth, the worst of men, you cannot think we should have been thus spared, and protected [*p. 20*] against law, by the best of princes, and struck at root and branch only by our brethren in iniquity.

1343 Summary of Hadrian's Policy toward Christians, 1

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*)¹⁷⁹⁴

IV.26.10 Your grandfather Hadrian shows this in his letters to many, and especially to the proconsul Fundanus, the governor of Asia, and your father, while you were joined with him in the administration of the world, wrote to the cities that no new measures should be taken concerning us. Among these are letters to the Larisians and to the Thessalonians and the Athenians and to all the Greeks.

[1133 repeated] Letter to Minucius Fundanus: Hadrian's Policy on Persecution of Christians [c. 121 C.E.]

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*)¹⁷⁹⁵

IV.8.6 The same author, moreover, relates, that Hadrian having received letters from Serenius Granianus, the most illustrious proconsul, respecting the Christians, in which he states, that it did not appear just to put the Christians to death without a regular accusation and trial, merely to gratify the outcries of the populace; and that he wrote back to Minu-*[p. 125]*cius Fundanus, proconsul of

¹⁷⁹³ Tertullian, *The Apology of Tertullian* (Reeve trans.), 18–20. An alternative translation, with comment, can be found in Rizzi, “Hadrian and the Christians,” 15. The Latin text can be found in Tertullian, *Tertullian* (March ed.) [*Apologeticus Adversus Gentes pro Christianis*, V], 37; note the key phrase: *Hadrianus, quamquam curiositatum omnium explorator*.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (Lake's trans.), I, 391 (with Greek text, p. 390).

¹⁷⁹⁵ Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History* (Cruse trans.), 124–25. For another translation, see Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 225–26, or Pick, “Early Attacks on Christianity,” 52–53, or Cook, *Roman Attitudes*, 261 (and see the discussion following), or Renan, “The Emperor Hadrian and Christianity,” 504. The Greek text can be found in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (Lake's Loeb ed.), I, 322, 324; “Serenius Granianus”=Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus. Galimberti, “Hadrian, Eleusis, and the Beginning of Christian Apologetics,” 77, writes, “Hadrian built on Trajan's approach, extending it in a manner more favourable to the Christians by strengthening the penalties against false accusers, on whom the burden of proof fell . . .”

Asia, enjoining upon him to put no one to death, without an indictment and lawful accusation.

IV.8.7 Of this epistle, also, he (Justin) adds a copy in the Latin tongue, in which it was written. He also premises the following explanation. “Although we have good cause, from the epistle of your most illustrious father, the emperor Hadrian, to request of you as we requested of him, that the Christians should be regularly tried; this we have requested, not so much because it was ordered by Hadrian, as because we know that the object of our request is just. We have also subjoined a copy of Hadrian’s epistle, that you may know we declare the truth likewise in this. And here it follows.”

IV.8.8 To this, the author adds the copy of the epistle, in the Latin tongue; and we have translated it into the Greek, according to the best of our abilities, as follows.

IV.9.1 “To Minucius Fundanus. I have received an epistle, written to me by the most illustrious Serenius Granianus, whom you have succeeded. I do not wish, therefore, that the matter should be passed by without examination, so that these men may neither be harassed, nor opportunity of malicious proceedings be offered to informers.

IV.9.2 If, therefore, the provincials can clearly evince their charges against the Christians, so as to answer before the tribunal, let them pursue this course only, but not by mere petitions, and mere outcries against the Christians. For it is far more proper, if any one would bring an accusation, that you should examine it.

IV.9.3 If any one, therefore, bring an accusation, and can show that they have done anything contrary to the laws, determine it thus according to the heinousness of the crime. So that indeed, if any one should purpose this with a view to slander, investigate it according to, its criminality, and see to it that you inflict the punishment,” Such, then, is the copy of Hadrian’s letter.

1344 A Roman Historian Cites a Christian Historian

(Dio Cassius, *Roman History*)¹⁷⁹⁶

LXIX.15.3 Antoninus is admitted by all to have been noble and good, neither oppressive to the Christians nor severe to any of his other subjects; instead, he showed the Christians great respect and added to the honour in which Hadrian had been wont to hold them. For Eusebius Pamphili cites in his *Ecclesiastical History* a letter of Hadrian in which the emperor is seen to threaten terrible vengeance upon those who harm in any way or accuse the Christians and swears in the name of Hercules that punishment shall be meted out to them.

¹⁷⁹⁶ *Dio Cassius’ Roman History* (Cary’s trans.), VIII, 471. I italicized the title of Eusebius’ work.

1345 A Gesture toward Christianity?

(*HA: Life of Severus Alexander*)¹⁷⁹⁷

43.6 He also wished to build a temple to Christ and give him a place among the gods—a measure, which, they say, was also considered by Hadrian. For Hadrian ordered a temple without an image to be built in every city, and because these temples, built by him with this intention, so they say, are dedicated to no particular deity, they are called today merely Hadrian’s temples. Alexander, however, was prevented from carrying out his purpose, because those who examined the sacred victims ascertained that if he did, all men would become Christians and the other temples would of necessity be abandoned.

1346 A Dissenting View on Hadrian’s Policy toward Christians

(*Samaritan Chronicle*)¹⁷⁹⁸

47 When this king, whose name was Adrînûs, came to reign after el-Iskandar, he went down to Misr and killed a multitude of the Nasara (Christians) of those who believed in the Masîh (Messiah). . . .

1347 A Martyrdom Account

(Julius Africanus, *The Passion of St. Symphorosa and Her Seven Sons*)¹⁷⁹⁹

1. When Hadrian had built a palace, and wished to dedicate it by that wicked ceremonial, and began to seek responses by sacrifices to idols, and to the demons that dwell in idols, they replied, and said: “The widow Symphorosa, with her seven sons, wounds us day by day in invoking her God. If she therefore, together with her sons, shall offer sacrifice, we promise to make good all that you ask.” Then Hadrian ordered her to be seized, along with her sons, and advised them in courteous terms to consent to offer sacrifice to the idols. To him, however, the blessed Symphorosa answered: “My husband Getulius, together with his brother Amantius, when they were tribunes in your service,

¹⁷⁹⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie’s trans.), II, 267. Magie interprets the text’s last portion to refer to Alexander, but others think it still has Hadrian in mind (see, for example, Galimberti, “Hadrian, Eleusis, and the Beginning of Christian Apologetics,” 78). Renan, “The Emperor Hadrian and Christianity,” 507–08, writes, “These temples or basilicas, which remain incomplete or undedicated, only bear the name of Hadrian. Destitute of images as the temples are, it seems credible that they were so built by Hadrian’s express desire. In the third century, when Alexander Severus really wished to build a temple to Christ, the Christians diffused the idea that Hadrian had wished to do the same, and that the *Hadriana* ought to contribute to the installation of the new worship. They asserted that Hadrian only stopped short after he had consulted the sacred oracles, which declared that if such a temple were built the world would become Christian, so that the other temples would be deserted. Several of the *Hadriana*, particularly those of Tiberias and Alexandria, were in fact used as churches in the fourth century.” *Hadriana*=‘Hadrian’s temples.’

¹⁷⁹⁸ *The Samaritan Chronicle* (Crane trans.), 120.

¹⁷⁹⁹ Julius Africanus, *The Passion of St. Symphorosa and Her Seven Sons* (Salmond trans.), 138–39; I have modernized the language. On the authenticity as reckoned in late 19th century scholarship, see Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers, Part II, vol. 1*, 487–89, who concludes (p. 488), “we cannot well conceive Hadrian indulging in such grotesque and puerile exhibitions of cruelty.” The account is given little historical credit today. The attribution to Julius Africanus is late and generally regarded as spurious. The term *Biothanati*, ‘those who give their lives to death,’ was used of martyrs.

suffered different punishments for the name on Christ, rather than consent to sacrifice to idols, and, like good athletes, they overcame your demons in death. For, rather than be prevailed on, they chose to be beheaded, and suffered death; which death, being endured for the name of Christ, gained them temporal ignominy indeed [*p. 139*] among men of this earth, but everlasting honour and glory among the angels; and moving now among them, and exhibiting trophies of their sufferings, they enjoy eternal life with the King eternal in the heavens.”

2. The Emperor Hadrian said to the holy Symphorosa: “Either sacrifice along with your sons to the omnipotent gods, or else I shall cause you to be sacrificed, together with your sons.” The blessed Symphorosa answered: “And whence is this great good to me, that I should be deemed worthy along with my sons to be offered as an oblation to God?” The Emperor Hadrian said: “I shall cause you to be sacrificed to my gods.” The blessed Symphorosa replied: “Your gods cannot take me in sacrifice; but if I am burned for the name of Christ, my God, I shall rather consume those demons of yours.” The Emperor Hadrian said: “Choose one of these alternatives: either sacrifice to my gods, or perish by an evil death.” The blessed Symphorosa replied: “You think that my mind can be altered by some kind of terror; whereas I long to rest with my husband Getulius, whom you put to death for Christ’s name.” Then the Emperor Hadrian ordered her to be led away to the temple of Hercules, and there first to be beaten with blows on the cheek, and afterwards to be suspended by the hair. But when by no argument and by no terror could he divert her from her good resolution, he ordered her to be thrown into the river with a large stone fastened to her neck. And her brother Eugenius, principal of the district of Tiber, picked up her body, and buried it in a suburb of the same city.

3. Then, on another day, the Emperor Hadrian ordered all her seven sons to be brought before him in company; and when he had challenged them to sacrifice to idols, and perceived that they yielded by no means to his threats and terrors, he ordered seven stakes to be fixed around the temple of Hercules, and commanded them to be stretched on the blocks there. And he ordered Crescens, the first, to be transfixed in the throat; and Julian, the second, to be stabbed in the breast; and Nemesius, the third, to be struck through the heart; and Primitivus, the fourth, to be wounded in the navel; and Justin, the fifth, to be struck through in the back with a sword; and Stractus, the sixth, to be wounded in the side; and Eugenius, the seventh, to be cleft in twain from the head downwards.

4. The next day again the Emperor Hadrian came to the temple of Hercules, and ordered their bodies to be carried off together, and cast into a deep pit; and the pontiffs gave to that place the name, *To the Seven Biothanati*. After these things the persecution ceased for a year and a half, in which period the holy bodies of all the martyrs were honoured, and consigned with all care to tumuli erected for that purpose, and their names are written in the book of life. The natal day, moreover, of the holy martyrs of Christ, the blessed Symphorosa and

her seven sons, Crescens, Julian, Nemesius, Primitivus, Justin, Stractus, and Eugenius, is held on the 18th July. Their bodies rest on the Tiburtine road, at the eighth mile-stone from the city, under the kingship of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

1348 Was Telephorus, Bishop of Rome Martyred under Hadrian?

(Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*)¹⁸⁰⁰

III.3.3 To him succeeded Anacletus; and after him, in the third place from the apostles, Clement was allotted the bishopric. . . . To this Clement there succeeded Evaristus. Alexander followed Evaristus; then, sixth from the apostles, Sixtus was appointed; after him Telesphorus, who was gloriously martyred. . . .

CHRISTIANS DURING THE BAR KOKHBA WAR

1349 Bar Kokhba Persecutes Christians

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*)¹⁸⁰¹

IV.8.4 The same writer mentions the war of that time against the Jews and makes this observation, “For in the present Jewish war it was only Christians whom Bar Kokhba, the leader of the rebellion of the Jews, commanded to be punished severely, if they did not deny Jesus as the Messiah and blaspheme him.”

1350 Christians Spared Persecution by Hadrian during Bar Kokhba War

[attributed to 133 C.E.]

(Cassiodorus, *Chronicle*, 784–786)¹⁸⁰²

784 Tiberius and Silanus

785 Under these consuls Hadrian held back from the persecution of Christians.

1351 Christians Persecuted by Bar Kokhba (not Hadrian)

(Justin Martyr, *First Apology*)¹⁸⁰³

For in the Jewish war which lately raged, Barchochebas, the leader of the revolt of the Jews, gave orders that Christians alone should be led to cruel punishments, unless they would deny Jesus Christ and utter blasphemy.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Irenaeus, *The Writings of Irenaeus* (Roberts and Rambaut trans.), 262. The key Greek: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον [Εὐστόν] Τελεσφόρος ὃς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησεν. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers, Part II, vol. 1*, 486 (cf. 492), argues, “This must have happened in the latest years of Hadrian”—and cites Lipsius and the Liberian catalog. On his dismissal of other martyrdoms attributed to Hadrian’s reign, see p. 490, where he writes (p. 491), “It will be seen from this summary that the direct evidence for a persecution under Hadrian melts away under critical examination.”

¹⁸⁰¹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, (Lake’s Loeb ed., 323 (with Greek text, p. 322; cf. Cruse’s trans., 124). I changed “Bar Cocheba” to “Bar Kokhba.” See Oliver, “Jewish Followers of Jesus and the Bar Kokhba Revolt.”

¹⁸⁰² Procee, *Cassiodorus Chronicle*, 30. The Latin text can be found in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* (Mommson ed.), XI; see pp. 109–61 for complete text. Procee has “hold back” for *cessavit*, which for grammatical reasons I have altered to “held back.”

¹⁸⁰³ Justin Martyr, *The First Apology* (Dods trans.), 33. This text was later quoted by Eusebius.

1352 Christian Experience under Hadrian during the War

(Sulpicius Severus, *Sacred History*, or *Chronicle*)¹⁸⁰⁴

II.31 Then under Adrian the Jews attempted to rebel, and endeavored to plunder both Syria and Palestine;¹⁸⁰⁵ but on an army being sent against them, they were subdued. At this time Adrian, thinking that he would destroy the Christian faith by inflicting an injury upon the place, set up the images of demons both in the temple and in the place where the Lord suffered. And because the Christians were thought principally to consist of Jews (for the church at Jerusalem did not then have a priest except of the circumcision), he ordered a cohort of soldiers to keep constant guard in order to prevent all Jews from approaching to Jerusalem. This, however, rather benefited the Christian faith, because almost all then believed in Christ as God while continuing in the observance of the law.

THE JEWISH-CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN JERUSALEM

1353 The Church in Jerusalem

(Eusebius, *The Proof of the Gospel*)¹⁸⁰⁶

III.5.108 (124d) And history also assures us that there was a very important Christian Church in Jerusalem, composed of Jews, which existed until the siege of the city under Hadrian.

1354 Church in Jerusalem: Its History Down to Hadrian

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*)¹⁸⁰⁷

IV.5.1 I have not found any written statement of the dates of the bishops in Jerusalem, for tradition says that they were extremely short-lived,

IV.5.2 but I have gathered from documents this much—that up to the siege of the Jews by Hadrian the successions of bishops were fifteen in number. It is said that they were all Hebrews by origin who had nobly accepted the knowledge of Christ, so that they were counted worthy even of the episcopal ministry by those who had the power to judge such questions. For their whole church at that time consisted of Hebrews who [p. 311] had continued Christian from the Apostles down to the siege at the time when the Jews again rebelled from the Romans and were beaten in a great war.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Sulpicius Severus, *Sacred History* (Roberts trans.), 112. He notes later, “A fourth persecution is reckoned as having taken place under Adrian, which, however, he afterwards forbade to be carried on, declaring it to be unjust that any one should be put on his trial without a charge being specified against him.” Oliver, “Jewish Followers of Jesus,” 113, writes, “Though impossible to prove, it could be that *some* Jewish followers of Jesus did not view the roles and ideologies associated with the figures of Jesus and Bar Kokhba as mutually exclusive and irreconcilable.” The entry suggests Hadrian made no distinction among the Jews as to who they followed.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Taking his cue from this, Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age*, II, 600, argues, “From this it would follow that all of Palestine—and Syria as well—got involved in the fight.”

¹⁸⁰⁶ Eusebius, *The Proof of the Gospel* (Farrar’s trans.), 143. The Greek text and another translation can be found in Lake’s Loeb edition, I, 308 (Greek)—309 (English).

¹⁸⁰⁷ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (Lake’s trans.), I, 309, 311 (with Greek text, pp. 308, 310).

1355 List of Jerusalem Jewish Church Leaders

(Excerpt from Epiphanius, *Panarion*)¹⁸⁰⁸

Bk. II: Anacephalaeosis V.66 20,1 James, who was martyred in Jerusalem by beating with a cudgel. [He lived] until the time of Nero. | Symeon, was crucified under Trajan. | Judah | Zachariah | Tobiah | Benjamin | John, bringing us to the ninth [or] tenth year of Trajan. | Matthias | Philip | Seneca | Justus, bringing us to Hadrian. | Levi | Vaphres | Jose | 15. Judah, bringing us to the eleventh year of Antonius. The above were the circumcised bishops of Jerusalem.

PROMINENT CHRISTIAN FIGURES

1356 Prominent Christian Figures Emerging During Hadrian's Reign, 1

(Epiphanius, *Panarion*)¹⁸⁰⁹

Bk. I: Anacephalaeosis III.46 One Tatian, who lived either at the same time as they or after them, arose as their successor and presented the teaching of his own nonsense. (2) And at first, due to his Greek background and education, he flourished together with Justin the philosopher, a holy man and dear to God who had been converted from Samaritanism to faith in Christ. (3) This Justin was Samaritan, <but> after coming to believe in Christ, practicing a rigorous asceticism and exhibiting a life of virtue, he finally suffered martyrdom for Christ and was granted the perfect crown at Rome, during the prefecture of Rusticus and the reign of Hadrian.

1357 Prominent Christian Figures Emerging During Hadrian's Reign, 2

(Epiphanius, *Panarion* [on the beginning of the named heresies])¹⁸¹⁰

Bk. II: Anacephalaeosis IV.1.1 . . . Marcion, Tatian, and the Encratites¹⁸¹¹ who succeeded him, had theirs in Hadrian's time and after Hadrian.

1358 Hadrian's Reign and the Rise of Heresies

(Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*)¹⁸¹²

7.17106.4 And in the days of Hadrian the king arose those who devise heresies.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis* (William's trans.), II, 247. The Greek text can be found in Epiphanius, *Epiphanius* (Holl's ed.), Bände 2.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis* (William's trans.), I, 276. The Greek text can be found in Epiphanius, *Epiphanius* (Holl's ed.), Bände 2, 202–03.

¹⁸¹⁰ Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis* (William's trans.), II, 6. The Greek text can be found in Epiphanius, *Epiphanius* (Holl's ed.), Bände 2, 219.

¹⁸¹¹ The Encratites took their name from their practice of ascetism, thus being 'in power' (Greek *ἐγκράτεια*, *enkrateia*)—or exercising 'self-control'—over themselves in matters such as abstaining from eating meat, intoxicating beverages, and marriage. Their most notable figure was the Syrian rhetor Tatian, who despite having been converted to Christianity in Rome under Justin Martyr, after Justin's death returned to Syria where with the Encratites interpreted Pauline teaching as against the practice of marriage (cf. 1 Corinthians 7:3–6). Though perhaps most associated with the group affiliated with Tatian, the term itself refers to several like-minded but separate groups.

¹⁸¹² Greek text: *κάτω δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνους οἱ τὰς αἱρέσεις ἐπινοήσαντες γεγόνασι*. The term *hairesis* (αἵρεσις), 'a choice,' became the Christian 'heresy,' a *rejected* choice.

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<i>AE</i> 1927.87	375 [581]	<i>AE</i> 1979.629	351 [528]	<i>AP</i> VII.158	653 [1155]
<i>AE</i> 1927.17	375 [581]	<i>AE</i> 1982.142a-b	570 [1007]	<i>AP</i> IX.137	632 [1120]
<i>AE</i> 1927.252	340 [515]	<i>AE</i> 1982.879	322n.689	<i>AP</i> IX.387	189 [333]
<i>AE</i> 1928.1	43 [64]	<i>AE</i> 1982.880	322 [480]	<i>AP</i> IX.402	372 [576]
<i>AE</i> 1928.2	41 [59]	<i>AE</i> 1982.881	322n.689	<i>ARS</i> 231	688 [1254]
<i>AE</i> 1928.84	336 [506]	<i>AE</i> 1982.882	322n.689	<i>BCH</i> 7 291,4	390 [603]
<i>AE</i> 1928.126	566 [999]	<i>AE</i> 1983.937	339 [514]	Benjamin #3	395 [615]
<i>AE</i> 1929.9	42 [60]	<i>AE</i> 1984.818	599 [1056]	(Plate 22)	
<i>AE</i> 1930.16	129 [248]	<i>AE</i> 1984.911	410 [646]	Bernand #30	602 [1063]
<i>AE</i> 1930.37	150 [259]	<i>AE</i> 1987.480	163 [248]	Bernand #31	385 [593]
<i>AE</i> 1930.99	338 [511]	<i>AE</i> 1988.1108	88 [171]	Betz, 83	387 [597]
<i>AE</i> 1931.79	150 [259]	<i>AE</i> 1989.738	336 [506]	<i>BGU</i> I. 140	637 [1131]
<i>AE</i> 1933.31	63 [109]	<i>AE</i> 1994.546	95 [184]	<i>BGU</i> 1690	375 [581]
<i>AE</i> 1934.136	610 [1082]	<i>AE</i> 1994.555	63 [110]	<i>BS</i> 44	335 [504]
<i>AE</i> 1934.231	462 [758]	<i>AE</i> 1995.172	94 [182]	<i>Chios</i> 166	322 [482]
<i>AE</i> 1935.96	338 [509]	<i>AE</i> 1995.1652	174 [311]	<i>CID</i> IV.150	253 [399]
<i>AE</i> 1935.165	609 [1079]	<i>AE</i> 1996.1599	345 [520]	<i>CID</i> IV.152	259 [404]
<i>AE</i> 1938.1	375 [581]	<i>AE</i> 1998.277a-d	537 [943]	<i>CIG</i> 3148	197 [343]
<i>AE</i> 1938.158	349 [525]	<i>AE</i> 1998.724	164 [292]	<i>CIG</i> 3174	306 [456b]
<i>AE</i> 1939.190	599 [1060]	<i>AE</i> 2001.1751	192 [338]	<i>CIG</i> 3455	310 [464]
<i>AE</i> 1940.99	294 [445]	<i>AE</i> 2001.1816	231 [373]	<i>CIG</i> 3745a	187 [329]
<i>AE</i> 1941.114	170 [304]	<i>AE</i> 2002.1121	63 [109]	<i>CIG</i> 3745d	187 [329]

<i>CIG</i> 4033	452 [738]	<i>CIL</i> III, 13587	53 [84]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 40524	484 [804]
<i>CIG</i> 4034	328 [494]	<i>CIL</i> III, 13589	336 [507]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 40855	121 [239]
<i>CIG</i> 4339b	394 [608]	<i>CIL</i> III, 13591	351 [531]	<i>CIL</i> VII, 275	154 [270]
<i>CIG</i> 4482	335 [503]	<i>CIL</i> III, 13596	351 [529]	<i>CIL</i> VII, 362	154 [271]
<i>CIG</i> 4713f	53 [85]	<i>CIL</i> III, 13674	329 [497]	<i>CIL</i> VII, 498	149 [257]
<i>CIIP</i> 1262	359 [545]	<i>CIL</i> III, 14148,	345 [519]	<i>CIL</i> VII, 835	155 [274]
<i>CIIP</i> I ² , 715	355 [538]	10		<i>CIL</i> VII, 961	136 [251]
<i>CIIP</i> I ² , 717	457 [749]	<i>CIL</i> III, 14155	467 [771]	<i>CIL</i> VII, 978	154 [272]
<i>CIIP</i> II, 1276	352 [533]	<i>CIL</i> III, 14155.	348 [524]	<i>CIL</i> VII, 1169	153 [266]
<i>CIL</i> II, 279	163 [287]	14		<i>CIL</i> VII, 1175	153 [267]
<i>CIL</i> II, 478	483 [806]	<i>CIL</i> III, 14168	340 [517]	<i>CIL</i> VII, 1208	138 [255]
<i>CIL</i> II, 1339	164 [292]	<i>CIL</i> III, 14205.	192 [336]	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 799	604 [1072]
<i>CIL</i> II, 1371	165 [295]	35		<i>CIL</i> VIII, 2532	291 [442]
<i>CIL</i> II, 2014	164 [291]	<i>CIL</i> III, 14349	63 [109]	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 6706	455 [744]
<i>CIL</i> II, 2055	166 [297]	(02)		<i>CIL</i> VIII, 7036	120 [236]
<i>CIL</i> II, 2111	166 [296]	<i>CIL</i> V, 32	83 [158]	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 8934	462 [759]
<i>CIL</i> II, 2349	164 [289]	<i>CIL</i> V, 545	536 [938]	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 9663	170 [304]
<i>CIL</i> II, 2365	72 [135]	<i>CIL</i> V, 877	62 [104]	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 10081	173 [309]
<i>CIL</i> II, 4202	161 [282]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 896	265 [414]	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 10296	285 [423]
<i>CIL</i> II, 4213	563 [991]	(first part)		<i>CIL</i> VIII, 22040	173 [309]
<i>CIL</i> II, 4230	536 [937]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 966	268 [415]	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 22063	173 [309]
<i>CIL</i> II, 4254	563 [991]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 967	96 [186]	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 22071	173 [309]
<i>CIL</i> II, 4269	162 [285]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 969	271 [417]	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 22173	173 [309]
<i>CIL</i> II, 4292	603 [1066]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 970	271 [416]	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 24587	88 [171]
<i>CIL</i> II, 4694	165 [293]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 974	484 [804]	<i>CIL</i> VIII, 18042	291 [442]
<i>CIL</i> II, 4783	168 [301]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 976	493 [829]	<i>CIL</i> IX, 3915	95 [184]
<i>CIL</i> II, 5221	603 [1066]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 979	568 [1004]	<i>CIL</i> IX, 5294	576 [1019]
<i>CIL</i> II, 5646	464 [763]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 981	568 [1003]	<i>CIL</i> IX, 5681	569 [1006]
<i>CIL</i> II, 6202a	167 [300]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 984	610 [1081]	<i>CIL</i> X, 676a	113 [224]
<i>CIL</i> II ² /7, 31	166 [299]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 997	604 [1073]	<i>CIL</i> X, 676b	113 [224]
<i>CIL</i> II ² /7, 852	72 [135]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 1233a	121 [239]	<i>CIL</i> X, 3733	462 [760]
<i>CIL</i> II ⁵ , 775	164 [291]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 1233b	121 [239]	<i>CIL</i> X, 4575	575 [1017]
<i>CIL</i> II ¹⁴ , 1133	563 [991]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 1444	61 [103]	<i>CIL</i> X, 4754	113 [223]
<i>CIL</i> III, 21	509 [868]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 1523	454 [742]	<i>CIL</i> X, 6652	110 [216]
<i>CIL</i> III, 39	385 [594]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 1565	457 [750]	<i>CIL</i> X, 6939	113 [221]
<i>CIL</i> III, 77	387 [598]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 1604	62 [108]	<i>CIL</i> X, 6940	113 [221]
<i>CIL</i> III, 180c	331 [499]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 2078	91 [176]	<i>CIL</i> X, 7507	536 [939]
<i>CIL</i> III, 431	329 [497]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 2080	114 [225]	<i>CIL</i> XI, 376	537 [941]
<i>CIL</i> III, 550	19 [24]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 3125	268 [415]	<i>CIL</i> XI, 2607	62 [105]
<i>CIL</i> III, 1169	604 [1069]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 3505	454 [743]	<i>CIL</i> XI, 3108	464 [764]
<i>CIL</i> III, 2830	453 [741]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 5076	82 [153]	<i>CIL</i> XI, 5212	345 [522]
<i>CIL</i> III, 3676	708 [1318]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 8991	120 [235]	<i>CIL</i> XI, 5213	386 [595]
<i>CIL</i> III, 5733	452 [736]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 31220a1	610 [1081]	<i>CIL</i> XI, 5989	502 [849]
<i>CIL</i> III, 5776	352 [534]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 31539a-b	121 [239]	<i>CIL</i> XI, 6115	570 [1008]
<i>CIL</i> III, 6057	326 [488]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 31539c	121 [239]	<i>CIL</i> XI, 7248	62 [106]
<i>CIL</i> III, 6166	708 [1319]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 31830	62 [108]	<i>CIL</i> XII, 1122	634 [1127]
<i>CIL</i> III, 6992	604 [1071]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 32373	121 [238]	<i>CIL</i> XII, 2230	465 [765]
<i>CIL</i> III, 7116	329 [497]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 32374	91 [176]	<i>CIL</i> XII, 6024	157 [280]
<i>CIL</i> III, 9891	453 [741]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 37054	457 [750]	<i>CIL</i> XIII, 9045	156 [276]
<i>CIL</i> III, 12080a	336 [507]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 40517	271 [416]	<i>CIL</i> XIII, 9124	129 [247]
<i>CIL</i> III, 12154	326 [488]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 40519	568 [1003]	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 95	275 [422]
<i>CIL</i> III, 12283	638 [1132]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 40520	568 [1003]	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 1976	275 [424]
<i>CIL</i> III, 13586	467 [771]	<i>CIL</i> VI, 40521	568 [1005]	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 2088	576 [1020]

<i>CIL</i> XIV, 2216	110 [216]	<i>EIMR</i> 26	648 [1145]	<i>I.Eleusis</i> 502	23 [35]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 2797	570 [1007]	<i>EIMR</i> 28	652 [1154]	<i>I.Eleusis</i> 659	23 [34]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 2799	603 [1065]	<i>ERItalica</i> 34	165 [294]	<i>IEph</i> 267	322n.689
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 3003	108 [215]	<i>FD</i> III ⁴ , 301	646 [1144]	<i>IEph</i> 268	322n.689
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 3039	62 [105]	<i>FdXanthos</i> VII,	394 [610]	<i>IEph</i> 269	322 [480]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 3439	62 [108]	32		<i>IEph</i> 270	322n.689
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 3535	622 [1100]	<i>FGE</i> I	34 [46]	<i>IEph</i> 271A	322 [480]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 3579	116 [228]	<i>FGE</i> V	587 [1047]	<i>IEph</i> 271D	312 [470]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 3610	463 [761]	<i>FGE</i> VI	636 [1130]	<i>IEph</i> 2711	201 [344]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 3911	635 [1128]	<i>FGE</i> VII	633 [1126]	<i>IEph</i> 274	311 [465]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4243	63 [110]	Fossey, 7	649 [1146]	<i>IEph</i> 275	209 [350]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4258	592 [1054]	(Block IV A)		<i>IEph</i> 278	609 [1078]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4356	502 [848]	<i>Gaça</i> 42/11	371 [573]	<i>IEph</i> 279	609 [1078]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4539	31 [42]	Gera & Cotton,	352 [535]	<i>IEph</i> 429	207 [347]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 4546	566 [999]	p. 260		<i>IEph</i> 430	311 [467]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 5309,	275 [424]	<i>Gerasa Insc.</i> 30	339 [513]	<i>IEph</i> 441	312 [468]
13a (1)		<i>Gerasa Insc.</i> 58	338 [509]	<i>IEph</i> 1009	322 [481]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 5309,	275 [425]	<i>Gerasa Insc.</i> 143	339 [512]	<i>IEph</i> 1145	202 [345]
15 (1)		<i>Gerasa Insc.</i> 144	340 [515]	<i>IEph</i> 1260	208 [348]
<i>CIL</i> XIV, 5325	274 [419]	<i>Gerasa Insc.</i> 145	338 [511]	<i>IEph</i> 1486	204 [346]
<i>CIL</i> XV, 704a	274 [421]	<i>Gerasa Insc.</i> 171	339 [514]	<i>IEph</i> 1488	312 [469]
<i>CIL</i> XV, 3535	622 [1100]	<i>Gk. An.</i> VI.332	34 [46]	<i>IEph</i> 4108	609 [1079]
<i>CIL</i> XV, 7313a1	606 [1074]	<i>Gk. An.</i> VII.674	633 [1124]	<i>IEph</i> 4333	208 [349]
<i>CIL</i> XV, 7881	62 [105]	<i>Gk. An.</i> IX.137	632 [1120]	<i>IEph</i> 5114	209 [351]
<i>CIL</i> XVI, 60	63 [111]	<i>Gk. An.</i> IX.387	189 [333]	<i>IG</i> II 478	483 [806]
<i>CIL</i> XVI, 66	150 [258]	<i>Gk. An.</i> IX.402	372 [576]	<i>IG</i> II/III ³ 4,	227 [369]
<i>CIL</i> XVI, 69	150 [259]	<i>Gk. An.</i> XIV.102	654 [1158]	1049	
<i>CIL</i> XVI, 81	129 [248]	<i>Gk. An.</i> XV.25	632 [1123]	<i>IG</i> II ² 1104	688 [1254]
<i>CIL</i> XVI, 87	711 [1328]	<i>Halikarnassos</i> 57	322 [484]	<i>IG</i> II ² 3196	227 [369]
<i>CIL</i> XVII, 543	128 [246]	<i>HEp</i> 1995, 708	165 [294]	<i>IG</i> II ² 3287A	221 [361]
<i>CIL</i> XVII, 626	129 [247]	<i>HEp</i> 2003/4,	165 [294]	<i>IG</i> II ² 3296	395 [615]
<i>CIL</i> XVII ² , 378	123 [242]	615		<i>IG</i> II ² 3297	311 [466]
<i>CIL</i> XVII ² , 531	156 [276]	Hoff and Howe,	608 [1077]	<i>IG</i> II ² 3299	395 [614]
<i>CIL</i> A 02-02,	165 [294]	p. 164		<i>IG</i> II ² 3620	402 [625]
367		<i>LAA</i> 2014-2306	355 [538]	<i>IG</i> II ² 3632	23 [35]
<i>CIRB</i> 47 3	19 [478]	<i>LAnkara</i> 76	452 [738]	<i>IG</i> II ² 3709	23 [34]
<i>CJZC</i> 17	41 [58]	<i>LAnkyraM</i> 141	324 [486]	<i>IG</i> II ² 5185	396 [616]
Cortés-Copete,	650 [1148]	<i>IC</i> II.xxiii 66	44 [68]	<i>IG</i> IV ² 384	397 [617]
119		<i>ICM</i> 47	358 [543a]	<i>IG</i> V ² 281	623 [1102]
<i>CPJ</i> II 158	52 [81]	<i>ICM</i> 49	358 [543b]	<i>IG</i> V ² 312	623 [1103]
<i>CPJ</i> II 435 (cols.	47 [71]	<i>ICM</i> 52	358 [542]	<i>IG</i> VII 70	231 [372]
3-4)		<i>ICM</i> 58	359 [545]	<i>IG</i> VII 72	495 [830]
<i>CPJ</i> II 437	46 [70]	<i>IEC</i> 8	393 [607]	<i>IG</i> VII 74	231 [373]
<i>CPJ</i> II 438	48 [72]	<i>IED</i> 434	537 [943]	<i>IG</i> VII 1828	587 [1047]
<i>CPJ</i> II 443	48 [73]	<i>IED</i> 669	274 [419]	<i>IG</i> VII 3491	495 [830]
<i>CPJ</i> II 444	49 [75]	<i>IED</i> 670	94 [182]	<i>IG</i> IX 12.5	649 [1147]
<i>CPJ</i> II 447	46 [69]	<i>IED</i> 680	275 [423]	<i>IG</i> XII ³ 175	645 [1140]
<i>CPL</i> 117	456 [747]	<i>IED</i> 1299	274 [420]	<i>IG</i> XII ³ 476	211 [360]
<i>DIMPERP</i> 55	465 [766]	<i>IED</i> 1715	275 [424]	<i>IG</i> XII ⁴ 2:900	211 [356]
<i>EIMR</i> 16	645 [1140]	<i>IED</i> 1720	275 [425]	<i>IG</i> XII ⁵ 674	646 [1141]
<i>EIMR</i> 19	646 [1141]	<i>IED</i> 2118	31 [42]	<i>IG</i> XII ⁶ 1:505	323 [483]
<i>EIMR</i> 20	204 [346]	<i>I.Eleusis</i> 446	402 [627]	<i>IG</i> XII ⁹ 1234A	404 [628]
<i>EIMR</i> 23	651 [1152]	<i>I.Eleusis</i> 449	227 [369]	<i>IG</i> XIV 960	621 [1095]

<i>IG XIV 961</i>	621 [1096]	<i>ILS 5835</i>	173 [309]	<i>I.Smyrna 623</i>	306 [456b]
<i>IG XIV 1085</i>	379 [583]	<i>ILS 7784</i>	638 [1132]	<i>I.Smyrna 697</i>	197 [343]
<i>IG XIV 1089</i>	633 [1126]	<i>ILS 8826</i>	452 [738]	<i>I.Smyrna II² 32</i>	305 [456a]
<i>IG XIV 2239</i>	600 [1058]	<i>ILS 8999</i>	62 [106]	<i>IrP II, 293</i>	302 [454]
<i>IGBulg II, 602</i>	503 [850]	<i>ILS 9491</i>	40 [56]	<i>IrP II, 374</i>	302 [455]
<i>IGBulg. III, 1, 1046</i>	193 [339]	<i>IMC 97</i>	351 [529]	<i>IrP II, 397</i>	210 [353]
<i>IGLS 8³ 5096</i>	331 [499]	<i>IMC 130</i>	351 [531]	<i>IrP III, 21</i>	84 [162]
<i>IGLS 8³ 5157</i>	331 [501]	<i>IMC 310</i>	351 [527]	<i>JRS 64 (1974)</i>	319 [479]
<i>IGLS 8³ 5186</i>	331 [500]	<i>IMSZB 1995-537</i>	83 [156]	160, 1	
<i>IGLS 13¹ 9188</i>	336 [505]	<i>IMT Kaikos 808</i>	301 [453]	Kaibel, <i>Epig.</i>	587 [1047]
<i>IGLS 21⁴ 46</i>	344 [518]	<i>Ins.Aph2007</i>	316 [476]	<i>Graec.</i> 811	
<i>IGR I, 33</i>	334 [502]	5.208		<i>Kestros 2</i>	392 [606]
<i>IGR I, 136</i>	379 [583]	<i>Ins.Aph2007</i>	322 [485]	Levick, 37	503 [851]
<i>IGR I, 877</i>	319 [478]	8.708		Macmullen and Lane, 1.2	387 [596]
<i>IGR I, 1142</i>	387 [599]	<i>Ins.Aph2007</i>	315 [475]	<i>MAMA V, 60</i>	314 [474]
<i>IGR I⁵, 1049</i>	379 [584]	9.119		<i>MAMA IX, 8</i>	314 [473]
<i>IGR III, 37</i>	187 [329]	<i>Ins.Aph2007</i>	643 [1136]	<i>Musa Lapidaria 26</i>	387 [598]
<i>IGR III, 174</i>	452 [738]	11.412 (1–13)		<i>OGIS II, 678</i>	53 [85]
<i>IGR III, 175</i>	328 [494]	<i>Ins.Aph2007</i>	644 [1137]	Oliver, 50	395 [614]
<i>IGR III, 1054</i>	335 [503]	11.412 (13–27)		Oliver, 52	395 [614]
<i>IGR IV, 349</i>	82 [155]	<i>Ins.Aph2007</i>	644 [1138]	Oliver, 78B	245 [390]
<i>IGR IV, 1156</i>	651 [1152]	1 1.412 (27–41)		Oliver, 79–80	651 [1152]
<i>IGR IV, 1395</i>	306 [456b]	<i>Ins.Aph2007</i>	645 [1139]	<i>P.AlexGiss 25</i>	72 [134]
<i>IGR IV, 1396</i>	306 [457]	11.412 (41–end)		<i>Papiri della R.</i>	619 [1092]
<i>IGR IV, 1517</i>	310 [464]	<i>Ins. Magn.</i> 116	211 [359]	<i>Università di Milano I 20</i>	
<i>IGUR I, 62</i>	379 [583]	<i>I.Pan 42</i>	53 [85]	<i>PAT 1423</i>	335 [503]
<i>IGUR I, 198</i>	621 [1095]	<i>I.Pan 80, 8</i>	617 [1087]	<i>p.babatha.23</i>	345 [521]
<i>IGUR I 235</i>	652 [1154]	<i>IRCyr A.37</i>	173 [308]	<i>P. Brem 1</i>	48 [72]
<i>IK Iznik 29</i>	187 [330]	<i>IRCyr C.7</i>	41 [58]	<i>P. Brem 11</i>	49 [75]
<i>IK Laodikeia am Lycos 14</i>	317 [477]	<i>IRCyr C.14</i>	43 [66]	<i>P. Fayum 19</i>	517 [882]
<i>ILAlg I, 3951</i>	173 [309]	<i>IRCyr C.18</i>	43 [65]	<i>P. Giss. I 3</i>	73 [137]
<i>ILAlg-02-03, 0778</i>	171 [306]	<i>IRCyr C.91</i>	43 [67]	<i>P. Giss. I 27</i>	50 [77]
<i>ILS 134</i>	604 [1071]	<i>IRCyr C.102</i>	43 [65]	<i>P. Giss. I 41</i>	48 [73]
<i>ILS 309</i>	96 [186]	<i>IRCyr C.246</i>	42 [63]	<i>P. Giss. Lit. 4.4</i>	73 [137]
<i>ILS 316</i>	576 [1020]	<i>IRCyr C.281</i>	41 [59]	<i>PGM IV.2441-2661</i>	387 [596]
<i>ILS 316</i>	576 [1020]	<i>IRCyr C.283</i>	42 [61]	<i>P.Mich. VIII 477, 478</i>	50 [78]
<i>ILS 321</i>	603 [1065]	<i>IRCyr C.292</i>	42 [60]	<i>P. Oxy. II.1119</i>	617 [1088]
<i>ILS 1022</i>	61 [103]	<i>IRCyr C.298</i>	42 [62]	<i>P. Oxy. III.471</i>	625 [1105]
<i>ILS 1046a</i>	509 [868]	<i>IRCyr M.223</i>	43 [64]	<i>P.Oxy. IV.705 (Col. II. Lines 31–35)</i>	53 [83]
<i>ILS 1052</i>	62 [104]	<i>IRCyr T.706</i>	172 [307]	<i>P. Oxy. IV.707 (recto)</i>	46 [69]
<i>ILS 1056</i>	453 [741]	<i>IRT (1952) 358b</i>	170 [303]	<i>P. Oxy. IV.714</i>	174 [312]
<i>ILS 1068</i>	120 [236]	<i>IRT (1952) 361</i>	288 [434]	<i>P. Oxy. VIII. 1085</i>	618 [1090]
<i>ILS 1068</i>	120 [236]	<i>IRT (1952) 362</i>	293 [443]	<i>P. Oxy. VIII. 1113</i>	536 [940]
<i>ILS 1092</i>	454 [742]	<i>IRT (1952) 363</i>	293 [444]		
<i>ILS 1341</i>	456 [746]	<i>IRT (2021) 0358b</i>	170 [303]		
<i>ILS 1400</i>	462 [759]	<i>IRT (2021) 0361</i>	288 [434]		
<i>ILS 2080</i>	463 [762]	<i>IRT (2021) 0362</i>	293 [433]		
<i>ILS 2081</i>	464 [763]	Isager and Perdersen, p. 99	609 [1080]		
<i>ILS 2083</i>	462 [760]	<i>I.Smyrna 595</i>	306 [459]		
<i>ILS 2313</i>	465 [765]	<i>I.Smyrna 605</i>	650 [1151]		
<i>ILS 2474</i>	708 [1319]	<i>I.Smyrna 622</i>	306 [458]		
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<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVIII. 2177	52 [81]	<i>Sardis</i> , 375	310 [462]	<i>SEOR</i> II ¹ , 235	590 [1051]
<i>P.Oxy</i> XXXI. 2553	380 [586]	<i>SB</i> XII 11236	386 [596]	<i>SEOR</i> II ¹ , 237	603 [1065]
<i>P. Oxy.</i> LV. 3781	73 [136]	<i>SEG</i> IV.532	208 [349]	<i>SEOR</i> II ¹ , 794	108 [215]
<i>PSI</i> 9, 1063	49 [76]	<i>SEG</i> VI.59	324 [486]	<i>SIG</i> ² / <i>Syll</i> ² 385	646 [1141]
<i>PSI</i> 1026	712 [1329]	<i>SEG</i> VIII.791	382 [587]	<i>SIG</i> ³ / <i>Syll</i> ² 829a	253 [399]
<i>P. Yadin</i> 23	345 [521]	<i>SEG</i> IX.54	43 [66]	<i>SIG</i> ³ / <i>Syll</i> ² 829b	258 [401]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 288	155 [275]	<i>SEG</i> IX.136	43 [67]	<i>SIG</i> ³ / <i>Syll</i> ² 830	259 [403]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 739	154 [270]	<i>SEG</i> IX.168	42 [60]	<i>SIG</i> ³ / <i>Syll</i> ² 833	204 [346]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 801	154 [271]	<i>SEG</i> IX.252	43 [64]	<i>SIG</i> ³ / <i>Syll</i> ² 837	651 [1152]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 814	355 [539]	<i>SEG</i> XV.530	322 [482]	<i>SIG</i> ³ / <i>Syll</i> ² 838	648 [1145]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 974	136 [251]	<i>SEG</i> XVII.504	202 [345]	<i>SIG</i> ³ / <i>Syll</i> ² 839	311 [465]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 995	154 [272]	<i>SEG</i> XVII.804	41 [58]	<i>SIG</i> ³ / <i>Syll</i> ² 841	623 [1102]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 1051 a-b	149 [257]	<i>SEG</i> XVII.809	43 [66]	<i>SIG</i> ³ / <i>Syll</i> ² 842	397 [617]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 1319	138 [256]	<i>SEG</i> XVIII. 731	43 [66]	<i>SIRAR</i> 923	455 [745]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 1320	138 [256]	<i>SEG</i> XXVI. 273	322 [480]	<i>SIRAR</i> 971	288 [437]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 1340	151 [261]	<i>SEG</i> XXVI. 1272	209 [350]	<i>SIRAR</i> 1567	288 [436]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 1427	137 [254]	<i>SEG</i> XXVII. 820	187 [329]	Smallwood, p. 3	67 [127]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 1634	137 [252]	<i>SEG</i> XXVII. 821	187 [329]	Smallwood, p. 5	67 [130]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 1637	137 [252]	<i>SEG</i> XXVIII. 99	638 [1132]	Smallwood 79	236 [376]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 1638	137 [253]	<i>SEG</i> XXVIII. 1515	641 [1134]	Smallwood 79 (repeated)	397 [617]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 1736	284 [431]	<i>SEG</i> XXIX. 1515	394 [609]	Smallwood 109	19 [24]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 1852	155 [274]	<i>SEG</i> XXXII. 1203	197 [243]	Smallwood 114	116 [228]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 1935	155 [273]	<i>SEG</i> XXXIII. 1131	314 [471]	Smallwood 164	623 [1102]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 2244	153 [266]	<i>SEG</i> XXXVI. 1399a-b	88 [172]	Smallwood 214	84 [162]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 2265	153 [268]	<i>SEG</i> XXXVIII. 1462	210 [355]	Smallwood 300	464 [763]
<i>RIB</i> ¹ 2272	153 [267]	<i>SEG</i> XXXIX. 1427	389 [601]	Smallwood 323a	503 [851]
<i>RIB</i> ² 2401.6	151 [260]	<i>SEG</i> XL.867	379 [583]	Smallwood 330	456 [747]
<i>RIDac.</i> 505	604 [1069]	<i>SEG</i> XLVI. 2058	345 [520]	Smallwood 332	339 [513]
Rijksmuseum van Oedheden, <i>F</i> 97/6, 584	375 [580]	<i>SEG</i> XLIX, 886+LV, 744	651 [1153]	Smallwood 333	637 [1131]
Roll (1983), p. 154	351 [527]	<i>SEG</i> LI.335	231 [373]	Smallwood 336	708 [1318]
Roll & Ayalon, p. 119	351 [530]	<i>SEG</i> LIV.951	600 [1057]	Smallwood 519	73 [137]
<i>Rom.Mil.Rec.</i> I 74_1	49 [76]	<i>SEG</i> LV.756	193 [339]	Smallwood 520	634 [1127]
<i>Röm. Mitth.</i> 18 (1903), 63–67	62 [106]	<i>SEG</i> LV.1416	354 [536]	<i>TAM</i> II, 1187	394 [609]
<i>RRMAM</i> 2 ¹ , 929	326 [488]	<i>SEG</i> LV.1518	392 [606]	<i>TER</i> 2018, 31	604 [1070]
<i>RRMAM</i> 3 ³ , 36	325 [487]	<i>SEG</i> LIX.1365	296 [451]	<i>TER</i> 2018, 32	394 [611]
<i>RRMAM</i> 3 ³ , 48	326 [488]	<i>SEOR</i> II ¹ , 234	275 [422]	<i>TER</i> 2018, 33	394 [612]
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<i>Sardis</i> , 7,1 13	310 [463]			(1917), 110	
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This richly illustrated Sourcebook gathers together, often for the first time, a large number of ancient sources--inscriptions, papyri, literary accounts, etc.--related to the life, career, and world of the Roman Emperor Hadrian (reigned 117-138 C.E.). Commonly regarded as one of Rome's greatest leaders, the man born Publius Aelius Hadrianus succeeded his adoptive father, the renowned Emperor Trajan, to become "Emperor Caesar--son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva--Trajan Hadrian Augustus." For two decades he ruled the Western world during a time that helped shape its history. It was a period in which Christianity was gaining strength. It was also a time in which Jewish unrest led to a war with devastating results.

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About the Author

G. G. Bolich, PhD, is the author of over 40 books, as well as many articles, including work on ancient Rome. Trained in the original languages (Greek, Latin, Rabbinic Aramaic) translated in this volume, this work is the culmination of a half-century of study of Hadrian.

